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WITH A

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Phœbadius contra Arianos, p. 1, ed. Steph. 1570.

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TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,
THIS VOLUME
IS MOST GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

IN bringing before the public a new sketch of the history of the Council of Trent, I feel that, although the increased study of the fathers and councils of late years has enlarged our opportunities of entering fairly into the merits of theological questions, and has, in many instances, substituted fair deductions for prejudged assertion, still, in the case of this Council, we cannot hope to arrive at new conclusions. Nevertheless, a greater acquaintance with scholastic technology, a more complete system of critical canons, and a stricter appliance of that system to particular instances, will doubtless help us to discern more safely between truth and error, and, while doing away with conventional prejudices and traditional exaggerations, will make us, if not perfect reasoners on our own side, at least more lenient in considering the views of our opponents. If the pursuit of such literature has been perverted by some into a reason for a reunion with error, we have, at the same time, the assurance that a far greater number have been led to very different conclusions; and that, whilst we have learned the real nature of Romanism from its own sources, we have often found the confutation of its tenets in the very writings to which it appeals as the main-spring of their existence—writings which it would fain elevate to the rank of inspired Scripture.

But this revival of a more extended system of theological study, while it has led to a clearer and less prejudged understanding of the errors of Rome, has had less in-

fluence with regard to the history of her Church. Less has been done in this respect, simply because less remained to be done. The leading features of the history of that Church are too recent in their development, to require the sagacity of a Boileau or a Niebuhr to extricate them from the dark chaos of an unphilosophical and fragmentary narrative. Moreover, the constitution of the Roman Church is too artificial, too presumptive in its character, to admit of being brought within the range of speculative criticism. It is an anomaly in its very existence, and yet a splendidly consistent one. Its history must be documentary, not metaphysical. It is to a long series of martyrologies, acts, and annals, that we must appeal, if we would form the smallest conception of Romanism, not to the broad principles upon which the rest of the world's history is traced. In reviewing the history of the Roman Church, we must not consider mankind as a free agent, yet living under the dispensation of God ; but as fettered in their enjoyment of that dispensation by trustees, whom they have preferred to the Divine Author of the covenant itself.

And such a condition of a Church must of necessity influence its writers to an extent of which we can scarcely form an adequate notion. A claim of infallibility presupposes the necessity of denying whatever may tend to invalidate that claim ; and an assumed credibility is thus too often supported at the expense of a positive falsehood. Again, the assumption of a perfect consistency, even in a creed that has modelled its articles to suit the differences of contending, but faithful adherents, gives occasion for many clumsy subterfuges in explaining away or suppressing facts or principles which militate against that consistency. In a word, the axiom that "the Church cannot err" becomes the cause of her going astray, the quicksand upon which the best hopes of her followers are wrecked and wasted.

Another difficulty with which we have to contend is the mixture of temporal with spiritual matters, the subservience of the gifts of the Church as means of worldly aggrandizement and profit, and the under-current of secular influence which runs through almost every detail of Roman Catholic history. Not that I would deny the existence of the same evil in our own Church. Far from it—it must be deplored as one of the evils which are the necessary consequences of an artificial scheme of society; but in the history of the Roman Church it assumes a far greater and more dangerous position. What is, in our Church, the excess of an exception, is, in Romanism, only a partial realization of the grand axiom of infallibility, the supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

Thus, writers on a subject like the Council of Trent are almost inevitably reduced to two classes,—opponents and apologists. At least, to one or other of these classes contemporary writings must belong; and the truth, perhaps hanging equally balanced between the accuser and the apologist, is thus left to the judgment of some third party, who has comparatively nothing to gain by abuse or panegyric. And yet it is difficult to find any writer capable, or, if capable, willing to exercise impartiality. We are too much influenced by what we read to be perfectly fair in our conclusions. Even the style of an author may bias our judgment as to the value of his facts, and a specious cleverness may become little else than an attractive screen for untruth or exaggeration. Still, the road to a true history must lie between the aggressive and the defensive.

The leading writers on the history of the Council of Trent present a contrast of this description, which can scarcely be surpassed; and, often as the subject has been discussed by more able critics than myself, it seems almost necessary to state briefly the results to which my own reading of these historians has led.

A recent author^a complains that, both in Father Paul and Pallavicino, "we find diffuseness and dryness; no plan, no philosophy; an absence, in fine, of all that is now looked for in an historian." This is a bold criticism—indeed, too bold to be correct. Both writers possess excellences which will always be worthy of imitation; both present faults which detract not only from their interest, but their value.

Father Paul Sarpi was a man whose mind was considerably in advance of the age he lived in.^b His inquiring spirit, which led him to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of natural science, if not to anticipate many subsequent discoveries, had no small influence upon his religious views. Although he seems to have always lived in communion with the Church of Rome, his sympathies were directed elsewhere. This is not the place to enter into an account of his life, or it might be shown that the history written by this great man was the clear reflection of his own thoughts. A long habit of dissecting the system of Romanism had laid open to his searching eye all those minute seeds of corruption, which had gradually infected the whole body. Deep learning—though often desultory—had given him a right to decide on points concerning the origin and progress of error; worldly tact and an unrivalled skill in tracing acts to their motives, taught him to look with a suspicious eye upon the partisans of the scheme whose fallacies he had detected. He had, in short, probed the wounds of the Church, knew the malady by its symptoms, and traced that malady to its right origin.

But Father Paul was no reformer. He looked upon Romanism as a surgeon regards the corpse he has been dissecting. It was not as a living patient, diseased, yet capable

^a M. Bungener, preface to his *History of the Council of Trent*.

^b "Il ne pouvait se borner aux études scolastiques de son convent; le Grec, l'Hébreu, les mathématiques, il voulut tout savoir."—*Bibl. Univ.* v. xl. p. 426.

of cure, that he contemplated the erring body of the Church ; but with the bitterness of one who had abandoned hope and lost faith in its power to rally. He was not a constructive satirist ; he cared little for partial schemes of reform, but struck at the whole head and front of offence. In this respect he resembled Luther ; but his sympathy with the Protestants was insufficient to rank him among their numbers.

In every page of his history, this desire for the overthrow of the papal court—if not of the whole scheme of Romanism—is prominently set forth.^c Yet he never degenerates into abuse ; and if his censure is more than usually pointed, it is generally given as the opinion of others, rather than his own. His talent for innuendo is surprising ; even the juxta-position of facts is frequently contrived to assist the under current of satire ; and, how animated soever his description may be, however bold and picturesque his language, it is impossible not to perceive the sneering tone of one, who has little sympathy with the subjects of his narrative. Perhaps, if we knew more of his private life and that of his contemporaries, we should perceive not a little sly reference to affairs transpiring at the very time he was engaged in the work.

Many attempts have been made to rescue our author from the charge of unfairness ; but although willing to accept his defence, as far as general authenticity goes, and although myself generally coinciding with his views, I cannot deceive myself as to the fact that Father Paul is always a satirist, and that he was nearly incapable of telling a story without,

^c “ On convient que ce livre est écrit avec beaucoup d'art : l'auteur, évitant avec soin d'exposer ses propres sentiments, se borne le plus souvent à citer les passages ou les paroles de ceux qui ont combattu les décrets qui ne lui plaisent pas ; mais il s'y prend de manière, qu'à l'en croire, les Protestants ont toujours eu raison, et les papes toujours tort.”
—Biog. Univ. p. 433.

at the same time, letting people know what he thought of every one and every thing concerned. When Mr. Hallam says, "Sarpi is not a fair, but he is, for those times, a tolerably exact historian," he does full justice both to the excellences and the defects of our historian.

But there is a more serious charge brought against this writer, namely, wholesale inaccuracy in historical details. Cardinal Pallavicino, whose history will presently claim our attention, has collected an "ater index" of alleged errors and falsifications in Father Paul's history, which, at a first view, would seem to leave it scarcely any claims to credibility. But, on a careful examination, these errors are substantially diminished in number.^d While it must be admitted that Father Paul's arrangement is unconnected and careless, that he repeatedly mistakes the dates, and misplaces the dis-

^d The following criticism is valuable, both on account of the writer from whom it proceeds and the honesty by which it is dictated :—"Ora ritornando al Pallavicino e alla Storia del Concilio di Trento, egli nell'atto medesimo che forma la Storia di quel gran Concilio, ribatte il Sarpi, ove il trova contrario a ciò ch'ei vede fondato in autentici documenti, e ove gli sembra che egli combatte le opinioni de' più accreditati teologi, o i dogmi della Chiesa Cattolica. Con qual forza e con qual evidenza il faccia, nol può conoscere se non chi prende a confrontare l'uno coll'altro storico. Io dire solo che il Pallavicino ha confutato il Sarpi, e finora non è stato confutato da alcuno ; per ciocchè per confutazione io non intendo qualche declamazione contro di esso scritta, e contro le dottrine da lui o insegnate, o difese ; ma intendo un' opera in cui si prenda a mostrare che il Pallavicino a torto ha confutato il Sarpi nella maggior parte de' passi in cui lo combatte, e che i più autentici monumenti son a favore del Sarpi, e non del Pallavicino. Lo stile di questo scrittore è grave, elegante, e fiorito, e talvolta forse più ancor del dovere ; per ciocchè meglio piacerebbe per avventura, se fosse più facile e men sentenzioso."—Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, v. viii. pt. i. p. 138. Another writer, Becchetti, *Istoria degli Ultimi Quattro Secoli della Chiesa*, vol. x. p. 79, is very bitter upon Father Paul ; but, from the general style of his history, he seems to be merely echoing the abuse of Pallavicino. Among older writings on the subject, the reader may compare the two following :—"Scipionis Henrici in Messanensi Academia Doctoris Theologi censura theologica et historica adversus Petri Soave Polani de Concilio Tridentino Pseudo-historiam," Dilugæ, in typ. Acad. MDCLIV. ; and "De tribus Historicis Concilii Tridentini, auctore Cæsare Aquilinio," Amst. CIOLOCLXII.

cussions, of the different congregations, it is equally certain that his good faith, if we consider his history as a whole, stands acquitted. Numberless instances, in which his statements have been taxed with unfairness, have received a corroboration from contemporary documents ; which proves that, however the works of the two Tridentine historians vary in detail, they agree in all substantial points.^e I shall return to this subject, when I speak of the letters of Vargas, and the Acta of Paleotto.

If the Roman court had a bitter and a clever enemy in the Venetian historian, it was fortunate in finding a defender in Cardinal Pallavicino—such a defender at least, as, however unconvincing to those, who had abandoned it as undeserving of confidence, was possessed of too deep a knowledge of every item in the scheme of Romanism, to fail in pleasing the taste of Roman Catholics. Born of a noble family, and enjoying high honours and influence, Conservatism was evidently the course marked out for him ; and his history is accordingly not merely a chronical of events, but a continued commentary on every point in which a word can be said in favour of Rome. But he is not only passively conservative, but actively aggressive. His work is a grand Philippic against Protestantism, coupled with a running commentary on the alleged misstatements of his predecessor. If Father Paul is at times uncharitable to particular persons, or harsh in his views of proceedings, Pallavicino is never the reverse. Utterly destitute of the power of appreciating anything founded on high and generous principles, he measures everything by its relation to the fortunes of the Vatican. He is a sort of ecclesiastical court jour-

^e The author of the life of Pallavicino, in the *Biographie Universelle*, v. xxxii. p. 451, observes :—"Il s'opposa à celle de Fra Paolo, avec lequel il est pourtant d'accord dans l'essentiel des faits ; mais il en tire des conséquences diamétralement opposées."

nalist, and seldom betrays the bad taste to acknowledge honour or uprightness in an opponent. His history is far inferior in style to that of Father Paul; his narrative is prosy and tedious; his descriptive powers limited, and his observations on men and things savour more of scholastic rhetoric than natural eloquence or readiness of perception.^f To counterbalance these disadvantages, he certainly brings a minute acquaintance with documents, and an equally minute accuracy in chronological arrangement, which is often the means of calling his predecessor to order. His materials were undoubtedly better; but it may be doubted whether he was capable of using them fairly; whilst, as regards the tone of his writings, if Bossuet's remark be true on the one hand, that "*Sarpi n'est partant l'historien que l'ennemi déclaré du concile de Trent*," Pallavicino has sunk the historian in the apologist; has suppressed, if not falsified, matters making against his own views. He is as essentially a party-writer as his antagonist; but he has none of his honest desire for reformation, none of his generous sympathies with the struggles of men seeking the path from dogmatism to conviction.

The discrepancy between the writings of these historians has been diligently and, for the most part, fairly sifted by the Abbé le Courayer, who, in his translation of Father Paul,

^f This is never so well seen as when we compare him with the lively and acute Paleotto, when both are writing on the same subject. Take, for example, their respective accounts of the death of Seripando. His character of Luther, given in bk. v. ch. 7, of my own history, may be quoted as an example of strained attempt at eloquence, in which false antithesis and misapplied metaphor are the leading features.

^g Mr. Hallam seems fully of this opinion. "Much," he observes, "has been disputed about the religious tenets of Father Paul; it appears to me quite out of doubt, both by the tenor of his history, and still more unequivocally, if possible, by some of his letters, that he was entirely hostile to the Church, in the usual sense, as well as to the court of Rome, sympathizing in affection, and concurring generally in opinion, with the reformed denomination."—*Literature of Europe*, v. iii. p. 43.

has noticed every variation of importance, and has shown that Sarpi too often has the best of the evidence in his favour. At the same time, by his careful examination of every document and history he could meet with, he has furnished a valuable stock of materials, and greatly lightened the labours of succeeding historians of the council. But the researches of Mendham and Ranke, as well as the massive collection of documents published by Le Plat, have brought forward so much that is new and valuable, that the means of information, upon which the present little work has been based, are largely increased.

In mentioning the labours of the Rev. Joseph Mendham, I have the pleasing task of acknowledging the great kindness I have received from so honoured a veteran in the study of a kindred subject. For his advice, and for the liberal presents of his own publications on the History of the Council—kindnesses the more to be esteemed as they were conferred upon a personal stranger—I must ever feel myself gratefully indebted. Without trenching ^a the minute and satisfactory account of his invaluable documents, given in the preface to his own history,^b I will merely observe, that, as they are all from the pens of persons contemporary with, and personally engaged in, the transactions of the council, they furnish an insight into its inward policy, and into the feelings which directed and swayed its various movements, of which their learned and judicious collector has amply availed himself. My own obligations to the work of Mr. Mendham will be as readily perceived by my readers, as they have been, and must be, on all occasions freely acknowledged by myself.

But there is another work which we also owe to the

^a 8vo. London, MDCCCXXXIV. Mr. Mendham's library is well known for its remarkable completeness in literature appertaining to these subjects. The greater portion of the MSS. referred to in his preface were purchased at Mr. Thorpe's sale in 1832. They were originally in the possession of the earl of Guilford.

diligence of this well-known author,—I allude to his edition of the *Acta* of Paleotto, the deputy-secretary and auditor of the council. Of these Pallavicino and Raynaldus had made frequent use; but, as he observes, and, it is to be feared, with too good reason, “the selected extracts from his *Acts* by the apologist and by the annalist, are indisputably to be ascribed to the necessity, under which they both felt themselves placed by the history of Paolo Sarpi, of fabricating a counteractor, not in the usual style of straightforward and palpable falsification, but with as much verisimilitude, and therefore with as much authentic and honest statement of fact, as their cause could afford, and turn to its own benefit. Unsupported opposition or point-blank denial would hardly prosper, even with the most prejudiced of their own communion; and positive dishonesty, which could never be secure against detection, would be stark impolicy—an indiscretion not likely to be incurred by, or chargeable upon, anything papal.”ⁱ

A minute comparison of this work with those of the two great historians, seems to me fully to justify what I have above asserted, respecting the excellence of Pallavicino in details and minute matters appertaining to the progress of the debates, and his inferiority as to a general insight into the broad principles of history. Every now and then, we feel surprised at the freedom of Paleotto's expressions. As far as the external history of the council is concerned, he gives us the highest idea both of Father Paul's truthfulness, and of his own impartial honesty. His abstracts of the debates—too long to receive adequate justice in a work of such dimensions as the present—are well deserving the attention of those who would go more deeply into the subject. Indeed,

ⁱ Mendham, Preface, p. xiii. to his *Acta Concilii Tridentini*, a Gabriele Cardinale Paleotto descripta. Lond. MDCCCLII. 8vo.

as regards the latter sessions (to which his memoirs are, unfortunately, confined), his work is a better historical study than the massive volumes of Pallavicino can furnish.

I have made so much use of the clear-headed and laborious researches of Ranke, that he fairly claims a leading place in my preface; and I am the more anxious to place his estimate of the two rival historians before my readers, as my own views, throughout my labour of compilation, have been much influenced by his opinions.

"It has been asserted that the truth may be distinctly gathered from these two works combined. This may perhaps be the case in a very large and general sense; it is by no means so in particulars.

"They both swerve from the truth, which certainly lies in the midst between them; but it cannot be come at by conjecture: truth is positive, original, and is not to be conceived by any accommodation of partial statements, but by a direct review of facts.

"As we have seen, Sarpi says that a treaty had been concluded at Bologna; Pallavicino denies this; no conjecture in the world could hit upon the fact that the treaty was not made by word of mouth, but by writing, a fact which really reconciles the discrepancy.

"They both distort Contarini's instruction; there is no harmonizing their contradictions; it is only when we refer to the original, that the truth strikes us.

"Their minds were of the most opposite cast. Sarpi is keen, penetrating, caustic; his arrangement is eminently skilful; his style pure and unaffected, and although the Crusca will not admit him into the list of classic authors, probably on account of some provincialisms he exhibits, his work is really refreshing after all the pompous array of words through which we are forced to toil in other authors. His

style coincides with his subject ; in point of graphic power he is certainly second among the modern historians of Italy : I rank him immediately after Machiavelli.

“Nor is Pallavicino void of talent ; he draws many pointed and forcible parallels, and he often displays no little skill as the pleader for a party. But his talent is somewhat of a heavy and cumbrous cast : it is one that chiefly delights in turning phrases and devising subterfuges ; his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom ; Pallavicino is not wanting in continuous flow, but he is muddy, diffuse, and shallow.

“Both are heart-and-soul partisans ; both lack the true spirit of the historian, that grasps its object in its full truth, and sets it in the broad light of day. Sarpi had certainly the talent requisite for this, but he will be an accuser and nothing more ; Pallavicino had it in a vastly lower degree, but he will be, by all means, the apologist of his party.

“Neither can we obtain a full view of the substance of the case from the works of those two writers combined. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that Sarpi contains much that Pallavicino was never able to hunt out, many as were the archives thrown open to him. I will only mention a memoir of the nuncio Chiericato, concerning the consultations at the court of Adrian VI., which is very important, and against which Pallavicino makes objection of no moment. Pallavicino also overlooks many things from a sort of incapacity. He cannot discover them to be of much consequence, and so he neglects them. On the other hand, Sarpi lacked a multitude of documents which Pallavicino possessed ; the former saw but a small part of the correspondence of the Roman court with the legates. His errors spring for the most part from the want of original documents.

“But in many cases they both are ignorant of important records. A little report by Cardinal Morone, who executed

the decisive embassy to Ferdinand I., is of the highest moment as regards the history of the whole latter part of the council. Neither of them has made use of it.”^k

The power and spirit which distinguish the views and the language of this author throughout his great work on the popes, render it an invaluable addition to our stock of political information; whilst the stores of his learning, alike diffuse and *recherché*, compel the present writer to confess, that, had Professor Ranke devoted anything like an adequate volume to the subject, he must have contented himself with the task of translator. He may, however, claim the lesser merit of having been the first^l to combine Ranke’s remarks on the progress of this council with something like a regular history.

To return once more to Pallavicino. Dr. Waterworth, a writer well known in the field of Roman Catholic theology, has appended to his translation of the “Decrees and Canons” two “Essays on the Internal and External History of the Council of Trent.” In these he avowedly professes to forsake “the skilful but unfair history of Fra Paolo,” and to make “continued use of the noble work of Pallavicino.” His work is, in fact, little else than an abridgment of Pallavicino, and

^k Ranke’s *Popes*, pt. iii. p. 377. At p. 370, sqq., we have a masterly review, pointing out individual points of error in both authors, the result of which, as far as intentional suppression and dishonesty are concerned, is very unfavourable to Pallavicino, although Father Paul does not escape without censure. It must be recollected that Ranke’s great acquaintance with the documents found in continental libraries gave him opportunities of sifting the truth, for which others must seek in vain.

^l M. Bungener—a translation of whose work was announced soon after I had made known my own intention of publishing an historical sketch of the council—takes little notice of Ranke’s researches. Indeed, his whole performance does not seem to supply any of the deficiencies which I particularly had in view in the present volume. He seems totally unacquainted with the researches of Mendham, and his work is rather a series of querulous declamations against Popery than a history of the Council of Trent.

combines all that writer's accuracy in respect to dates, and the proceedings of the sessions, with an elegance of style and a brevity not to be found in the original. As a clever and lucid epitomizer, especially in his capabilities for disentangling the real heads of a debate from a mass of verbiage, I have constantly found him an useful guide. But the very fact that his information is confessedly derived from one source, and that source an apologetical writer, with whom Protestants can have little sympathy, prevents his otherwise judicious labours from being useful to those, who would hear more than one side of a question. In making this statement, I do not deny his acquaintance with other writers on the subject. I merely lament the bias which has hindered him from giving greater breadth to the principles, greater impartial utility to the details of his historical essays. Nor have his natural predilections allowed him to be always a fair representative of the author he avowedly follows. Many intrigues and side-practices, to which Pallavicino confesses, are passed by or glossed over; and it may be doubted whether the cardinal and his English representative, viewed proportionately to the dimensions of their works, are not equally deserving of censure on this head. Dr. Waterworth writes as a zealous Catholic; his essays must be admired by every good Romanist—must dissatisfy those who do not look upon the interests of Rome and the whole well-being of mankind as identical.

Such writers as Heidigger, Jurieu, and a host of others of still less note, have not been altogether neglected by me, although I have, with a few exceptions, derived little advantage from any of them. Grounded wholly upon Sarpi, and indiscriminately copying his inaccuracies and defects, without being able to imitate his vigorous thoughts or his elegance of expression, they bear about the same relation to the great original, as Eutropius or Paul Diaconus do to Livy.

Heidigger is sometimes sensible and shrewd; but he is utterly uncritical, and unable to appreciate the finer qualities in the character of those whom he unsparingly abuses.

Of Massarelli, Servanzio, and several other fragmentary diarists, together with the writers of epistles, pamphlets, pasquinades, and other minor works connected with the council and its history, I have made use, more or less, throughout the whole work; but a special notice of each would be beyond the reasonable limits of a preface. With the writings of Henke and Wessenberg I became acquainted at too late a period to make much use of them; but as they appear to be based upon materials previously known, this is perhaps less to be regretted. The Italian history of Botta copies Pallavicino almost exclusively, and the same remark applies to the voluminous work of Angelico Becchetti.

I have said so much on the letters of Vargas in the proper place, that it is only necessary to state that their importance both in corroborating Father Paul's statements as to the conduct of the legates, and in proving the dependence of the council upon the papal will and pleasure, places them amongst the best materials which an historian could expect to obtain.^m

^m I may, however, be excused for inserting the following remarks of a writer whose style and judgment are always welcome:—

“Our knowledge of the proceedings of this assembly is derived from three different authors. Father Paul, of Venice, wrote his *History of the Council of Trent* while the memory of what had passed there was recent, and some who had been members of it were still alive. He has exposed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and severity which have given a deep wound to the credit and reputation of the council. He has described its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with such perspicuity and depth of thought, with such various erudition and such force of reason, as have justly entitled his work to be placed among the most admired historical compositions. About half a century thereafter, the Jesuit Pallavicino published his history of the council, in opposition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reasonings of his antagonist, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and subtle

Having spoken thus far of my predecessors in the task, I will add a few words in respect to the plan which I have myself attempted to realize.

My main purpose has been to follow Pallavicino in the history of the proceedings at each session, more especially when his narrative was corroborated by Paleotto. At the same time, I have freely introduced passages and reports of speeches from Father Paul,ⁿ and have at all times noticed such discrepancies as seemed of real import to the reader. In the notes I have briefly touched upon certain leading errors, which appeared to derive their origin, or receive corroboration, from the verdict of the Tridentine fathers; and in this task I have preferred using the words of standard Church of England divines to my own. But as regards the external history—for be it remembered that the history of the Council of Trent is almost the history of Europe during the time of its convocation—I have derived far more assist-

interpretation of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the imperial ambassadors at Trent, sent the bishop of Arras a regular account of the transactions there, explaining all the arts which the legates employed to influence and overawe the council. His letters have been published, in which he inveighs against the papal court with that asperity of judgment which was natural to a man whose situation enabled him to observe its arts thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to disappoint them.

“But,” continues the same writer, “whichsoever of these writers an intelligent person takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the spirit of the council, he must discover so much ambition as well as artifice among some of the members, so much ignorance and corruption among others, he must observe such a large infusion of human policy and passions, but such a scanty portion of that simplicity of heart, sanctity of manner, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worship is acceptable to him, that he will find it no easy matter to believe that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over this assembly and dictated its decrees.”—Robertson, *Life of Charles V.* vol. iii. p. 247, sqq.

ⁿ I have chiefly used Brent's quaint translation, but with many alterations. The Italian edition I quote is that of London, MDCXIX., when chapters are specified, Le Courayer's French edition is intended.

ance from Father Paul, to say nothing of writers like Burnet, Mosheim, Ranke, Roscoe, and various authors connected with the life of Luther, and of the ecclesiastical history of the period. And here I must apologize for a difficulty, of which Father Paul was fully aware, viz., the obscurity which arises from blending the proceedings of the council with the narrative of contemporary events. I am sensible, even now, that the connection of parts will not always be immediately recognised, and I must crave some indulgence, especially from the necessary brevity of my work.

Throughout the volume I have freely expressed my own opinions; but I earnestly deprecate the intention to give offence to the upright and honest of any creed soever. If my language has been at times bold in its censure, I feel better prepared to meet a like tone in the reply of an opponent, than to court the qualified praise sought by those who can neither heartily agree nor differ. If I have unhesitatingly condemned the Council of Trent as a whole, I feel conscious of having oftentimes sought to do justice to the fair fame of individuals. Many were there among the members of this assembly, who, while unable to avoid the errors incidental to man's assumption of infallibility, were too far removed from the rest, both in the grandeur of the part they played in the theatre of this world, and in the integrity with which they sustained the character, not to claim their position among the archives of good and great men.

As it is my intention to publish a translation of the Confession of Augsburg, accompanied by an historical sketch of that assembly, and, should the scheme succeed, to give editions of various Protestant documents of a like character, I trust to have better opportunities of doing justice to the early Reformers than have presented themselves during the course of the present work.

In conclusion, I must briefly but most thankfully acknowledge my obligations to a few of the friends who have aided me, in various ways, through this task, and more especially to Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, Esq., and the Rev. John Wood, M.A., of Merton College, to whose patient industry in transcribing and verifying quotations I have before been indebted.

THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY,

Christ Church.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

Indulgences first suggested by Papal extravagance.

IN considering the Reformation which led to the attempt at a counter-reform at the Council of Trent, we may justly assert, that whoever discovered the art of printing was the first reformer; since to that art we owe the overturning of many ancient prejudices in science as well as in divinity, although no one will deny that it has likewise been the means of propagating many new ones, equally extravagant and ill founded. But this is especially true of religious reform, wherein Biblical knowledge, drawn pure and unadulterate from its native source, can alone shake tradition and usage from their pedestals of prescription, can alone test their claims, and admit and reject them according to the unerring touchstone of God's word revealed.

Whilst the knowledge of the Bible, disseminated through the medium of the translations published by Wickliffe and Tindall, served to furnish the means of prosecuting the thoughts awakened in humbler minds by the spirit of truth, the researches of Erasmus, displayed in his paraphrase and annotations on the New Testament, his wit and irony ever sending forth bitter invectives against the ignorance of the monks and friars of his time,^a and the still more potent

^a He was, perhaps, even more ambitious of reviving learning than religion; "it was popish ignorance as much as popish heterodoxy that called him out."—Blunt's Reformation in England, ch. vi. p. 104.

charges, because more sincere, which were brought by Luther against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, would all have fallen listless and ineffectual, had not the press lent its aid as their medium of communication. Well then has the art of printing, at this period of the revival of the Gospel, been looked upon as an antitype to the miraculous gift of tongues in the age of its first delivery to men.^b

But the influence of the press in the revival of classical literature was, indirectly, of equal service towards realizing this wonderful work. By refining the fallen tastes of Italy, by seeking to bring back the eloquence and purity of the language of Old Rome, and filling the proud city with temples and images that vied with those of the Capitol, paganism and popery were symbolically assimilating. Incongruous magnificence is ever dangerous or absurd. In the case of Rome it proved the former, and the splendid reign of Leo the Tenth exhausted religion itself to find subterfuges whereby to raise means for the support of magnificence which was destined to shake the foundations of the church it was intended to adorn.

An attempt to engraft the symbols and decorations of pagan antiquity on a system purporting to ground its faith on the dictates of the Gospel, was a mistake that the lover of art can well pardon; but which was vitally important in its consequences to the whole state of Christendom. Nor were these consequences such as any reformed Christian can regret, how different soever they may have proved from the intent contemplated by those who were instrumental to their production.

"Was it not highly significant," says Ranke, "that a pope himself undertook to pull down the old basilica of St. Peter, the metropolitan church of Christendom, every spot in which was hallowed; in which were gathered together the memorials of so many centuries' veneration, and to erect in its stead a temple planned after the proportions of antiquity? It was a purpose in which art was exclusively concerned. Both the factions which then divided the jealous and contentious world of art united in urging Julius II. to the design. Michael Angelo wished for a fitting site for the pope's monument, which he proposed to complete upon a vast

^b Blunt's Reformation in England, ch. vi. p. 109.

scheme, with all the lofty grandeur we behold in his Moses. Bramante was still more urgent. He longed to put in operation the bold conception of uplifting on colossal columns an imitation of the Pantheon in all its greatness. Many cardinals opposed the plan; and it would even seem that there was a general feeling against it: a multitude of personal feelings and affections are bound up with the existence of every old church, and this was an unparalleled measure with the highest sanctuary of Christendom. But Julius II. was not used to defer to contradiction. Without farther consideration, he had half the old church pulled down, and laid the foundation of the new one with his own hand.

"Thus rose again in the heart of the Christian worship the forms in which the spirit of the old religions had so strikingly embodied themselves. Bramante built at San Pietro, in Montorio, over the blood of the martyr, a chapel in the light and cheerful form of a peripteros.

"If this involved a contradiction, it was one that pervaded the whole being and habits of the times.

"Men went to the Vatican less for the purpose of adoration at the threshold of the Apostles, than to admire the great works of ancient art in the dwelling of the pope, the Belvedere Apollo, and the Laocoon. As strong representations as ever were made to the pope, urging him to set on foot a war against the infidels; I find this, for instance, in a preface of Navagero's; but the author had no thought in this for the interests of Christianity, or for the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre; his cherished hope was, that the pope would discover the lost writings of the Greeks, and perhaps of the Romans."^c

We have not leisure to dwell upon the interesting reign of Leo the Tenth, or to enter into the question how far his personal abilities^d and tastes may have been interested in the promotion of literary refinement and architectural magnificence, which has become almost proverbially associated with this fortunate scion of the house of the Medici. But,

^c P. 21. Ranke's æsthetic remarks are, in spirit at least, realized in the return to Gothic architecture in the ecclesiastical structures of the present day.

^d These are rather underrated by Mosheim, H. E. Cent. xvi. ch. i. 7. Ranke exhibits him in a much more favourable light, p. 22.

whatever may have been his real disposition, it is certain that a constant life of pleasure in no way interfered with a most business-like determination to aggrandize the Roman See ; and that his religious feelings, if he ever had any, were insufficient to raise the slightest scruples in his mind as to the means or agents to be employed in that profitable undertaking. But if Leo shared the vices of many previous popes, he had greater excuses in his youth, and in the fact that, like Talleyrand in more recent times, he had been devoted to the ecclesiastical profession almost before he could have any voice in the matter, and, like the modern priest-politician, with a sole view to temporal aggrandizement.

The magnificent schemes of the arrogant but warlike Julius II. had found a fitting promoter in the youthful Leo, who set about the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Rome in a style that, assisted by extravagant largesses to his own relations,^c speedily rendered the papal resources bankrupt. Although Leo had too much good taste to give way to the loathsome debaucheries of his predecessor Alexander, there is little doubt but that large sums were lavished in the support of characters little suited to be the companions of the private moments of the head of the Christian Church.

CHAPTER II.

The Abuse of Indulgences by Tetzel.

In so unprosperous a state of financial affairs, Cardinal Pucci di Santiquatro suggested the idea of reviving the sale of indulgences, which had proved so profitable to Urban II. at the time of the Crusades.^f Although, as Pallavicino thinks, the application for these " alms of the faithful"^g may have been limited to particular districts, there is little

^c See Sarpi, *Histoire du Concile de Trente* (by Courayer), v. i. p. 14, sqq. ed. 4to. Amst. 1736. This editor's notes, "although he is not much less of a Protestant than his original, are more candid, and generally very judicious."—Hallam, v. i. p. 370. The subject of indulgences is very tenderly handled by Pallavicino, i. 2, 6.

^f See Courayer, note on Sarpi, *l. c.* p. 13, n. 21, who well refutes the attempt of Pallavicino to assert a higher antiquity for the sale of indulgences.

^g Waterworth, ch. i. p. iv.

doubt that, but for adverse circumstances, it would have been carried out universally.^h

I have not space to enter into some of the doubts cast upon Luther's motives for his opposition to the sale of indulgences, especially as a better opportunity of discussing the question may occur hereafter ; but it is just to mention that the letters apostolic, which granted these indulgences, were for the most part expedited in the years 1514-15, and promulgated in 1516, and that the opposition on the part of Luther did not openly begin until the year 1517.ⁱ Nevertheless, this proves no laxity in the conduct of Luther. Perhaps, on the contrary, his unwillingness to provoke schism upon grounds at all doubtful may have led him to wait until the aggravations of the indulgence system cried loudly for reform. Moreover, it is probable that the abuses did not extend so soon to Germany as to other places.

Whether Tetzels, the Dominican, was the direct emissary of Leo, or merely the agent of Albert of Brandenburg, the pontiff's delegate, archbishop-elect of Mainz, and bishop of Magdeburg, he seems to have been a person utterly destitute of conscience of any kind. Arrogant, avaricious, and unprincipled, he proclaimed the efficacy of the papal indulgences in forgiving all sins, past, present, and future. Like some mountebank with a newly-discovered panacea, he went about with all the bustle and parade likely to attract notice, and amid the miscellaneous groups congregated in the market-place or the tavern, he set forth in pompous language the value of his specific, and offered it for sale with the most unblushing effrontery. Even the ordinary vices of mankind were too feeble to show the virtues of this nostrum, and he imagined the most blasphemous and far-fetched conceptions of human guilt,^j alleging, at the same time,

^h Courayer, *l. c. n.* 22. Waterworth merely echoes Pallavicino.

ⁱ Waterworth, *l. c. p.* v.

^j "He preached that if any one had violated the Holy Virgin, his sin would be pardoned by virtue of the indulgences ; that the red cross which he had set up in churches had as much efficacy as that of Jesus Christ ; that he had saved more souls by his indulgences than St. Peter by his discourses ; and that the Saxons had only to give money, and their mountains would become mines of silver."—Michelet, *Add. p.* 84. "Tetzels was distinguished by a fine person, imposing manner, and sonorous voice. . . . At the time when Luther's attack gave him

“whenever the money rattles in the pope’s coffers, all will be expiated.”

Although there can be little doubt that Luther, like many before him, had felt strongly opposed to many points of the practice of the Romish church, if not sceptical as to the fundamental soundness of her doctrines, and although, as may be inferred from his own subsequent letters, a hatred towards the court of Rome seems already to have rankled in his mind,^k still it cannot be denied that the system of indulgences, if not the primary cause, was the immediate and powerful occasion of his opposition to the Papal See.

CHAPTER III.

Luther impugns the System of Indulgences.

Luther, perhaps instigated by certain superiors of his own order, began his opposition to indulgences in private discourses amongst his acquaintance, and subsequently in sermons, in which he bitterly inveighed against the avarice of Rome. Probably emboldened by the effects of his eloquence upon those around him, and aroused by a consciousness of the duties of his position,^l he addressed a letter to the archbishop of Mainz, to whom the pope had delegated the superintendence of the sale of indulgences in Germany. I borrow the following abridged sketch of his letter from Michelet,^m as the original is too long for insertion. It bears date Oct. 31, 1517.

“Venerable father in God, most illustrious prince, vouchsafe to cast a favourable eye on me who am but dust and

unenviable immortality, he was sixty-three years of age, but might have passed for a much younger man, as there was little or no appearance of decay about him.”—D’Aubigné, *Hist. of the Ref.*

^k Pallav. i. iv. referring to his letter to the people of Strasburgh. —Waterworth.

^l “As doctor of theology and influential professor of the university of Wittemburgh, which the elector had just founded, as provincial vicar of the Austin friars, and the vicar-general’s substitute in the pastoral charge and visitation of Misnia and Thuringia, he no doubt thought himself more responsible than any one else for the safeguard of the Saxon faith. His conscience was aroused. He ran a great risk in speaking; but if he held his tongue, he believed his damnation certain. —Michelet, p. 7.

^m Life of Luther, ii. p. 7 (Kelly’s translation).

ashes, and to receive my request with pastoral kindness. There are circulated throughout the country in the name of your grace and lordship the papal indulgences for the erection of the cathedral of S. Peter's at Rome. I do not so much object to the declamations of the preachers of the indulgences, as to the erroneous idea entertained of it by the poor, simple, and unlearned, who are everywhere openly avowing their fond imaginations on the subject. This pains me and turns me sick. . . . They fancy that their souls will be delivered from purgatory as soon as the money clinks in the (papal) coffer. They believe the indulgence to be powerful enough to save the greatest sinner, even one (such is their blasphemy) who might have violated the holy mother of our Saviour! . . . Great God! these poor souls, then, are to be taught, under your authority, to death and not to life. You will incur a fearful and heavily increasing responsibility. . . . Be pleased, noble and venerable father, to read and take into consideration the following propositions, in which is shown the vanity of the indulgences which the preachers give out as a certainty."

This letter contained a list of propositions which Luther intended to maintain against the doctrine of indulgences, although he, at the same time, professes that he had scarcely hitherto comprehended their meaning. He warned the elector, in earnest terms, against the danger of a system in which alms, unaccompanied by repentance, were made a means of receiving absolution, and pardon for sins.

Without, however, waiting for an answer, or, perhaps, mistrusting the probability of his ever receiving one calculated to satisfy his doubts, Luther, on the last day of October, the date which his letter bears, published the propositionsⁿ aforesaid on the door of the splendid church lately dedicated to All Saints by Frederick, the elector of Saxony. The following will serve as specimens :—

"The pope neither can nor will remit any penalty except such as he has himself imposed, or in conformity with the canons.

ⁿ Some calculations make them ninety-five, others ninety-seven in number. See Courayer, p. 16, *n.* 29. I have borrowed those in the text from Michelet, *l. c.*

“ The penitential canons are for the living ; they cannot impose any punishment on the soul of the dead.

“ The changing of canonical punishment into the pains of purgatory is a sowing of tares ; the bishops were clearly asleep when they suffered such seed to be sown.

“ That power of extending relief to souls in purgatory, which the pope can exercise throughout Christendom, belongs to each bishop in his own diocese, each curate in his own parish. . . . Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory would wish to be released ? is said to have been asked by S. Severinus.

“ Christians should be taught, that unless they have a superfluity, they ought to keep their money for their family, and lay out nothing upon their sins.

“ Christians should be taught, that when the pope grants indulgences, he does not so much seek for their money, as for their earnest prayers in his behalf.

“ Christians should be taught, that if the pope were made acquainted with the extortions of the indulgence preachers, he would prefer seeing the basilica of St. Peter’s reduced to ashes, to building it with the flesh, fleece, and bones of his sheep.

“ The pope’s wish must be, if indulgences, a small matter, are proclaimed with the ringing of a bell, with ceremonial and solemnity, that the Gospel, so great a matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred ceremonies, a hundred solemnities.

“ The true treasure of the Church is the sacred and holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

“ One has cause to hate this treasure of the Gospel, by which the first become last.

“ One has cause to love the treasure of indulgences, by which the last become first.

“ The treasures of the Gospel are the nets, by which rich men were once fished for.

“ The treasures of indulgences are the nets, with which men’s riches are now fished for.

“ To say that the cross, placed in the pope’s arms, is equal to the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

“ Why does not the pope, out of his most holy charity, empty purgatory, in which are so many souls in punishment ?

This would be a worthier exercise of his power than freeing souls for money (this money brings misfortune), and to put to what use? to build a church.

“What means this strange compassion of God and the pope’s, who, for money’s sake, change the soul of an impious person, of one of God’s enemies, into a pious soul, and acceptable to the Lord?”

“Cannot the pope, whose treasures at the present moment exceed the most enormous treasures, build a single church, the basilica of St. Peter’s, with his own money, rather than with that of the poor faithful?”

“What does the pope remit, what does he give those who by perfect repentance are entitled to plenary forgiveness?”

“Far from us all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, ‘*Peace, peace,*’ and do not give peace.

“Far, very far, all those prophets, who say to Christ’s people, ‘*The cross, the cross!*’ and do not show the cross.

“Christians should be exhorted to follow Christ, their head, through pains, punishments, and hell itself, so that they may be certified that it is through tribulations heaven is entered, and not through security and peace,” &c.

With these propositions many were intermixed which tended to throw discredit upon the doctrines of purgatory and penance, especially as considered in connection therewith, and the whole were seasoned with an irony, the force of which Luther well knew, and was ever successful in applying. The following theses were published almost at the same time :—

“Man by his nature cannot will that God be God. He would rather himself to be God, and that God was not God.

“It is false that appetite is free to choose both ways; it is not free, but captive.

“There exists in nature, before God, nothing save concupiscence.

“It is false that this concupiscence can be regulated by the virtue of hope. For hope is opposed to charity, which seeks and desires only what is of God. Hope does not come of our merits, but of our passions, which efface our merits.

“The best and only infallible preparation and disposition

for the reception of grace, are the choice and predestination of God from all eternity.

“As regards man, nothing precedes grace, except indisposition to grace, or rather rebellion.

“It is false that invincible ignorance is any extenuation. Ignorance of God, of oneself, of good works, is the invincible nature of man,” &c.

On the same evening, Luther propounded these propositions in the church of All Saints, and preached in their defence. He at the same time caused them to be printed and circulated throughout Germany. At first he proceeded with much calmness, and avowed himself on all occasions willing to submit himself to the judgment of the Catholic Church. Indeed, he seems to have been alarmed at his own success, and at the extent to which the circulation of his propositions had been carried.^o

The reply of Tetzels to the propositions of Luther, published at Frankfort, was publicly burnt by the students in the market-place of Wittenberg, but, it would seem, without the cognizance of Luther or of the local authorities.

A more formidable adversary soon sprang up, in the person of Eck, vice-chancellor of Ingoldstadt, who had hitherto been a stanch friend of Luther, and who possessed many similar features of character. But the antagonists were well matched, and of all the opponents his opinions drew upon him, Luther respected and dreaded none so much as Eck.

CHAPTER IV.

Conduct of Pope Leo X. Luther assails the Papal Supremacy.

It is said that, at first, Leo the Tenth, like many of his court, paid little attention to the attacks made by Luther, looking upon the whole controversy as a mere matter of professional jealousy between the Austin and Dominican friars. Luther himself appeared anxious to conciliate the good-will of the pontiff, expressing himself, in a letter addressed to him, as willing to abide unreservedly by his authority and decision. In concluding this epistle, he says : “I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ, who

^o See Michelet, p. 8.

reigns and speaks in you. If I have deserved death, I shall not flinch from dying ; for the earth and the fulness thereof are the Lord's, whose name be blessed for ever and ever ! May he vouchsafe your eternal salvation ! Amen !"—(Day of the blessed Trinity, 1518.) In a letter addressed to Staupitz, the vicar-general, he asserts that he had derived the doctrine he now taught from his own instruction, he having said, "the only true repentance is that which has its beginning in the love of justice and of God. This saying of yours," continues Luther, "sunk into my heart like the sharp arrow of the hunter. I felt emboldened to wrestle with the Scriptures, which teach repentance ; wrestling full of charms, during which all the words of Scripture were showered from all parts, and flew around, hailing and applauding this saying. Aforetime there was no harder word for me in Scripture, than that one word 'repentance ;' albeit, I endeavoured to dissemble before God, and express my love of obedience. Now no word sounds so sweetly in my ear. So sweet and lovely are God's commands, when we learn to read them not in books only, but in the very sounds of the sweet Saviour."

But although possessing personal respect for the pope, although avoiding open rupture with the court of Rome, Luther still persisted in carrying on the war against the abuses he had denounced, and began to assume a higher tone in his opposition. The scholastic authors, who had combated his attacks, and more especially Silvestro del Prierio,^p despairing of drawing arguments from Scripture, or even from the authority of early tradition, had confined themselves to the very simple reasoning, that as the pope was absolute, whatsoever he willed was right, and that as the pope had decreed indulgences, they must be right. Luther, whose propositions had already gone far to decry not only the abuse but the validity of indulgences under all circumstances, now began first to sneer at and subsequently to impugn the papal power.

^p Master of the sacred palace. Luther appears to have generally conceived a bad opinion of the Italians, especially of Silvestro and Caietano. See Michelet, *Addit. et Illustr.* p. 85.

CHAPTER V.

Luther cited to appear.

In the Diet of Augsburg, the emperor Maximilian drew the attention of the assembly to the disturbances likely to arise from the new doctrines set forth by Luther, and sent a warning letter to Leo, who had hitherto evinced little interest in the matter. He at the same time pledged himself that, whatsoever might be the decision of the pontiff, he would take care that it should be observed throughout the empire, notwithstanding the covert support which Luther was receiving from certain persons high in authority.¹

In August, 1518, a monitory was issued by the Auditor della Camera, commanding Luther to appear at Rome in person within the period of sixty days. This caused Luther much uneasiness, although, from various acts of past friendship, and from an evident leaning towards the cause he advocated, the elector appeared likely to prove a firm and unflinching friend. Much tergiversation ensued; and it cannot be denied that Luther's fears were greater than became the almost rash confidence with which he had first propounded his doctrines. In particular, his ingenious deception in contriving to prevent his obtaining the passport² necessary to insure his safe-conduct on the journey, ill agrees with his reckless enthusiasm on other occasions, and is sadly beneath the character of an evangelical reformer.

¹ "But, as the event showed, the emperor had overrated his power; for the elector of Saxony was nothing daunted by the pontifical judgment and command which soon followed,—egged on, perhaps, to this opposition by the neglect of Leo and of the emperor to secure beforehand his concurrence."—Waterworth, p. xi. sq.

² On the 21st of August, 1518, he writes to Spalatin as follows:—"I do not yet see how I can avoid the censures with which I am threatened, except the prince comes to my aid. And yet I would rather endure all the censures in the world than see his highness blamed on my account. The next step I can take, in the opinion of our wise and learned friends, is to ask the prince for a safe-conduct (*salvum, ut vocant, conductum per suum dominium*). I am sure he would refuse me; so that they say I shall have a good excuse for not appearing at Rome. Have the kindness then to procure me from our most illustrious prince a rescript to the effect that he refuses to grant me a safe-conduct, and leaves me, if I venture on the journey, to my own risk and peril. You will be doing me a most important service; but it must be done quickly, for time presses and the day appointed is at hand."—Michelet, p. 9.

However, his safety had been provided for by Frederick, who requested Cardinal Caietan, who was then legate from the Roman court, to interpose his influence with Leo to prevent the cause being tried out of Germany. To this request Leo willingly acceded, being desirous to gratify a prince whom it was so important to conciliate.

CHAPTER VI.

Luther appears at Augsburg.

Luther, whose opinions had been undergoing still more violent changes upon various points of doctrine, such as his rejection of the power of the Church as an infallible interpreter of the Scriptures, and his assertion of faith alone as a means of salvation, proceeded to Augsburg under a safe-conduct granted by the emperor, and was received by Caietan, who, as the most eminent theologian of the day, had been deputed by Leo to bring him to a recantation of his errors.

It is against my plan to enter at present into details respecting this celebrated conference ; but it will be sufficient to state that Luther's subsequent conduct, as well as his pertinacious refusal to confess himself in the wrong, or even to render an unconscientious and merely verbal acquiescence to the scholastic arguments, prove that his mind was already alienated from Rome in a manner that seemed to preclude all chance of his return to her dictates. In this determination he seems to have been secretly confirmed by the conversation of his friend Staupitz,^s who was present at a large portion of the conference. At length Caietan, who seems to have evinced a friendly disposition towards Luther, although, as was natural under the circumstances, the cardinal was unwilling to dispute with him on the matters respecting which they had met, declined having any further interview, except to receive Luther's submission to the will of the Church, and a recantation of the doctrines he had advanced.

Before leaving Augsburg, however, Luther addressed a letter to Caietan, bearing date October 17th, 1518, in which, while declaring his inability to recant opinions which he could not think erroneous, he confessed to having displayed too

^s Pallav. i. 9 ; Waterworth, p. xviii.

much bitterness, ascribed his inability of proper thought to the extortionate cupidity of the questors of alms and his adversaries, and expressed his willingness to apologize to the pontiff, and not say a word hereafter on the subject of indulgences, provided his adversaries would consent to bind themselves to the same conditions.^t To this letter the cardinal returned no answer,^u and Luther quitted Augsburg, perhaps alarmed at the suggestions of his friend Staupitz. The conduct of Caietan was greatly condemned by his own party at home, who had however committed an obvious mistake in sending a Dominican to convict Luther, seeing that the Dominican friars had at least been the occasion of the first attacks upon the Church of Rome.^v

CHAPTER VII.

Leo X. issues a Bull respecting Indulgences.

Finding, from the account given of the Augsburg conference, that Luther was utterly irreclaimable, especially as he now professed to appeal from the pontiff to a general council of the Church, Leo addressed a bull on the subject of indulgences to his legate, then at Ling, a town of Upper Austria. This document was published by Caietan on December 13th, and numerous copies were circulated throughout Germany. In this he claimed for himself the power of remitting sins whether to the living or the dead, as being the lawful successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ. The effect of this Bull, however, was rendered almost unavailing by the death of Maximilian about a month after its publication, January 12th, 1519. The elector of Saxony was by his own will placed at the head of the Germanic confederacy, and while the Catholic party were thus deprived of a valuable supporter, fresh strength was given to one who had an evident tendency to favour the new doctrines, which were so rapidly developing.^w

^t Sarpi, p. 21, ed. Courayer. See Pallav. i. 9 and 10.

^u Sleidan apud Courayer, p. 22, n. 42.

^v Mosheim, Cont. xvi. ch. ii. 7, note.

^w This is briefly but emphatically stated by Pallavicino, i. 12, *sub fin.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Miltitz is sent to the Elector.

Luther had now just reasons to consider his position one of doubt and insecurity, when Leo, perceiving the mischief likely to accrue from the conduct of Caietan, and most anxious to conciliate a prince whose importance was greater than ever, made choice of a new legate, Charles von Miltitz, a Saxon knight of his own court, "whose lay character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was."^x He therefore was dispatched into Saxony by Leo to offer to Frederick the golden rose, which it is customary for the pontiff to bless on the fourth Sunday of Lent, and to present to some one of the Christian princes who have deserved well of religion.^y

But whether the reiterated boldness of Luther, who had now begun to deny even the right of the pontiff to implicit obedience, had gained a stronger influence over the mind of the elector than it had yet possessed, or whether the elector was himself too clear-sighted not to perceive the real motive of the present, and of the affectionate letter with which it was accompanied, Leo found his condescension totally unavailing. The elector declined to receive the present publicly from the nuncio, but returned a polite, but wary answer, professing himself a most obedient son of holy mother Church, and the profoundest respect for the pontifical dignity, but in the case of Luther, he required both time to judge, and the decision of impartial judges.

The death of Maximilian naturally gave fresh confidence to Luther, who addressed a letter to the pope, in which he evidently assumes the tone of a conqueror. As a curious

^x Mosheim, Cont. xvi. ch. ii. 8. He had been intrusted with the protection of Luther's interests at the Roman court by the university of Wittemberg.—Waterworth, ch. v. p. xxiii.

^y Pallav. i. 13: "Sogliono i Pontefici nella quarta Domenica di Quaresima benedire solennemente una Rosa d'oro, e mandar la in dono fra qualche tempo ad un Principe benemerito della religione" (p. 122).

specimen of the respectful haughtiness which Luther so well knew how to employ against his enemies, I will insert this epistle, dated March 3rd, 1519.

“Most holy father, I cannot support the weight of your wrath, yet know not how to escape from the burthen. Thanks to the opposition and attacks of my enemies, my words have spread more widely than I could have hoped for, and they have sunk too deeply into men’s hearts for me to retract them. In these our days, Germany flourishes in erudition, reason, and genius ; and if I would honour Rome before her, I must beware of retractation, which would be only sullyng the Roman Church still further, and exposing it to public accusation and contempt. It is they, who, abusing the name of your holiness, have made their absurd preaching serve their infamous avarice, and have sullied holy things with the abomination and reproach of Egypt, that have done the Roman Church injury and dishonour with Germany. And as if this was not mischief enough, it is against me, who have striven to oppose those monsters, that their accusations are directed. But I call God and men to witness, most holy father, that I have never wished, and do not now desire to touch the Roman Church or your sacred authority ; and acknowledge most explicitly, that this church rules over all, and that nothing, heavenly or earthly, is superior to it, save Jesus Christ, our Lord.”^z

But Miltitz, if not a more sincere, was at least a more polite champion of Catholicism than Caietan, and perceiving that opposition was useless, he had recourse to praise and flattery, seeking, by condemning the practices of Luther’s adversary Tetzel, and by eulogizing the reformer’s learning and influence, to appeal to the feelings of a character in whom the most partial observer must trace not a little admixture of vanity—a fault too common with enthusiasts in any cause, nay, a fault often mistaken for enthusiasm itself. In fact, so persuasive were his manners, that they proved to some extent successful where argument and intimidation had failed, and Luther promised to maintain silence on the subject of indulgence, provided his opponents would submit to a like restraint. He furthermore promised to publish a written recommendation

^z Michelet, p. 11.

of adherence to the Church of Rome, and to write a conciliatory letter to the Roman pontiff.^a

All now seemed satisfactory, and Miltitz invited Luther to sup with him. But although both seemed to have laid aside the stiffness likely to result from the strange juxtaposition in which they found themselves, Luther was too acute not to perceive that the affability of his entertainer must spring from policy rather than real regard.

When the moment for separating was come, Miltitz, who had all along sustained the part of an accomplished actor, tenderly embraced Luther, and kissed him. "A Judas kiss," thought Luther, looking grave and dissatisfied with this ebullition of Italian affection. Yet to the opposite party, it seemed as if their end was accomplished, and that Luther would return to the fold from which he had strayed. "Rome's error lay in this, that she regarded but as a monk's quarrel, what was awakening in the Church. The kiss of a pope's chamberlain would not stop the renovation of Christianity."^b

CHAPTER IX.

Disgrace and Death of Tetzel.

As a brief, but necessary episode, we may here notice the disgrace and death of Tetzel. The Roman court, like many others, was ready to discard the man, whom she had used as a tool for her own misdeeds. Miltitz had already cited Tetzel to appear and defend himself before him at Altenburg; but the crafty Dominican, dreading the reception he might meet from those whom he had misled and defrauded, kept himself concealed in the college of St. Paul, at Leipsic. The letter of Miltitz filled him with terror, and in a letter to the nuncio, he declares that "he should not regret the trouble of the journey, if he could quit Leipsic without danger to his life;" but, "the Augustinian Martin Luther," he continues, "has so wrought on and excited powerful men against me, that I am nowhere in safety."^c

^a The particulars of this conference are given at some length, and from Luther's own account, in D'Aubigné's History of the Ref. pt. ii. b. v. ch. 1.

^b D'Aubigné, *l. c.* p. 136 (Kelly's translation).

^c Löscher apud D'Aubigné, p. 135.

Flushed with delight at his supposed successful negotiation with Luther, Miltitz went from Altenburg to Leipsic, and instantly cited the recreant Tetzal. In language replete with the bitterest reproaches, he denounced him as the author of the whole mischief, and threatened him with the pope's indignation; nor was this all—the agent of Fugger's^d house was confronted with him, and, on comparing accounts, it was proved that he had unnecessarily expended, or secretly appropriated to himself, vast sums of money. Utterly overwhelmed by the force of convincing evidence, and despairing of ever retrieving either his credit or his influence, he fell into a state of pitiable melancholy; his health gave way; and, harassed by the stings of conscience, deserted or despised by his best friends, and in constant dread of the pope's indignation, he closed a shameful existence by a miserable death. It was to Luther's credit that he sincerely compassionated the unhappy state of his old enemy, and that when Rome was heaping her wrath upon a sinner of her own making, Luther could address to him a letter teeming with kindly consolation.^e

CHAPTER X.

The Dispute between Luther and Eck.

Although the conduct of Luther seems to have been such as was pre-eminently calculated to reassure the hopes of the Romish party—especially as he still professed an implicit faith in the doctrines of that church, and ceased even to declaim against the abuses connected with the doctrine of indulgences—still the principles of religious freedom had been too much aroused to lie dormant, and the Romish court had neither policy to understand, nor power to take advantage of, the ground already gained by their skilful emissary. Had all the adversaries of Luther possessed equal skill with the wary and accomplished Miltitz,—had a like

^d The banker to whom the cash transactions of the indulgence matters had been intrusted.—D'Aubigné, p. 76.

^e My leading authorities are Pallavicino, i. 14; D'Aubigné, p. 136; and Maclaine apud Mosheim, Cent. xv. ch. ii. § 9. The latter writer states that "the infamy of Tetzal was perpetuated by a picture placed in the church of Pinna, in which he is represented sitting on an ass and selling indulgences."

display of worldly tact and clever dissimulation been brought to bear upon the simple and retired monk (whose innocence of the polite world is only surpassed by his ready comprehension of the intellectual), there is every reason to believe that the work of the Reformation must have been delayed. But the same haughty and intolerant spirit, which has too often caused schisms among the members of the Reformed Church,—the same obstinacy in persisting in condemnation, where conviction was the only safe road, drove Luther to probe more deeply the wounds he had already inflicted, to make one discovery the basis of another, and to sap the very foundations of that church to which he still professed allegiance. That his conduct displayed weakness and inconsistency on many occasions, cannot, even upon the most favourable view of his own writings, be denied; but that the unflinching perseverance of the advocates of the opposing party in maintaining views which they had practically shown to be wrong, drove him to a definite secession from the Romish Church, is equally certain.

Miltitz had advised Luther to refer the affair at issue to some unbiassed judge, and the Archbishop Hector, of Treves, was fixed upon as a fitting person. When, however, the time arrived, Luther alleged various—and some of them not very satisfactory—reasons for declining the journey. The most important and true reason he alleged was his approaching disputation with Eck, which was shortly to take place at Leipsic, the universities of Erfurt and Paris being chosen arbitrators.

The object of this dispute was to settle some dispute between Eck and Carlstadt,^f an intimate friend of Luther's,

^f The following description of the personal appearance of the combatants, taken from the pen of an eye-witness, is interesting:—"Martin Luther is of middle height, and so thin, by reason of his intense study, that one may almost count his bones. He is in the prime of his age, and has a clear and sonorous voice. His learning and his knowledge of the Scriptures are incomparable; he has the whole within his grasp. Besides this, he has a great stock of arguments and ideas. Perhaps we might wish he had a little more judgment to guide him in putting everything in its fit place. In conversation he is polite and affable, there is nothing proud or stoical about him; he has the art of accommodating himself to every one; his manner of speaking is agreeable and full of sprightliness. He displays firmness, and always wears a contented air, whatever be the threats of his adversaries, so that one is forced to believe

on the subject of free-will. In the ensuing discussion, which was maintained by Luther, he openly denied the divine right of the pope's supremacy, and questioned the scriptural or patristic authority of purgatory.² Eck seems to have had

it is not without God's aid he does such great things. He is reproached, however, with being more caustic in his manner of reproving others than becomes a theologian, especially when he proclaims things that are new in religion.

"Carlstadt is smaller, he has a swarthy and sun-burnt face, his voice is disagreeable, his memory is more sure than Luther's, and he is more inclined to anger than he; nevertheless he exhibits, though in an inferior degree, the qualities that distinguish his friend.

"Eck is of lofty stature, with broad shoulders; his voice is strong and truly German. He has good lungs, so that he could make himself very well heard in a theatre, or would even be an excellent public crier. His accent is rather coarse than otherwise; he has not the grace so much praised by Quintilian and Cicero. His mouth, his eyes, and his whole countenance give you rather the idea of a butcher than a theologian. He has an excellent memory, and if he had as much understanding he would really be a perfect man; but he is slow of apprehension, and he wants that judgment without which all other gifts are useless. Thus in disputing, he heaps together, without choice and without discrimination, a mass of passages from the Bible, quotations from the fathers, and proofs of all sorts. Furthermore, he possesses an inconceivable degree of impudence. If he finds himself embarrassed, he quits the subject in hand, and dashes into another; sometimes, even, he appropriates his antagonist's opinion, expressing it in other terms, and attributes to his adversary with extraordinary address the absurdity he had himself been defending."—Mosellanus apud D'Aubigné, p. 143. The particulars of the conferences are well given, *ibid.* p. 146, sqq.

* In this disputation, Luther maintained that the pope was not, by divine right, universal bishop of the whole Church, from passages of Scripture, and even from the decrees of the Council of Nice. And when from the subject of the pope they came to that of indulgences, Luther denied their absolute necessity; and so of purgatory, he acknowledged, indeed that he believed in it, but said he could find no authority for it in the Scriptures or in the fathers. In fact, it was in the year 1530 that Luther first pronounced purgatory to be a fable. The dispute with Carlstadt related to freedom in the theological sense, or to the natural power of man to do the will of God. Carlstadt maintained, that since the fall the natural freedom of man is not strong enough to move him to that which is morally good. Eck, on the contrary, asserted that the free will of man produces good works, and not merely the grace of God; or that our natural freedom co-operates with divine grace in the production of good works, and that it depends on man's free power whether he will give place to the operations of grace or will resist them. It thus appears that Carlstadt defended the doctrine of Augustine in regard to divine grace.—Schlegel on Mosheim, v. iii. p. 104, ed. Soames.

the worst of the dispute, as he conceived a bitter hatred ever after against Luther, for whom he had before entertained considerable friendship. From this dispute with Eck, whose intemperate and rancorous language had done the same mischief as the similar behaviour of Caietan, Luther saw little reason to hope for fair treatment at the hands of the Romish court ; and although—chiefly at the persuasion of Miltitz—he sought to convince the pontiff that his conduct had been forced upon him by the violent behaviour of his adversaries, still he sought for peace with Rome only on terms that he well knew could not be granted, namely, that he should not be compelled to recant, or to submit to restriction in his private interpretation of holy Scripture.^h

CHAPTER XI.

Zwingle stirs up Reform in Switzerland.

But the work of reform was destined to find another champion in the erudite and penetrating Zwingle, a priest and canon of Zurich. He had been led, at an earlier period than Luther, to perceive the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and although both arrived at the same conclusions, it was without concert, and without mutual aid one from the other. Eventually, moreover, Zwingle carried the principles of the Reformation farther than ever Luther had done. But he moved in a narrower sphere, and acted with more steadfast temperance of judgment, perhaps with more consistency, than his more celebrated contemporary. In polite and biblical learning he was fully Luther's equal, and in his stern opposition to the sale of indulgences by one Bernardin Sampson, of Milan, his name must be ever associated with his. But his glorious and energetic career was cut short at an early period. While bearing the standard amidst his fellow-citizens, as they went to repel a Roman Catholic force from the popish cantons, Zwingle was slain almost at the commencement of the battle, and his body cut to pieces and burnt.ⁱ

^h See Waterworth, p. xxvii.

ⁱ I am chiefly indebted to Murdock's notes on Mosheim, v. iii. p. 107, 2d ed. Soames.

CHAPTER XII.

Leo X. fulminates a Bull against Luther.

Eck, backed by the influence of Caietan and Prierio, now sought to inflame the mind of the pontiff against Luther, clearly perceiving that all hopes of reconciliation or accommodation were at an end. Leo, who had already let matters go too far, now resolved to fulminate a bull condemning the errors of Luther. Mosheim^j doubts the prudence of this measure; but it is difficult to conceive what other could have been adopted, considering the situation of the pope. The real imprudence^k was that Eck, so obnoxious to Luther, should have been intrusted with so large a share in the preparation of the document; and its tendency to widen the breach was quickly discovered.

Forty-one of Luther's propositions were condemned, his writings adjudged to the flames, and he himself was commanded to confess his errors within the space of sixty days, and implore the clemency of the pope, under pain of being excommunicated, and cast off from all connection with the Church.^l The bull was accompanied with various threats against any who should side with Luther or his opinions.

But Eck, exulting with paternal pride in the issuing of this bull, and, like too many of his predecessors, giving undue range to the vanity consequent on a supposed triumph, carried it into Germany, and, acting as vicar-apostolic to his own princes, caused it to be published throughout their dominions, and in some cases carried out. Luther naturally pointed to this fact as an evidence that personal spite and enmity had been at work against him in the concoction of the bull; and that "this condemnation was for him like the poniard of a deadly foe, and not like the axe of a legal executioner."^m Moreover, the bishops, accustomed to receive the

^j Murdoch, notes on Mosheim, p. 108, *ibid.*

^k As even Dr. Waterworth confesses, p. xxviii.

^l See an extract from the bull in D'Aubigné, p. 164; Sarpi, i. p. 11 (of the Latin ed.); and Pallav. i. 20, who in the following chapter canvasses some of Sarpi's objections. Various authors regard this bull as the origin and foundation of the Council of Trent.

^m "Non come dalla scure di legittimo giustiziere, mà dalla spada di appassionato nemico."—Pallav. i. 20.

papal bulls directly, were dissatisfied at this one being published in their dioceses by a man of no eminent rank in the Church.ⁿ

Among other places where the unpopularity of Eck manifested itself, Leipsic was the scene of uproar and confusion. The students stuck up placards, and sang songs about the streets, in which the new nuncio was unsparingly attacked and lampooned. Eck, who had sought security in the college of St. Paul, which had formerly sheltered Tetzels, lost courage; and the arrival of a party of students from Wittemberg, inveighing in the strongest terms against the bull and the papal envoy, filled him with dismay. His rival Miltitz was delighted with the failure and unpopularity of Eck, but did not long enjoy his triumph. He had himself begun to decline in favour with the pontiff, and passing the Rhine at Maintz in a state of inebriety, he fell into the river and perished.

CHAPTER XIII.

Luther burns the Papal Bull.

Eck, not daring to visit Wittemberg, sent the bull to the rector, together with a special breve, exhorting the university, under the severest penalties, to see to the strict execution of the bull in all its parts. They appealed to the elector, then absent; but his answer displayed an evident wavering between his attachment to the old religion and his partiality for the doctrines inculcated by Luther. The reformer, besides appealing from the pope to a general council of the Church, strove to gain over the newly-elected emperor, Charles V., to his side. Although, in arguments, to which Pallavicino has done full justice,^o he set forth the tyranny of the Roman pontiffs over German princes,^p and the glory which would

ⁿ D'Aubigné, p. 171, where he relates many instances of Eck's vain and insolent conduct.

^o i. 22.

^p Speaking of the influence exercised by the popes upon temporal princes, I must not omit, in connection with the Council of Trent, to mention a curious tract bearing the following title:—"Revelatio Consiliorum quæ initio Synodi Tridentinæ, inter Pontificem, Cæsarem, cæterosque reges, principes, et status Pontificios, contra veros et liberos orbis Christiani reges, principes, et ordines sunt inita. Antea quidem Gallicè edita, sed deinde suppressa: nunc vero nativa facta, et iterum magno bonorum omnium usu publicata, atque commen-

accrue from setting up an independent authority both in spiritual and temporal matters, he failed to arouse the vanity or the enthusiasm of the emperor, who, on returning from England, ordered the works of Luther to be burnt in Brabant, Louvain, and other places under his dominion.

Stung to despair by this insult, and informed by Erasmus¹ that the feelings of the emperor and his court were on the side of Rome, Luther determined to meet his opponents with their own weapons, and after their own fashion. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, 1520, a placard was posted on the walls of the university of Wittemberg, inviting the professors and students to be present at nine o'clock in the morning, at the eastern gate, near the holy cross. A large concourse assembled, a pile of faggots was kindled, and into the flames Luther cast copies of the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagantes of the Popes, and the writings of Eck and Ernser. Then, casting the bull of Leo into the same fire, he exclaimed, "As ye have troubled the holy one of the Lord, may everlasting fire trouble you."²

tariis illustrata. Anno M.DC.XX." Among the many arguments brought forward to support this notion (condemned in our XXXth article), I translate the following as a specimen:—"But the greatest, most general, and firmest argument is taken from the oaths of the Profession of Faith, to extirpate heretics, which, according to the Council of Trent, are, at the solemnities of inauguration or consecration, taken by all kings and princes to the pontiff and the Roman see. Nay, except they wish to be stripped of all dignity and majesty, they are bound to keep [their oaths,] and to solemnly renew, and confirm them by an acknowledgment under oath and obeisance to each new pontiff, in such wise that, even after that oath has been made, they are not accounted in the number of emperors, kings, and princes, before that they have afforded all manner of obedience to the Roman see, and have been confirmed solemnly by the said pontiffs. And this argument is so firm and immovable, that the Roman Catholics themselves hold it as a perpetual, immovable, and public law; so that all agreements, promises, acts and deeds private, public, or sworn, that are contrary thereunto, are *ipso jure*, and without any other declaration, of no avail."—P. 11. I shall again have to revert to this pamphlet, when speaking of the bull of Pope Pius IV.

¹ Pallav. i. 22, p. 147.

² Pallavicino says, "Nell' alto dell' incendio usò quasi nuovo profeta (I know not whether this is meant for a sneer or a candid admission) queste parole:—*Perche hai conturbato il Santo del Signore, conturbi te il fuoco eterno.*" The quotations from Luther in Michelet, p. 13, are important. Sarpi is brief and jejune.

This example was imitated in two or three cities of Germany, and even in Leipsic, under the very eyes of Duke George.

D'Aubigné remarks : " If Luther had begun the Reformation in this way, such a measure might, no doubt, have produced disastrous effects : fanaticism might have laid hold on it, and cast the Church upon a course of disorder and violence. But it was by gravely expounding the lessons of Scripture that the reformer had preluded his work. The foundations had been laid with sage discretion ; and now an outbreak like this might not only be made without inconvenience, but might even hasten the moment of the emancipation of Christianity."^s

But Luther displayed some inconsistency in his subsequent expressions of regret for this outbreak, professing that it was not done out of hostility to the pontiff, who, he felt assured, neither approved of the errors contained in the code of the Canon Law, nor of the burning of his own works. But the pope could no longer be blind to the real state of matters.

CHAPTER XIV.

Aleander is despatched as Nuncio. Conduct of Erasmus.

Among the many strangers who had resorted to Cologne to be present at the recent coronation of Charles V., were the pope's two nuncios, Marino Caraccioli and Jerome Aleander.^t The latter of these, a man of great skill and accomplish-

^s P. 175.

^t " This man, who afterwards wore the cardinal's purple, was, as it seems, sprung from a somewhat ancient family, and was not of Jewish extraction, as has been said. The wicked Borgia had called him to Rome to make him secretary to his son, to that Cæsar, before whose daggers all Rome had trembled. ' Like master, like man,' says an historian, who thus compares Aleander to Alexander VI. This judgment appears to us too severe. After Borgia's death, Aleander devoted himself to study with new ardour. His knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic, obtained for him the reputation of being the most learned man of his age. He gave himself up with his whole soul to whatever he took in hand ; the zeal with which he applied to the study of languages yielded in no respect to that with which he subsequently persecuted the Reformation. Leo X. attached him to his service. The Protestant historians speak of his epicurean habits ; the Romanist historians of the morality of his life. It appears he was fond of luxury, show, and amusements. ' Aleander lives at Venice like a low Epicurean and in highest dignity,' was said of him by his old friend

ments, was chosen to undertake the delicate task of bringing the reformation movement to a conclusion. Despite the opposition of Erasmus, whose views in favour of reformation were still tempered by attachment to the religion of his early years, Aleander succeeded, as has been seen,^u in influencing the mind of the emperor sufficiently to procure the burning of Luther's works in various states, and to issue an edict prohibiting those works throughout the whole of his dominions.

Meanwhile Erasmus, whose hatred to the monks seems to have been the leading cause of his tendency towards the views entertained by Luther, was working with equal effect, but in a contrary direction, upon the mind of the elector. All that erudition, wit, and a keen perception of the weak or ridiculous points in an adversary, united with a flow of language and a power of description calculated to place them in the strongest light, was possessed to a wonderful extent by Erasmus. Disposed rather to expose the fallacies of the old system, than to advocate the merits of the new, both his writings and his conduct display the character of a destructive, rather than a constructive, reformer. Such a man was as necessary to the development of a great movement in society, as a Luther or a Melancthon.^v

Erasmus. It is admitted on all hands that he was vehement, prompt in action, full of ardour, indefatigable, imperious, and devoted to the pope. Eck is the impetuous and intrepid chancellor of the schools, Aleander the proud ambassador of the haughty court of the pontiffs. He seemed made to be nuncio."—D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, p. 178. See, also, Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, v. i. p. 243.

^u See the last chapter.

^v The reader may feel surprised that so little notice has been taken of Melancthon; but his biography shall receive as much justice as I have power to give to it, in my edition of the *Confession of Augsburg*. The following remarks on Erasmus are pertinent and just:—"Erasmus was at the period of the Reformation the head of the intermediate party—at least he thought himself so, but incorrectly, for when truth and error stand face to face, justice is not midway between them. He was the prince of that philosophical and academic party that for centuries had pretended to correct Rome, without ever having been able to succeed in the attempt; he was the representative of human wisdom; but that wisdom was too weak to bring down the towering greatness of popery; it needed that divine wisdom which men often call folly, but at the voice of which mountains fall. Erasmus would neither cast himself into Luther's arms, nor sit down at the pope's feet. He hesitated and often

To the elector, accordingly, Erasmus,^w when called upon for his opinion, addressed a courtly, and at the same time a powerful remonstrance. Without losing the opportunity of venting sarcasms against the monks, he gave sufficiently serious reasons for declining the system of persecution advocated, or rather, enjoined, by the imperious Aleander. The weight attached to his known discrimination, and unparalleled learning, was sufficient to satisfy the already favourable disposition of the elector, and to counteract the threats and violence of Aleander. In fact, a consideration of the immoderate conduct of the latter emissary but furnishes additional conviction of the mistaken policy pursued by the court of Rome in the choice of her mediators. What a Miltitz might have done for their cause, was thoroughly overthrown by the indiscreet presumption of men like Caietan, Eck, or Aleander.

CHAPTER XV.

Opposition to, and Progress of the Reformation.

Although the principles of Luther seemed rapidly gaining ground among the influential classes of Germany, the confessional became a dangerous means of operating upon the fears of humble persons. The pope's bull was naturally regarded by those clergy who adhered to the old cause as a standard, by which to regulate their own conduct, and the consciences of others. Accordingly, in the confession of penitents, the question "whether they have read or possessed Luther's writings, and, if so, what views they entertain respecting the same," became a favourite, but unfair test in the hands of the clergy. If this step had the effect of terrifying the doubts of many of the timid, and awing them into conformity, it was also pre-eminently calculated to drive away all those whose doubts were founded upon careful and conscientious investigation, and to stir up irreconcilable

oscillated between those two powers, sometimes attracted towards Luther, then suddenly repulsed towards the pope."—D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, p. 180.

^w See D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, p. 180. The great value of this historian consists in his constant reference to his authorities, which are of all parties, and therefore give him a strong claim to be considered impartial.

hostility on the part of those who set any value upon the right of private judgment.

Luther, besides labouring to strengthen the hearts of those who seemed disposed to quail beneath this painful and mind-searching test, was equally diligent in the aggressive. His attacks on the papal power redoubled their bitterness, the enthusiasm of the students of Wittemberg knew no bounds, and devices, often little creditable to Christianity under any denomination, were unsparingly employed to bring the pontiff and his supporters into ridicule. It was the failing of Luther, that he too readily fell in with a taste for lampoon and banter, which, however attributable to the defective state of social manners at the time, was prone to degrade the truth it sought to elevate. Well has D'Aubigné observed :—"Faith is too beautiful, that we should lower her to the mire. She ought to combat without the aid of songs, caricatures, and carnival scenes. Perhaps without these popular scenes her successes will be less apparent ; but they will be purer, and consequently more durable."^x

The progress of the work of the reform might well be estimated from the supine indifference manifested by many, who were most interested in the preservation of the old system. "Even those who hold from the pope the best benefices and the richest canonries," as Eck himself confessed, "remained mute as fishes ; many of them even extolled Luther as a man filled with the Spirit of God, and called the defenders of the pope sophists and flatterers."^y

CHAPTER XVI.

Luther summoned to the Diet of Worms.

The influence of the elector had prevented the diet, already assembled at Worms,^z from proceeding to pronounce

^x P. 183.

^y Apud D'Aubigné, *ibid.* Aleander was not idle in the mean time, having procured another bull to be published on the 3rd Jan. 1521, not only condemning Luther's writings but proclaiming himself a heretic without any limitations whatsoever. See Pallav. i. 25, who pursues the subject at great length.

^z Convened at the request of the elector, who "employed his credit with Charles to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic

a final sentence against Luther ; while Frederick, unwilling to disoblige either party, had promised a safe-conduct for Luther, with the view of procuring his appearance at Worms. The violence of Aleander, who argued bitterly against the idea of Luther being suffered to present himself before the assembly, fell without effect upon the cool impartiality or indifference of his hearers. In vain did he urge the revival by Luther of the past heresies of Wickliffe and Huss ; in vain did he, in strong and eloquent terms, dwell upon the oft-broken promises of Luther to return to the faith of the Church ; all his appliances of energy and eloquence, aided by gold from the papal treasury, and the most attractive promises, were spent in vain. Pallavicino candidly confesses that his efforts to sway the wavering minds of the assembly proved fruitless.

Charles was determined to give Luther a fair hearing, ostensibly upon the representation of the elector, that the works attributed to Luther, and condemned in the papal bull, could not be from his pen. Luther accordingly set out, protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and with a mind made up to brave the worst consequences that might result from the rancour of his opponents.^a Accompanied by

Church and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, that Charles was under much greater obligations to Frederick than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as Francis I., king of France. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that Luther should be called before the council that was to be assembled at Worms in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may, perhaps, appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the Church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet ; but it must be considered that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for Germany, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged."—Mosheim, p. 15, *l. c.*

^a Some touching passages, illustrative of Luther's feelings and of the apprehensions of his friends, will be found in D'Aubigné, ch. iv. to vi. Waterworth simply says :—"Luther seems to have been delighted at the opportunity of professing his faith, or of obtaining further notoriety!"

an efficient guard, and by a few chosen friends, whose enthusiasm made them fitting companions of his journey, he set out, and having, on his way, preached at Weimar in defence of his doctrines respecting justification by faith, he reached Worms on the 16th of April.

A cavalcade of nobles and gentlemen rode out to give him escort into the city, and the streets were filled with people, some attracted by regard, all by curiosity.^b On alighting from his chariot, he exclaimed, "God will stand up for me." If, as there is unhappily reason to believe, some remnants of vanity yet lurked in the mind of Martin, the reception he experienced at Worms would not have been favourable towards repressing it. Crowds surrounded his hotel, and the visits of the great scarcely allowed him time to repose from the fatigues of his journey. Various were their opinions; some thought him divinely inspired, others believed him possessed by a devil.^c

CHAPTER XVII.

He appears before the Diet.

On the following day, 17th of April, 1521, Luther confronted his opponents. "Never had man stood before so august an assembly. The emperor Charles, whose kingdom extended over the old and the new worlds; his brother, the archduke Ferdinand; six electors of the empire, whose descendants now almost all wear kingly crowns; eighty dukes, most of them reigning over countries of greater or less extent, and amongst whom were some whose names were destined by-and-by to become formidable to the Reformation; the duke of Alva and his two sons; eighty margraves, thirty archbishops, bishops, or prelates, seven ambassadors, among them those of the kings of France and England; the deputies of ten free cities, a great number of princes, and sovereign counts, and barons; lastly, the pope's nuncios, in all, two

^b Pallav. i. 26, p. 173: "Alcuni per affezione, tutti per curiosità." Throughout this portion of Luther's history Father Paul is remarkably meagre in his account; Pallavicino diffuse and animated.

^c Pallav. p. 174.

hundred and four personages, constituted the imposing court before which Martin Luther appeared." ^d

John von Eck,^e a friend of Aleander's, and chancellor to the archbishop of Triers, put two questions to Luther, first in Latin, and then in German, "whether the books produced, copies of which had been procured by the diligence of Aleander,^f were his; and whether he still maintained the opinions professed therein?" To the first question, after the titles had been read,^g he promptly answered in the affirmative; to the second, however, he demurred, alleging that it was a difficult matter, and one in which the word of God and the salvation of souls were concerned, and required time to deliberate. This request surprised and annoyed many of those present, who expected a more decisive answer to so important a question; he was, however, permitted to delay his reply until the following day.

In defending the tenets advocated in his books, he observed that they were not all of one kind; that one class of them embraced the doctrine of faith and piety, while another class rebuked the dogmas of the pontiffs, a third being directed against the defenders of the opposite doctrine. That if he were to retract the books of the first kind, he would not be acting like a Christian, or even as an upright man, seeing that, although the bull of Leo had condemned them all, it had not judged them all impious. As to the books of the second class, it was but too well known, that all the provinces of the Christian world, but Germany in particular, were miserably harassed and pillaged, and groaned under the yoke of servitude: to abjure these, then, would be the same as rooting that tyranny more deeply. Touching the third class, he confessed that he had been more bitter and vehement than was fitting, but that he had not set up a profession of holiness, nor had undertaken to defend his life and morals, but his doctrine only, of which he should be willing to render an account. He added that he was, of all men, least disposed to be obstinate, and that if any one

^d D'Aubigné, p. 203.

^e Not the theologian of that name.

^f Pallav. *ibid.*

^g At the instance of his counsel, Jerome Schurff.—D'Aub. p. 204.

could confute and convince him by the testimony of Scripture, he would be the first to cast his own writings into the flames.^h

On being asked whether, if his opinions were shown to have been condemned by the councils of the Church, and especially by the Council of Constance, he would revoke them, he answered in the negative. "Since your most serene majesty," replied he, "and your high mightinesses, demand a simple, clear, and explicit answer of me, I will give it :ⁱ I cannot submit my faith either to pope or councils, since it is as clear as the day that they have often fallen into error, and even into great contradictions with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by testimonies from Scripture, or by evident reasons, if I am not persuaded by the very passages I have cited, and if my conscience be not then made captive by the word of God, I can and will retract nothing ; for it is not safe for the Christian to speak against his conscience." He then added the brief, but emphatic ejaculation : " Here I stand : I can no otherwise ; God help me ! Amen." Upon this, the assembly broke up.^k

CHAPTER XVIII.

Luther is dismissed from Worms. His Seizure and Captivity.

It is a painful thing to find that religious bigotry can influence men's minds in cases where common honesty is the only rule of conduct. Thus it was with Luther's enemies. It had been fully determined that Luther should be commanded to leave the imperial dominions within the space of twenty days, provided, however, according to promise, with

^h For this synopsis I am indebted to Sarpi, p. 11 (Latin ed.). The oration is given rather fully in D'Aubigné, p. 205, sq. This latter writer, however, seems to exaggerate the dangers of Luther's position, although in the main agreeing with the similar ideas of Schlegel (apud Mosheim, p. 112, sq. v. iii. ed. Soames), relative to the journey to Worms. Luther had good reason to rely on the protection of the elector, besides perceiving that the popularity of his most violent enemies was but doubtful.

ⁱ The Latin is very quaint : " Dabo illud neque dentatum, neque cornutum."—Apud D'Aub. p. 206.

^k Compare Michelet, p. 17, whose matter is, however, almost common with that of D'Aubigné.

a safe-conduct, on condition of his offering no acts of aggression to the doctrines and practices of the Romish church, while on his journey. But the elector of Brandenburg, and several ecclesiastical princes, quoted the doctrine of the Council of Constance, which made it lawful to break faith with a heretic.¹ Whatever may have been the feelings of the young emperor^m on the subject, the honest indignation of the German princes, even of George, duke of Saxony, warmly resented the idea of such treachery; public feeling was aroused, and Luther quitted Worms, it might almost be said, in triumph.

On reaching Friedberg, he dismissed the officer of the emperor, by whom he had been accompanied, placing in his hands the safe-conduct; in order that no direct violence might seem to be offered to the imperial authority in the seizure of his person which had been planned by the elector.ⁿ This took place on the third of May, when he had set out for Wittemberg, accompanied only by a few attendants. His carriage was attacked with some show of violence, his attendants dispersed, and himself placed on a led horse, and carried away to the fortress of Wartzburg, belonging to the elector of Saxony; it having been arranged that Frederick should not be informed into which of his castles Luther had been conveyed, in order that he might be able to deny all knowledge of the place of his concealment.^o

¹ Sleidan apud Courayer, t. i. p. 33. The French author has well refuted Pallavicino's attempts to invalidate the statement of Father Paul.

^m See a curious passage from Sandoval, in D'Aubigné, p. 208.

ⁿ Mosheim, c. xvii. Michelet, p. 18. Pallav. i. 18. The account given by D'Aubigné, p. 215, sq. is rhetorical and unsatisfactory. Nor can I agree with Michelet, in supposing that Luther "did not clearly know to whom he was to attribute the mild and honourable captivity in which he was detained." It is difficult to understand how he could have remained in ignorance, even supposing the whole matter was not preconcerted.

^o Pallav. *l. c.* p. 180.

CHAPTER XIX.

Luther is placed under the Imperial Ban.

Meantime, Aleander had not been idle, and having obtained the signature of Charles, he published the following decree against Luther and his party :^p—

“ We, Charles the Fifth, to all electors, princes, prelates, and others whom it may concern.

“ The Almighty having confided to us, for the defence of his holy faith, more kingdoms, and more power than have ever been given to any of our predecessors, we are resolved to exert all our powers to hinder any heresy from polluting our holy empire.

“ The Augustinian monk Martin Luther, though exhorted by us, has flung himself like a frantic man upon the holy Church, and sought to stifle it by books full of blasphemies : he has sullied in a shameful manner the indestructible law of holy marriage ; he has laboured to excite laymen to lave their hands in the blood of priests, and casting off all obedience, he has not ceased to excite to revolt, dissension, war, murder, rapine, and fire, and to toil for the complete ruin of the faith of Christians. . . . In a word, not to mention so many other wickednesses, this creature, who is not a man, but Satan himself under the form of a man, and covered with the cowl of a monk, has gathered into one fetid slough all the most guilty heresies of past times, and has, moreover, added to them new ones of his own.

“ We have therefore dismissed from before our face this Luther, whom all pious and right-thinking men regard as a madman, or as one possessed by the devil ; and it is our intention, that, after the expiration of his safe-conduct, instant and efficacious measures be taken to check his raging frenzy.

“ Therefore, under pain of incurring the punishment due to crimes of lese-majesty, we forbid you to harbour the said Luther from the time the fatal term shall have expired, to

^p I follow the version given in D'Aubigné, p. 214. Maclaine, in his edition of Mosheim, part ii. cent. xvi. § xviii. *note*, has some temperate and just remarks on the impolitic and unsatisfactory conduct of Charles in promulgating this decree.

succour him, to give him food and drink, and by word or deed publicly or privately to lend him any manner of aid. We enjoin you, moreover, to seize him, or to cause him to be seized, wherever you shall see him, and to bring him before us without delay, or to keep him in all safety, till you shall have learned from us how you are to act with regard to him, and have received the retributions due to your pains in so holy a work.

“As for his adherents, you shall seize them, put them down, and confiscate their goods.

“As for his writings, if the very best nutriment becomes a bane to all men from the moment a drop of poison is mixed with it, how much more should such books, in which is found a mortal poison for the soul, be not only rejected, but even annihilated. You shall burn them, therefore, or wholly destroy them in some other manner.

“As for authors, poets, printers, painters, sellers or purchasers of placards, writings or paintings against the pope or the Church, you shall seize their goods and persons, and deal with them according to your good pleasure.

“And if any one, whatever be his dignity, should dare to act in contravention to the decree of our imperial majesty, we command that he be placed under the ban of the empire.

“Let every one comport himself in conformity herewith.”

CHAPTER XX.¹

Death of Leo, who is succeeded by Adrian VI.

But this ban was rendered ineffectual by the departure of Charles to Spain, and the delegating of his authority to the elector of Saxony and other parties favourable to Luther. Leo X. died soon after, and was succeeded, on Jan. 9th, 1522, by Adrian VI., a pontiff whose character and accomplishments gave great hopes to the supporters of the old system of religion. Simple and unpretending in his habits, he sought to reform the extravagances and luxury of the Romish court, and especially to set aright the maladministration of

¹ It is not my intention to enter into the particulars of Luther's confinement, as they in no way bear upon the present subject. D'Aubigné and Michelet will furnish enough to satisfy the reader.

indulgences.^{*} Hoping that his influence might be rendered greater from his being a native of Utrecht, he sent Cherigato as his nuncio to the emperor of Germany, who had been his pupil, instructing him to spare no means of bringing back the dissenting party to the Church of Rome, and complaining that the ban, under which Luther was placed, was rendered of no avail by the interference of his friends, and that not only among the common people, but among the nobles likewise, who were, moreover, seizing upon the goods of the Church in all directions, as though these were the chief incentive to their apostasy. He at the same time allowed that the troubled state of the times was a just punishment from God for the sins of the clergy and people, and professed his willingness to remedy abuses, the existence of which it was no longer of any use to deny.

These instructions were communicated to the diet assembled at Nuremberg, together with some severe complaints against many of the priests throughout Germany, who had led secular lives, and even married, contrary to the law of the Church. But although the conscientiousness of Adrian's confession might have aroused some hopes of having justice done, and matters of religion placed on a more moderate and equitable footing—the princes of Germany had been too vividly enlightened as to the incompatibility of Reform and Romanism, to rest satisfied with general promises. Accordingly, while congratulating the new pope on his succession in terms at once friendly, courteous, and submissive, they at the same time declare their unwillingness to interfere harshly with Luther, suggesting a general council as the best means of settling all religious disturbances, and naming several towns as places well calculated for the assembling thereof. At the same time they mentioned numerous abuses, especially in the exactions made by the Church, and the misappropriation of her funds. The nuncio found himself at a loss, and withdrew.[†]

Soon after the nuncio had departed, a piece was published

^{*} In which, however, he seems to have betrayed no small indecision and uncertainty. See Sarpi, p. 16, sqq. Pallavicino, ii. 5, 6, has devoted considerable space to impugning Father Paul's notions on the subject of indulgences.

[†] See Sarpi, p. 21-23.

by the secular leaders of the diet, entitled *The Centum Gravamina*, in which the various injuries inflicted upon the German nation by the papal power were earnestly and bitterly set forth. The leading subjects of complaint were the immense sums they were continually compelled to expend under the form of dispensations, absolutions, and indulgences; the processes summoned from Germany to Rome; the reservations *in commendam* and of *annates*; the exemption of ecclesiastical offenders from the courts of justice; the excommunications and unjust interdicts; the causes of the laity brought into the ecclesiastical court under various pretexts; the immense sums spent on the consecrations of churches and cemeteries, and the expense attendant on the receiving of the sacraments, and the burial of the dead.^t

Whether this sincere and upright pontiff (whose honesty was but ill appreciated by the Roman Catholics) would have effected a union of the dismembered body of the Church, we cannot tell; but all hopes on the subject were destroyed by his death, which took place on the 14th September, 1523, after he had occupied the pontifical throne little more than a year.^u

CHAPTER XXI.

Clement VII. succeeds to the Papal Throne.

Julio de' Medici, cousin of Leo X., who had retained considerable influence during the reign of the two last popes,

^t Sarpi, p. 23. Pallavicino is bitter against Adrian for his candour in confessing the errors of which the clergy had been guilty, and which had brought on the work of reformation at the hands of Luther. Dr. Waterworth, who seems to have little admiration for candour, echoes his original (p. 37). Courayer, with better feeling and judgment, observes: "Le Cardinal Pallavicino, qui connoissoit mieux les maximes d'une politique mondaine que celles de l'évangile, trouve qu'Adrien se conduisit en cela avec beaucoup plus de zèle que de prudence. . . . Ceux qui connoissent mieux les devoirs d'un Evêque que les artifices d'une politique mondaine, ne sauroient qu'admirer la droiture d'Adrien, dont la Cour de Rome n'étoit pas digne."—T. i. p. 54. See also Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, v. i. p. 324.

^u There is some reason to suspect that his death took place under circumstances of foul play. "So gratifying to the Romish populace was his decease, that the night after it took place, the front door of his principal physician was decorated with a wreath of flowers, surmounted with the inscription, *for the deliverer of his country*."—Schlegel apud Mosh. p. 115, ed. Soames.

now became pontiff, under the name of Clement VII. Deep and varied erudition, tact and penetration seldom wanting, and matured experience, were qualifications from which the happiest results might have been expected. But he had entered upon his office at an unfavourable season, as will hereafter be made apparent.

Clement seems to have been little favourable to the convocation of a council, foreseeing that the discontented party would not be likely to yield to its dictates, especially after the open renunciation of all authority but that of Scripture, on the part of Luther. Perceiving, however, that *The Centum Gravamina*, which were now published,^v contained many demands for reform in matters not directly affecting the Roman court, he thought that if the Germans could be satisfied on some points more immediately concerning themselves, they would be less likely to meddle with matters appertaining to Rome. By this reformation, therefore, of the German Church, he hoped to evade the calling of a council,^w fearing that "the attempt to heal one disorder might only create a greater."^x

Campeggio, a prelate of undoubted prudence and reputation, was despatched by him to Nuremberg, where he urged the assembled princes, both on religious and political grounds, not to desert the religion of their ancestors, and declared the pope's intention of reforming the abuses of the German Church.

But although many reformations were made among the weak and uninfluential members of the Church, the greater offenders and monopolists remained secure; and the Germans were too wise not to perceive that what had been already done had been the result of a desire to flatter them into tranquillity, not to promote the real work of religious reform. Moreover, despite the complaints of Campeggio, the evident disinclination of the pontiff to a general council made the princes of Germany more urgent in insisting thereon.

Although, at a small assembly^y held at Ratisbon, the

^v They will be found in Le Plat's *Collectio Monumentorum ad Concil. Trid.* v. ii. p. 164, sqq.

^w Sarpi, p. 24.

^x Waterworth, p. 38.

^y Sarpi, p. 26. There were present the Archduke Ferdinand, the dukes of Bavaria, the archbishop of Saltzburg, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, and the legates of nine other bishops.

legate had procured a confirmation of the edict passed by the Diet of Worms in condemnation of Luther; still this only excited indignation on the part of the absent majority; who argued that "in that attempt at reformation, things of the greatest moment had been neglected, while all their thoughts had been directed to the correction of matters most unimportant; that the German people certainly suffered much from the lowest class of the clergy; much more from bishops and prelates holding what was not their due; but most of all from the oppressions of the court of Rome; and that of these matters, as to any correction of them either according to the example of the primitive Church, or on a still better principle, not even the slightest mention had been made."^a

Charles V. was incensed at the slight offered to his dignity by the Nuremberg assembly, in decreeing matters of such importance without his knowledge, and expressed particular annoyance at their having insisted on the convocation of a council, alleging that the matter belonged rather to himself and the pontiff to consider, than to them. Adhering to the pontiff, he endeavoured to enforce the observance of the decree passed at Worms. But various circumstances^b tended first to shake his fidelity, and subsequently to arouse his enmity against Clement. At length, so completely was all good-will between the pope and the emperor forgotten, that the latter abandoned his design of insisting on the observance of the edict of Worms, and sacrificed old associations to secure credit with the Lutherans, in order to make head against the strong combination^c arising in the opposite direc-

^a Sarpi, p. 27. Courayer, p. 68, sq. has some judicious observations, calculated to silence the trifling excuses which Pallavicino has attempted to put forth in defence of the "do-nothing" style of reformation which the legate had attempted.

^b My limits only permit me to refer to Sarpi, p. 71-80, ed. Courayer; Pallav. ii. 13; Ranke, c. iii. p. 28, sqq.; and the original correspondence, &c. published in Le Plat's second volume.

^c "Implicitum tamen tenuit fœdus a multis principibus contra eum initum, et de rege captivo Galliarum [*i. e.* Francis the First] liberando capta consilia. Pontifex etiam, quod Italiam indefensam, ministrorum Caesaris imperio arbitrioque permissam conspicabatur, Caesaremque adeo præpotentem, ut pontificatum haberet sibi obnoxium, cogitare cœpit de consociandis sibi regibus ac principibus, qui ab imperatoris, si quando alienior esset, injuriis ipsum protegerent."—Sarpi, p. 28. Compare Mosheim, § xxiii. sq. p. 123, sq. v. iii. ed. Soames.

tion. Accordingly, in the Diet of Spires, opened in June, 1526, he contented himself with requiring that matters should be left in their present state, until he should be able to treat personally with the pontiff respecting the holding of a general council.^d

CHAPTER XXII.

Increased Ill-feeling between Clement and Charles.

Each party was now arranging itself against the other ; distrust had begotten an enmity that ill promised to admit of a satisfactory adjustment ; and Clement, dreading the probable usurpation of power in Italy at the hands of the emperor, entered into a treaty with the king of France, now liberated from captivity, and with the Venetians. He also complained in bitter terms of the ingratitude and coldness which the emperor had latterly displayed towards him, and a correspondence between them, which fully shows the political power to which the principles of reform had attained, was published in various parts of Germany, Spain, and Italy.^e

But the great blow was struck by the noble family of Colonna^f (whose hatred to the pope arose chiefly from his illegitimacy, and from doubts as to the means by which he had attained to the pontifical see), who laid siege to Rome, and pillaged the decorations of the Vatican and the church of St. Peter with reckless cupidity. A truce was agreed upon, but the pope having excommunicated and cursed the Colonna family, the Neapolitan regent was urged by them to send his troops against Rome to avenge this breach of treaty. Charles of Bourbon, moreover, at the instigation of George Frundsberg, an old Lutheran general,^g led the portion of the imperial troops then under his command, on a plundering excursion, and having passed the Po,

^d Sarpi, p. 28.

^e Id. p. 32.

^f See Sarpi, p. 29-32. "Cardinalis enim [*i. e.* Pompeius Colonna], homo audax et fastuosus, pontificem ambitus palam incusabat, quasi viis parum licitis ad eum dignitatis gradum ascendisset ; et familiam Colomnensem hoc in prinis nomine magni faciebat, quod fatali in illegitimos, et in eam sedem malis artibus intrudentes pontifices odio, tyrannidem eorum virtute sua compressissent."

^g Frundsberg had died of apoplexy, on failing to meet with the usual obedience, while attempting to quell a disturbance among his troops.

marched on to Rome. Despite a truce which was made, on conditions little befitting the pontifical dignity,^h the Bourbon, on the 6th of May, 1527, laid siege to Rome, stormed the castle of St. Angelo, and shut up Clement as a prisoner. "Thus did the pope, who had sought the liberation of Italy, see himself beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, and as it were a prisoner. It may be asserted, that by this great blow, the preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established."ⁱ Of equal importance, as attesting the gradual falling off of the papal power, was the simultaneous revolt at Florence, the pope's native city, by which the Medici were expelled from power by their enemies.

CHAPTER XXIII.

They again coalesce.

Under these circumstances, the pope, oppressed by a complication of misfortunes, many of which were the accumulated result of his predecessors' mistaken policy, was compelled to have recourse to the aid of the very parties, who had thus outraged his dignity. The emperor professed great regret at what had taken place, but few could have believed him sincere: It was, however, in vain for the pope to resist the adverse current of events; and even the proffered aid of the adherents, whose support had deprived him of the emperor's friendship, failed to re-assure him. "With amazement," says Ranke, "men beheld him again connecting himself with the Spaniards, after enduring such deep indignities at their hands. His motive was, that he saw in Spanish aid the only means of

^h On condition of a cessation of arms for the space of eight months, the Colonna family were to be freed from the ban of excommunication, Pompeo Colonna to be restored to the senatorial rank from which he had been degraded, while a large sum of money was to be paid by the pontiff. —Sarpi, p. 34.

ⁱ Ranke, p. 31. I may here take an opportunity of mentioning that Henry VIII. of England assisted the pope considerably during his besieged state; but that the matters connected with his divorce from Catherine broke the friendship thus established, and were followed by a gradual but definite abjuration of the papal power by that monarch. It is foreign to my purpose to enter into the particulars of that oft-told and well-known history; but for a calm and dispassionate examination of the conduct of Henry, and the motives by which he was probably actuated, I cannot do better than refer my readers to Blunt's "Reformation in England," ch. vii. p. 111, sqq.

reinstating his kindred and party in Florence. It seemed to him better to endure the domination of the emperor than the refractory conduct of the rebels. The worse the fortune of the French, the nearer did he draw to the Spaniards. When at last the former were completely defeated, he concluded with the latter the treaty of Barcelona. So wholly did he change his policy, that he now himself made use of the same army that had taken Rome before his eyes, and kept himself so long besieged, that he made use of this, only recruited and improved, to subjugate his native city.”^k

CHAPTER XXIV.

Second Diet of Spires.

In March, 1529, another diet was convened at Spires, in which Giovanni Mirandolo, the pope's deputy, besides urging the arrangement of measures to oppose the inroads of the Turks, and a reconciliation between the emperor and the king

^k Ranke, p. 31. The result of these disagreements, in their influence in advancing the cause of the reformed religion, is well stated by Mosheim: “Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiffs, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke, nor did they molest the private assemblies of such as had separated themselves from the Church of Rome. And, in general, all the Germans, who, before these resolutions of the Diet of Spires, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing these schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, Luther and his fellow-labourers—particularly those who were with him at Wittemberg—by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the flagging and irresistant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of the undertaking.”—§ xxv. p. 20, ed. Maclaïne. See, also, on the visitations instituted during this period, an important note in Soame's edition, v. iii. p. 125.

of France, exhorted them, above all, to compose the religious dissensions with which the Christian world was harassed. Although the Anabaptist sects were not represented at this meeting, the rival parties of Zwingle and Luther were more mindful of their interests, and the popish power had reason to derive some hopes from their differences respecting the Lord's Supper. The landgrave of Hesse made a vain attempt to persuade both these parties that their differences were less important than they seemed ; and the emperor, represented by his brother Ferdinand, was desirous to return back to his former policy, and enforce the almost obsolete edict of Worms. He complained that the late edict of Spire had been taken advantage of as a pretext for introducing innovations of the most absurd, discordant, and dangerous character, and claimed for himself, by virtue of his absolute power, the right to abrogate that edict.

But the elector of Saxony and his party were equally anxious for its continuance ; and Charles, whose previous inconsistency must have shaken the undoubted influence which his position would otherwise have secured for him, was compelled to compromise the matter. A commission having been instituted, it was resolved, upon their representation, that where the edict of Worms had been received, it should continue in force till a general council should be held ; where the ancient religion had kept its ground, it was not to be disturbed ; and where the new one possessed such influence as to render it dangerous to interfere with it, it should be left unmolested until the said council should be assembled. Furthermore, the sacrifice of the mass was to be retained, even where the opposite party prevailed ; the Anabaptists were to be punished with the utmost severity ; and the Scriptures were to be interpreted in accordance with the expositions handed down by the fathers, and ratified by the approval of the Church.

This qualified concession was, however, ill calculated to satisfy those whom it was intended to keep quiet. They urged that it was unjust to depart from the decree of the previous diet, by which each man was permitted the free use of his own religion until the council should be held, especially as what had been done with the common consent of all, ought not to be rescinded without a like universality of agreement.

They also complained of the fruitlessness of the attempts at reform which had been ostensibly made, and again repeated their belief, that a council was the only expeditious way of removing controversies. As to the restoration of the mass in its complete state, that was but the revival of an old abuse ; while the question of the interpreting of Scripture involved another, as to what was the true Church. They therefore declined giving assent to sanctioning so obscure a document, as being likely to open a way for fresh tumults and discussions, but professed their willingness to render an account of their reasons for dissenting.¹

On the 12th of April, twenty-one of the free cities expressed their assent to the proposed resolutions, but fourteen resolutely held out. On the 18th, it was resolved that the dissentient party should not be allowed another hearing, and on the 19th, they were called upon to give in an unconditional assent. Hereupon, six princes, and the deputies of fourteen cities^m of the empire, protested against the decision of this diet ; and, upon their opposition being disregarded, they, on the following day, presented a written protest, declaring that the resolutions of the diet were opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and appealed to a future council. This protest was the origin of the word Protestant.ⁿ Accord-

¹ Sarpi, p. 37.

^m The princes and states which joined in this protest were the elector John of Saxony, the margrave George of Brandenburg, Ansbach and Culmbach, the dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt ; and fourteen imperial cities, viz. Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Reuttingen, Winelsheim, Menneingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Lang, Weissenberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall. They appealed to the emperor, to a future, general, or free council of the German nation, and, lastly, to every impartial judge ; for they believed that a majority of votes in a diet could decide a secular question, but not a spiritual or religious question. They appealed to the emperor, not as recognising him as their judge in a matter of religion, but merely that he might allow their appeal to a council to be valid. And they subjoined the appeal to a council, because, according to the ecclesiastical law of Germany, religious controversies are not to be decided by decrees of a diet, but by a national council. We may also here remark, that this was not the first protest, but that in the year 1523, at the Diet of Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony, and the evangelical dukes, and imperial cities, protested against the decree of the diet.—Mosheim, ed. Soames, p. 126, *note*.

ⁿ “A name which, according to the principles of the Fathers and the

ing to Waterworth, the edict to which this protest referred, finally passed the diet on the 23rd of April, but was not published till May 6th.

CHAPTER XXV.

Controversy between Luther and Zwingli.

But firm and manly as was the opposition maintained by those who had seceded from the Church of Rome, they were deficient in that unity which alone could consolidate their resources, and give a healthful and convincing colour to their proceedings. After Luther's return to Wittemberg,^o Carlstadt, Zwingli, the Zwickau prophets, Manzer, and the Anabaptist party, had given way to a taste for violent and personal controversy, grossly at variance with the spirit of tolerance which had been the avowed motive for their secession, and sadly tending to shake the cause of reform in the eyes of the world at large.

But the fiercest struggle was between Luther and Zwingli, respecting the nature of our Lord's presence in the Eucharist. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, appointed a conference between these celebrated reformers at Maspurg, with the hope of reconciling them with each other. Both parties, after some hesitation and difficulties, met, Oct. 1st, and an animated dispute ensued, which lasted four days, Luther being for the most part pitted against Œcolampadius, and Zwingli against Melancthon. When, however, the two chiefs of the controversy met personally, their language sadly lost temper. The searching irony of Zwingli, and the incontinent bitterness of Luther, gave little hopes of reconciliation. Nor was the conduct of Luther defensible on the score of consistency with his previous opinions. If he did not advocate transubstantiation in its full extent, he was not far off from doing so, while Zwingli seemed to form too low an estimate of the

Church, especially of those who settled the Arian and similar controversies, is of itself decisive of the heretical or schismatical character of the sects which bear it!"—Waterworth, p. 93.

"Dall' accennata protesta fattasi nel Convento di Spira derivò in Germania il celebre nome di *Protestanti*, che con vocabolo meno invidioso vuol dire in effetto : *Ribelli al Papa ed a Cesare*."—Pallav. ii. 18.

^o After three years' confinement, spent in writing and commenting on the Scriptures.—Cf. Blunt, Reformation, p. 101.

sacramental import of the Eucharist. Both parties claimed the victory, which perhaps rather belongs to Zwingle than Luther ; but, although anything like an agreement on this subject was vainly sought for, and the repulsive conduct of Luther displayed little charity or forbearance towards those who had dissented from his opinions, the landgrave succeeded in procuring a declaration of uniformity touching other material points of faith, and an avowal of political friendship—an unity which the intemperate zeal of Luther had threatened to sever.^p

CHAPTER XXVI.

Confession of Augsburg.

Meanwhile the emperor went to Bologna to receive his coronation from the hands of the pontiff, who was unwilling that the ceremony should be celebrated at Rome, in the presence of those who had so audaciously pillaged the papal capital.^q They spent four months together, dwelling in the same palace, and the pope spared no pains to confirm the emperor in his adherence to the edict of Worms, and in discouraging him from the project of convoking a general council. But Charles, although bigoted to his old views, foresaw too clearly the dangers arising from the Protestant leagues which were forming, and was, moreover, persuaded of the legal impossibility of condemning, and making war upon inoffensive citizens, without first granting them a hearing. Even the pope was at length so far convinced of the progress of public opinion, that he yielded a consent to the convoking of a council, but only on condition that it should be deemed necessary for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy.^r

A general diet had been summoned at Augsburg, almost all

^p See Sarpi, p. 38 ; Pallav. iii. 1 ; D'Aubigné, pt. iv. ch. vii. The celebrated Bucer was also largely interested in this controversy. Some important passages from Luther's works, in which he unsparingly condemns the rationalistic class of theologians, who were fast acquiring influence, will be found in Michelet, p. 41, ch. iv.

^q So Sarpi. But both Guicciardini and Sleidan give more probable reasons, viz. the convenience of the emperor while on his journey, and the desire to avoid expense. See Courayer, v. i. p. 94.

^r See the authorities quoted by Courayer, p. 95, note 87.

the princes being more prompt in their attendance than the emperor, who, however, arrived on the 15th June, 1530. The Protestant princes declined appearing at mass; and the legate, vexed at this insult offered to the pontiff, persuaded Charles to call upon the elector of Saxony, in virtue of his office, to act as swordbearer before him when he went to mass eight days after, at which time the beginning of the convention was fixed. The elector was placed in a delicate position: either he must act inconsistently with the faith he had taken, or he must forfeit his family dignity. In this difficulty, he appealed to his professor of theology, who asserted that he might be present as officiating at a civil, not a religious ceremony, justifying this distinction by the example of Elijah.^s

Some cutting remarks from Vicentio Pimpinelli, the nuncio, chiefly intended to incite the Germans to give up religious differences, and make common cause against the Turks, were delivered on occasion of this mass.

Hitherto, as Mosheim remarks, "there was not extant any tangible exposition of the religion professed by Luther and his friends, from which might be learned clearly what were their views on doctrinal subjects, and what the grounds of their opposition to the Roman pontiffs;"^t and as the approaching investigation, under circumstances so imposing, and involving responsibilities so serious, rendered such a document absolutely necessary, John, the elector of Saxony, directed Luther, Jonas, Melancthon, and Pomeranus, to draw up a set of articles of faith in time for the approaching diet. On the basis of the seventeen articles agreed upon at Swabach, in the year 1529, which had been approved by the elector at Torgau,^u Melancthon, with considerable toil and anxiety, harmonized the opinions of his friends into a brief digest, and on the 11th May it was completed, and received the approbation of Luther. Many changes, however, were subsequently made by the councillors and theologians of the

^s 2 Kings v. 29. Pallavicino has gone out of the way to abuse Sarpi, as if the historian were answerable for the doctrines or views of the people about whom he writes. See Courayer, p. 100.

^t Section xxviii. p. 128.

^u And thence called the Articles of Torgau.

elector.^v In its complete state it consisted of twenty-one articles, and seven chapters touching the abuses of the Romish church.^w

This confession, subscribed with the names of the elector and four princes of the empire, viz. George, margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lüneberg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, was, after being publicly read in German by Christian Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony, delivered to the emperor, in proof of their agreement with the sentiments therein expressed.

But it happened unfortunately for the unity of Protestantism, that the articles of the Augsburg Confession touching the sacraments, although worded in the manner least calculated to give offence, yet went so far in asserting the doctrine of at least consubstantiation, that the Zwinglian party were utterly averse from receiving them as the exponent of their own ideas on the subject. Hence the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Meiningen, put forth another document, called "The Confession of the Four Cities."^x It agreed substantially with that of Augsburg, except as regards the manner of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, which they held to be spiritual, not physical.^y Although these differences were suffered to amal-

^v Waterworth, p. xlv.

^w I shall not enter into details respecting the history or tenets of the Confession (or apology, as it was called) of Augsburg, as it will interfere with the materials reserved for the commentary on that confession. Much that is useful will be found in D'Aubigné, book xiv. The confession itself will be found in Le Plat, v. ii. p. 332, sqq. or in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, 4to. Genev. M.DC.LIV. pt. ii. p. 9, sqq. A neat analysis is given in Soame's notes on Mosheim, v. iii. p. 138, sqq.

^x *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. See Le Plat, v. ii. p. 441, sqq.; *Corpus et Syntagma Confess.* pt. i. p. 174, sqq.; Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 327, sqq. 8vo. Elberfeld, 1827.

^y "They say: 'All that the Evangelists, Paul, and the holy Fathers have written respecting the venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, our preachers teach, recommend, and inculcate with the greatest fidelity. Hence, with singular earnestness, they constantly proclaim that goodness of Christ towards his followers, whereby, no less now than at his Last Supper, to all his sincere disciples, as oft as they respect this supper, he condescends to give by the sacraments his real body and his real blood, to be truly eaten and drunken as the food and drink of their souls, by which they are nourished to eternal life, so that

gamate at a subsequent period, yet we cannot but regret that less hostility and confusion had accompanied the eager and well-meant advocates of reform. But it too frequently happens that men, who have anticipated the progress of the times, are hurried on by the stream of their own success, and are forced to act abruptly, where they expected opportunity for deliberation, while new difficulties spring up before they have had time to prepare for them. Much of the intemperate conduct displayed by the early reformers may be traced to the fact, that their success on the one hand, and the sluggish or persecuting spirit of their opponents on the other, compelled them to go to greater lengths than they had ever contemplated. Nor was the work of reform unattended by the temptations which success, publicity, and the privilege of swaying the minds of a large body of the world, must ever bring with them.

The diet itself was opened on the 20th June, when the emperor treated of the war with the Turks, and again recurred to the edict of Worms, condemning the inefficacy of those passed subsequently, and declaring his intention of considering the complaints and statements of all parties, provided they were delivered in writing. Two days' notice was given to the Protestants to present their confession, which they accordingly did at the next session, on the 24th of June. On the following day it was read; and the emperor, with the view of checking any further attempts at innovation, ordered the princes, whose signatures it bore, to be asked whether they had any other objections or complaints against the doc-

he lives and abides in them and they in him.' This confession they presented to the emperor in Latin and German; but he would not allow it to be read in public. Yet, when the popish priests had made out a confutation of it, he called them before him to hear that confutation read; and then, without allowing discussion, or permitting them to have a copy of the confutation, demanded of them submission to the Church of Rome. They refused. This confession of the four cities, which was drawn up by Martin Bucer, and had been adopted by the senate and people of Augsburg, was the confession of that city for a number of years. But afterwards, the four cities, feeling the necessity of a union with the Lutherans, lest their popish enemies should swallow them up, brought themselves to believe that the Lutherans and they differed more in words than in reality; and therefore they subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, and became a part of the Lutheran Church."

—Soames on Mosh. p. 140.

trines and practice of the Catholic Church. After some deliberation, they answered in the negative.^z

The day after the reading of the confession, it was resolved, in a meeting of the Catholic members of the diet, and chiefly at the suggestion of the legate Campeggio, that a confutation of the Augsburg Confession should be drawn up, and read in council, but not published.^a The drawing up of this document was intrusted chiefly to Faber, Eck, and Cochläus. Melancthon and his party, however, seemed disposed to waive many of their objections, and the elector was persuaded to reduce their demands to two points, viz. the administration of the eucharist under both kinds, and the removal of the celibacy of the clergy. In fact, Melancthon's conduct, as displayed in his letters, betrays a wavering good-nature, rather than the stern and consistent spirit of a resolute and determined reformer.^b

Anxious to procure uniformity, with a view to successfully opposing the Turks, Charles made trial of a commission, at first composed of seven, afterwards of three members of each party, but without any satisfactory result. On the 3rd of August,^c the reply prepared by the Catholic theologians was read in public diet, and accepted by the emperor. With a strange want of policy, as well as of common justice, the Protestants were refused a copy of this document, and when

^z Pallav. iii. 3. Waterworth's objections to the preamble of this confession will be noticed hereafter.

^a "Legendam pariter ejus doctrinæ confutationem, sed cujus exemplaria nulla sparguntur in vulgus, ne fenestra aperiatur disputationibus."—Sarpi, p. 42.

^b See Waterworth, p. xlviii., from whom I extract the following amusing note: "Luther, be it observed, had married the nun Catharine of Bora. Besides Luther, the other leaders of the Reformation, Melancthon, Zwingli, Spalatin, Capito, and Ecolampadius, were married. The practice, in fact, was becoming general amongst the renegade friars and monks. The remarks of Erasmus to his friend Adrianus are well known: 'Ecolampadius has lately taken a wife, rather an elegant girl. Doubtless he intends to mortify the flesh. Some call this Lutheran business a tragedy; but, for my part, I think it partakes much more of the character of a comedy; for I observe that all its plots and counterplots end in one invariable catastrophe—a wedding.'"

^c It was ready at an earlier period, but was ordered to be abridged, and made milder in its tone.

Melancthon attempted to answer it,^d he was forced to content himself with the notes taken at the public reading.

Meanwhile the Confession of the Four Cities, drawn up by Bucer and Capito, was presented ; and Zwingli, much to the vexation and disgust of Melancthon, forwarded to Charles another confession, of his own composing, in which neither Catholics nor Lutherans were spared.

On the 22nd of September, the diet again assembled, when time was given the Protestants till the 15th of April following, to retract such errors as they had not yet declared against, and to consider whether they would return to the faith and practice of Catholicism, at least until the meeting of a general council, which, the emperor said, the pontiff should convoke within the term of six months, or a year at farthest. Meanwhile the most stringent edicts were put forth in favour of the old system ; the publication of religious works by Protestants was forbidden ; and the Anabaptists and Zwinglians ordered to be banished from the states of the empire. With the exception of the latter clause, this edict was unanimously opposed by the Protestant princes, who resolved not to aid the pontiff and the emperor in the war against the Turks. On the 22nd, this decree, obsolete in purpose, and violent in its whole tendency, was published, and the breach was widened to an alarming extent.

CHAPTER XXVII.

General Dissatisfaction at the Edict of Augsburg.

While the late edict had given dangerous dissatisfaction to the Protestant party, the pope himself was ill satisfied with the part which the emperor had taken in the transaction. As far as the threats against the Lutheran party were concerned, the pontiff was perfectly contented ; but he complained bitterly that the emperor had taken upon himself the arbitration and decision of religious questions, instead of referring to a papal decree. Furthermore, he felt vexed that certain points connected with matters of faith should have

^d In an apology presented to the emperor on the 22nd of September, which he refused to receive.—Mosheim, p. 141.

been agreed upon, and certain ceremonies abolished, without himself, or even his legate, being consulted on the subject. But the saddest grievance of all was, that the emperor should have not only promised the council, but fixed a definite time for its convocation, thereby interfering with the prerogative which the pope claimed for himself, and conceding only a second-rate authority to the papal see. Finding, however, that opposition was useless, he attempted to take credit to himself for desiring a council to be held, in order to conceal the vexation which this blow to his pretensions had aroused.^e

In fact, the convocation of the Council of Trent grew out of Protestant opposition, and, so far from being an arbitrary act of the so-called head of the Church, it was rather forced upon him^f by stress of circumstances. As far at least as Clement was concerned, the desire of reforming abuses was far from being the motive of calling it together, and the conscientiousness of the emperor becomes but doubtful, if we consider his bigoted persistence in the tenets of the edict of Worms, and his cool and independent treatment of the pontiff throughout. Perhaps it was rather a tentative measure on both sides, each party trusting to events that might arise, rather than clearly discerning any definite plan of action.

^e Sarpi, p. 44, sq.

^f On the various evasions made by the respective pontiffs in reference to the convocation of this council, see the important notes of Heidigger, p. 14, sqq. in "*Concilio Tridentini Anatome Historico-Theologica*," Tiguri, MDCLXXII. The author of "*Considerations on the Council of Trent*" (the title says by R. H.), 4to. London, MDCLXXXVII., has the following remarks: "Called then this council was by the pope, but not without the consent of the emperor, and the most of Christian princes; nay (if we may believe Soave), not without their great solicitation and importunity, necessitating him to call it against his own inclinations; as if he much dreaded some effect thereof prejudicial to his present greatness. Especially for the latter part of it, held under Pius, and confirming all the rest that had gone before, Soave saith, 'that the actions of this council were then in a greater expectation than in the former times, in regard all princes had in demanding it, and sent ambassadors to it; and also, that the number of prelates then assembled were four times as many as before.' Called, also, by him it was, but after the Protestant princes had declared a great necessity thereof; and after that both Luther himself and his followers had often, from the justice of the present church governors, appealed to it."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Protestant League at Smalcald.

On the 22nd of December, 1530, the elector and his associates assembled at Smalcald, and a provisional treaty for their mutual defence was drawn up, and formally signed Jan. 4th, 1531. In this treaty a portion of the Zwinglian party were included, despite the objections of Luther. In fact, Luther seems hitherto to have hung back from the idea of anything like a warlike confederacy in the cause of religion; but now, whether tempted by the probability of its success,^g or really persuaded by the advice of the jurists,^h he lent hearty encouragement to the scheme, both by writing and preaching.

The confederate princes next sent copies of an apology for the conduct they had pursued (with the view of counteracting the attacks made upon them by the pontiffⁱ) to the kings of England, Denmark, and France, entreating their support. The answers were favourable and courteous, but indefinite and evasive, promising nothing in the shape of active assistance.

Things were beginning to assume a threatening aspect, when, by the intervention of the electors of Mainz and the

^g Waterworth, p. liii. says: "To this step they were forcibly impelled by the writings of Luther, who, whilst his party was too weak for successful opposition, had obtained the credit and merit of preaching up the duty of obeying, and the sinfulness of resisting by force of arms, the decrees of the civil authorities; but now that there was some chance of success, under the flimsy pretext of yielding to the jurists, he proclaimed a contrary doctrine, and by sermons and writings urged his followers to resistance."

^h They informed him that the constitution of the empire allowed the states to combine together, and probably also to declare war against the emperor; for by virtue of the compact between the emperor and the states, the emperor engaged not to infringe upon the laws of the empire, and the rights and liberties of the Germanic Church. This compact the emperor had violated; and therefore the states had a right to combine together against him. Luther replied that he had not been aware of this, and that if it was so, he had no objections to make, for the Gospel was not opposed to civil government; yet he could not approve of an offensive war." — Schlegel, in Soames's Mosheim, p. 148.

ⁱ Sarpi, p. 45.

Palatinate, a treaty was agreed upon between the emperor and the Protestant party. In a letter to the pope, Charles urged that every other means had been tried without success, and that the Turk was threatening hourly. He therefore called upon him to hold a council under such regulations as that the Protestants might be able and willing to attend thereat. The pontiff perceived that it was of no use to refuse, but resolved to grant the matter in such a way as he well knew would not be accepted.^j Accordingly, he named Bologna, Parma, or Piacenza, as fit places for the holding of such a council, asserting that his respect either for Italy or the papal see would not allow of his convening it in Germany, and adding many remarks still calculated to depreciate the value or expediency of the measure,^k and to limit the liberty of speech, which alone could render it of any avail to the parties whom it most intimately concerned.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Terms of Peace between the Emperor and the Protestants.

On the 23rd of July, 1532, peace was formally declared between the emperor and the Protestants, until a general, free, and Christian council should be held; and under conditions that no war should be undertaken, and no one made prisoner, or deprived of property, for religion's sake, and that the princes and cities of Germany should render assistance to the utmost of their power against the Turk. Thus the Lutheran party were removed from fear, and gained an advantage, which they were careful to improve. Whatever might be the feelings of the Romish party, the policy of Charles's conduct can hardly be questioned. He preferred waiving a few unsettled differences, and making common cause against a common enemy, to opposing a foreign foe with the chance of leaving a domestic enemy behind, whom his own intolerance had irritated. He had all along sacrificed the pope to circumstances, and the pope had found him an useful but uncertain ally. Each feared an open rupture, and each knew the value of the other's friendship too well to trust it. Each had repeatedly broken his word, and circumstances alone

^j Sarpi, p. 47; Heidigger, *l. c.* p. 15.

^k See Pallav. iii. 5.

rendered the faithless pair necessary to each other. The connection of Charles and Clement was a strange coalition, in which each sought to deceive the other, although both advocating one end. Too selfish to concede any personal dignity or advantage, each laboured to accomplish his end at the expense of the other, and to lay the onus of unpopularity, or the contempt attendant upon inconsistency, upon the shoulders of his neighbour. The whole story is a splendid illustration of human selfishness, even where similarity of motives would lead us to expect unanimity.

CHAPTER XXX.

Meeting of Charles and the Pontiff.

However, when Solyman had retired from Austria, Charles set out to Italy, and had a personal interview with the pontiff. Although neither party could feel satisfied with the other, a kind of treaty was renewed between them. Charles urged the convocation of a council to remedy the ills of Germany; at the same time suggesting that no such assembly could answer any purpose, except the Protestants were represented therein. The pontiff, still wishing to evade the matter, agreed to it on condition that some place within Italy should be chosen for the holding of the council, and that none should vote in it except those who were legally empowered, according to the ecclesiastical law. Charles, willing to obey the pontiff, but knowing that these terms would not be acceptable to the Protestants, proposed that the pope should send his nuncio, while he himself sent his legate into Germany, to discover some means of meeting the existing difficulties, promising that his legate should do all things according to the will and pleasure of the nuncio. The pontiff, although ill pleased with the project, consented, calculating upon an alliance with the king of France, through the medium of his niece (who was now marriageable), as the best means of restraining the progress of the dangerous demand for a council.¹

¹ " Francis I. had often already proposed to Clement an alliance to be cemented by ties of blood, which the latter had always declined. In his present need, the pope himself recurred to this. It is expressly affirmed, that the special ground on which Clement again lent an ear to

In pursuance of this resolution, the pontiff, on the 20th of February, 1533, despatched two nuncios ; one, his private secretary, Ugo Rangone, bishop of Rhegium, to the German princes ; the other, Ubaldo Ubaldini, to the kings of France and England. The purport of their message was that the council should be free and general, such as their ancestors had been wont to celebrate ; that they should pledge themselves to abide by its decrees ; and, if unable to be present, they should certify to that effect by deputies, while no changes should take place in matters until the council was held. As to the place, the nuncio was directed to give the Germans choice of Piacenza, Bologna, or Mantua. But if any one of the princes should decline coming to the council, or sending deputies, or should refuse to obey the decrees of the council, it would be the duty of the other princes to consult the interest of the Church. In conclusion, it was stated, that if the Germans were willing to agree to this proposal, the council should be indicted within the space of six months, a further delay of a twelvemonth being granted to allow of the necessary preparations for the journey.

At the request of the emperor, a meeting of the Protestants took place at Smalcald, for the purpose of considering what answer should be given to these conditions. Their reply teemed with indignation against the abuses of the Romish church, and they demanded a council, in which, not the opinion of the pontiff, nor the dogmas of the schoolmen, but the written word of God should be the standard by which their creed should be judged. In strong terms they avowed their belief, that as long as the council was presided over by the pope, as supreme head of the Church, its freedom would be a mere matter of words, especially as the manner of holding councils, unlike that observed in the earlier ages of the Church, had shown a tendency to substitute human traditions instead of the Scriptures.^m

the king of France was the demand made for a council."—Ranke, p. 33, on the authority of Soriano.

^m See Sarpi, p. 51, sq.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Unprosperous Conclusion of Clement VII.'s Reign.

Meanwhile, the proposed alliance with the king of France had been brought to a successful issue in his interview with that monarch at Marseilles, and the crafty pontiff kept inventing excuses, to account for the delay in holding the council. In fact, the king of France seems to have persuaded the pope that he had sufficient interest with the Protestant princes to prevent their forwarding the much-dreaded council. But it was in vain that Francis argued with the landgrave of Hesse; he could not even persuade him to consent to its being held in Italy. Francis proposed Genoa to the pontiff as a place likely to content all parties, but Clement tacitly negatived the suggestion as absurd.

The restoration of the duke of Würtemberg to his hereditary rights, by the joint aid of Francis and the elector of Hesse, and the peace concluded at Kadan, were events which had a strong tendency to increase the strength of the Protestant cause. "I know not," says one of the best reviewers of these times,^a "that any other single occurrence ever operated so decisively as this enterprise of Philip of Hesse's, for the preponderance of the Protestant name in Germany. That direction to the imperial chamber involves a judicial security for the new party of extraordinary importance. Nor were its effects long delayed. We may, I think, regard the peace of Kadan as the second grand epoch of the rise of a Protestant power in Germany. After it had for a long period made a feeble progress, it began anew to spread in the most triumphant manner. Würtemberg, which had been taken, was reformed forthwith. The German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, the second branch of Saxony, one branch of Brunswick, and the Palatinate, followed shortly after. Within a few years, the reformation of the Church spread over the whole of lower Germany, and obtained firm and permanent footing in upper Germany.

"And Pope Clement had been privy to an enterprise which

^a Ranke, p. 35.

led to this result, which so immeasurably augmented the desertion from the Church's ranks—nay, he had perhaps approved of it.”

Nor was this the only vexation that harassed the last days of Clement VII. The contempt of the papal power had spread to England ; and Henry VIII., once the “defender of the faith,” had openly condemned the doctrine of allegiance to the See of Rome throughout his dominions ; and he who had once befriended the pope when beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, had followed up a continued series of attacks upon the court of Rome by a decisive blow, from the consequences of which Rome has never recovered.

Into the history of Henry VIII., his divorce, and his subsequent outbreak against Rome, I shall not enter, as the subject has been discussed by so many well-known writers, and I am unwilling merely to offer a weak dilution of what is accessible to all in a more complete and satisfactory form. But there is little doubt that this and other vexations, coupled with family dissensions, and the pressing urgency for a general council, with which the emperor continued to ply the pontiff, conspired to wear out a frame already exhausted by long sickness and anxiety.^o

Clement VII. died without the satisfactory reflection that the papal credit had “lasted his time,” and without the reputation of having acted wisely in behalf of its preservation. Clinging doggedly to the temporal interests of the Romish church, oscillating between political cabals and religious dogmatism, ever relying on hoped-for probabilities rather than on inferences drawn from previous experience—or, with a Whig-like policy, shunning active measures in the hope of something arising that might dispense with the necessity for doing anything—this pontiff, the victim of misfortunes, which he had neither tact to oppose, nor resignation to yield to, closed a life of few vices,^p but equally unmarked by the development of better traits, with the peevish and embittered reflections ever attendant upon disappointed cunning, and the consciousness that life has been a purposeless mistake.

^o Ranke, p. 35–6, note from Soriano. The remarks of Archbishop Bramhall (Works, v. i. p. 117) on the antipapal enactments of Henry VIII. are useful.

^p Simony, however, was among the number.—See Ranke, p. 32.

His ambition had reared an ideal edifice of papal greatness; his sad experience had beheld the real ancestral one, which he had sought to exalt, gradually tottering, and, in its fast seceding tenants, bearing witness to his own misfortune and inefficiency.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Paul III. succeeds to the Papal Throne. Vergerius sent into Germany.

Alexander Farnese, the dean of the Sacred College, who had been recommended by the deceased pontiff as his successor, was unanimously chosen pope, under the name of Paul III. Born in 1468, he was tutored in the brilliant school of Pomponius Lætus, at Rome, as well as in the garden of Lorenzo Medici, at Florence. Deeply imbued with the taste for elegant literature and refined pursuits, to the cherishing of which those times were so favourable, he did not, however, escape the contagion of its vices.¹ But these were not sufficient to be a hinderance to preferment in those days, and he found his way to the dignity of a cardinal comparatively early in life. During this period, he laid the foundation of the Farnese palace, still the admiration of tourists, and built a delightful villa on his hereditary estate at Bolsena, to which Leo X. used sometimes to resort.

But he had ever kept in mind the papal dignity as the ultimate object of his ambition; and his favourable intentions to the convocation of a general council, although springing from a conviction of its necessity, rather than from real interest in the cause,² probably contributed to further his election.³ Although events, hereafter to be detailed, contributed to hinder the prompt execution of this design, he nevertheless, in the first consistory, held on the 13th of November, 1534,⁴ not only avowed himself favourable to the

¹ "He acknowledged a natural son and daughter; but, for all that, he was advanced to the rank of cardinal in rather early life; for in those days little offence was taken at such matters."—Ranke, book iii. p. 62. The statements of Heidigger, *l. c.* p. 20, place him in a still more unamiable light, perhaps with some tincture of exaggeration.

² Ranke, book iii. p. 62.

³ Waterworth, p. lviii. Heidigger, however (p. 16), shows that Paul partook, to no small extent, of the vacillation of his predecessor in this respect.

⁴ Pallav. iii. 17. He had also mentioned the matter, with some

convocation of a council, but also suggested that the cardinals should begin the work of reform themselves.^u

In the January of the following year, he was still more urgent, and sent for Vergerius, who had been confidentially employed by the last pontiff,^v to sound the dispositions of the German princes as to the place and manner of holding the council, and to use every appliance of flattery or kindness to win over Luther.

Vergerius conversed first with Ferdinand, and then with the rest of the German princes, proposing Mantua as a fit and convenient place for the celebration of a council, and pointing out the difficulties which would result if it were held in Germany, where the madness of the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians was raging with a violence, calculated to do serious mischief to the whole cause of reform. George of Brandenburg, however, was the only one of the Protestant princes who was satisfied with Mantua as a locality for the meeting. The Catholic princes were unanimous in its favour.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Meeting of Vergerius and Luther.

On his road through the dominions of the elector of Saxony, Vergerius experienced the kindest and most hospitable treatment from that prince, being waited upon by him at his own table. Luther was introduced to the nuncio, whose letters prove that he formed a by no means favourable opinion of the reformer's talents or disposition.^w After various strictures on Luther's manners, he concludes, by saying, "to give my opinion from his countenance, habit, gestures, words,

apparent earnestness, in a meeting of cardinals held before his inauguration.—Sarpi, p. 56.

^u Nevertheless, he rather inconsistently promoted two of his nephews to the cardinalate at the respective ages of fourteen and sixteen years. Pallavicino's defence of the pontiff's nepotism is well met by Courayer, p. 136, sq. About the same time he promoted Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who had been imprisoned by Henry VIII., to the same dignity—a dignity which perhaps conduced not a little to his untimely end. Sarpi, p. 57.

^v See Sarpi, p. 52.

^w See the extracts in Pallav. iii. 18, p. 330.

whether he be a man of talent or no, he is arrogance, malignity, and imprudence itself.”^x

Although Vergerius behaved with the most polite urbanity and inoffensiveness, the German princes were ill-satisfied with the place named for the council, or with the avoidance of mentioning the plan to be pursued in holding it, plainly foreseeing, that the whole matter would still be left in the power of the pontiff—a state of things totally at variance with their determined disavowal of the papal supremacy. They were strengthened in their opposition by the legates of the kings of England and France. In fact, the new pope was in no small difficulty between “the urgent necessity of a reform, and the undesirable circumscription with which it threatened the papal power.”^y

CHAPTER XXXIV.

New Protest of Smalcald.

The Protestant princes assembled at Smalcald continued vehemently opposed to the holding of the council at Mantua, as well as to the pope holding it, or presiding therein. In this opposition they were confirmed by the ambassadors sent by the kings of France and England, the former of whom was calculating the probable success of a war in Italy, while the latter, having by his marriage cast off all allegiance to Rome, was desirous of strengthening the cause of her opponents.

Early in the year 1536, Vergerius returned to the pontiff, with the news of his indifferent success, and of the state of parties in Germany. The emperor was then at Rome, having returned from a recent expedition. After some lengthened discussions in private, the pope proposed, in a consistory held on the 8th of April, 1536,^x that a council

^x “Et a dirue presto il mio parere tratto della faccia, dall' abito, dai gesti, e dalle parole, ò sia spiritato, ò nò, egli à l' arroganza istessa, la malignità, e l' imprudenza.” Father Paul's account is, on the whole, more probable and coherent than Pallavicino's (cf. Courayer, p. 138, sqq.), although it is likely that Luther was betrayed into his too frequent violence of temper. The true narrative probably lies between those of the two historians.

^y Ranke, p. 63.

^z So Pallav. iii. 19, p. 334. Sarpi appears to be inaccurate in some of his dates.

should straightway be convened at Mantua. Seven of the cardinals, assisted by Aleander and Vergerius,^a being intrusted with the arrangement of preliminaries, the latter bishop was of opinion, that the council should not be definitely fixed at Mantua until they had first received the approbation of the German princes, still hoping that such a show of respect might facilitate the execution of the design, and that in the bull convoking the council, the clause, "according to the form of preceding councils," should be omitted, as it would only serve to increase the complaints of their adversaries, and it had been omitted in the bulls convoking the previous councils of Constance and Basle. The latter, but not the first, part of his advice was followed, as they now despaired of obtaining the consent of the Protestants to a council assembled according to the previous customs of the Church. Moreover, Mantua being indirectly under the power of the emperor, the Germans could not reasonably object to it.^b

The Protestant princes, however, renewed their opposition in another meeting held at Smalcald, and caused a new summary of their faith to be drawn up by Luther, under the title of the "Articles of Smalcald,"^c in which they assumed a

^a Who had been rewarded for his services by receiving the bishopric of Capo d'Istria.—Sarpi, p. 60. See Courayer, p. 144.

^b Pallav. p. 335.

^c "The Articles of Smalcald were drawn up by Luther in his own acrimonious style. The Augsburg Confession was intended to soften prejudice against the Lutherans, and to conciliate the good-will of the Roman Catholics. Of course, the gentle Melancthon was employed to write it. The Articles of Smalcald, on the contrary, were a preparative for a campaign against an enemy with whom no compromise was deemed possible, and in which victory or death was the only alternative. Of course, all delicacy towards the Catholics was dispensed with, and Luther's fiery style was chosen, and allowed full scope. In words, the Articles flatly contradict the Confession, in some instances, though in sense they remain the same. Thus the Confession (article xxiv.) says: 'We are unjustly charged with having abolished the *mass*. For it is manifest that, without boasting, we may say, the *mass* is observed by us with greater devotion and earnestness than by our opposers.' But in the Articles of Smalcald (part ii. art. ii.), it is said 'that the popish *mass* is the greatest and most horrid abomination, as militating directly and violently against these articles; and yet it has become the chief and most splendid of all the popish idolatries.' In the Confession, they applied the name of the *mass* to the Lutheran form of the *Eucharist*.

tone of more violent opposition than had been adopted in the Confession of Augsburg. Nor was Henry VIII. of England less earnest in his protestations against the power he had cast off; declaring that the right to summon councils appertained to princes, and that the pope's claim was a usurpation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Seat of the Council transferred to Vicenza.

But an untoward event was destined to shift the projected council from its intended place of assemblage. Frederick, the prince of Mantua, who had granted the use of that city under a firm belief that it would never be required,^d no sooner found that the council was indicted for the 23rd of May, 1536, than he began to tremble for the safety of his city, and sent to request the pontiff to furnish pay for a guard of soldiers during the time of the council. The pope replied that the assembly would be composed of ecclesiastics and literary men, not of armed soldiers, and that such a company might be very well kept in order by a single magistrate,

But in these articles they confine that term to its proper import, the ordinary public service among the Catholics. The Articles of Smalcald cover twenty-eight folio pages, and are preceded by a preface, and followed by a treatise on the power and supremacy of the pope. The first part contains four precise articles, respecting God, the Trinity, and the incarnation, passion, and ascension of Christ, in accordance with the Apostles' and Athanasian creeds. On these articles the Protestants proposed to agree altogether with the Papists. The second part also contains four articles of fundamental importance, in which the Protestants and Papists are declared to be totally and irreconcilably at variance. They relate to the nature and grounds of *justification*, the *mass* and *saint-worship*, ecclesiastical and monkish *establishments*, and the claims of the *pope*. The *third* part contains fifteen articles, which the Protestants considered as relating to very important subjects, but on which the Papists laid little stress. The subjects are *sin*, the *law*, *repentance*, the *Gospel*, *baptism*, the *sacrament of the altar*, the *keys* (or *spiritual power*), *confession*, *excommunication*, *ordination*, *celibacy of the clergy*, *good works*, *monastic vows*, and *human satisfaction for sin*. When the Protestants subscribed these articles, Melancthon annexed a reservation to his signature, purporting that he could admit of a *pope*, provided he would allow the Gospel to be preached in its purity, and would give up his pretensions to a *divine right* to rule, and would found his claims wholly on expediency and human compact."—Soames on Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 146, *note*.

^d Sarpi, p. 63.

whom he would himself appoint to take cognizance of offences. Furthermore, he urged that the presence of an armed force would cause universal suspicion, and would be little suited to the peaceable appearance which the seat of a council should present. Again, if an armed force really were necessary, it would be most unjust that it should be under the control of any one but the council, or its head, the pope.

Frederick gave a flat denial to the latter part of the pontiff's demand, and persisted in requesting sustenance for an adequate guard, to be under his own control. Paul III. finding no arguments avail, and being unwilling to accede to terms so disadvantageous, and involving so evident a compromise of papal dignity,^e promulgated another bull, in which, throwing the blame of delay on the duke of Mantua, he prorogued the council until the month of November, but without having settled upon any new place for the holding thereof.^f

It is probable that Frederick's fears had the emperor, rather than the pontiff, for their object; but, however this might be, it was an ill omen at starting—a stumbling on the threshold that was distinctly significant of subsequent failure. The fact was, the blow struck by the denial of the papal supremacy was too decided—the selfishness of princes too much interested in pursuing the advantage they had already gained—and the compact which held the pope and his adherents too temporalizing in its character, to leave room to hope for a restoration of matters on their old footing. Many princes doubtless hung back, and avoided taking any decided step in one direction or the other, until they saw more clearly the progress of the reform party: numbers of men, whose practical indifference was at variance with their

^e In a subsequent bull he says: "At the very first, contrary to all our hope and expectation, the city of Mantua was refused us, unless we would submit to certain conditions, which we have described in other letters of ours, utterly alien from the institutes of our ancestors, the state of the times, our own dignity and liberty, that of this holy see, and of the ecclesiastical name."—Decrees and Canons, p. 3 of my edition.

^f Onuphrius says: "Sed mox ducis, qui imperatoris vires timebat, rogatu locum mutavit."—Apud Courayer, p. 151, whose note well deserves attention.

real feelings, held back, and watched the gradual tottering of the old religion, without making one substantial effort to sustain it, yet without even giving the push of a finger to promote its downfall.

Various difficulties, as the pope himself acknowledges, interfered to prevent the immediate convocation of the council; but at length Paul, having obtained permission from the Venetian republic to assemble,^g indicted a council to be held at Vicenza on the 1st of May, of the ensuing year 1538, designating as his legates Lorenzo Campeggio, who had occupied the same post in Germany under Clement VII., Jacopo Simonetta, and Hieronymo Aleandro, who had been lately created cardinal.^h But Ferdinand, king of the Romans, had previously recommended the city of Trent, as being less likely to displease the German Protestant princes.ⁱ Henry VIII. showed the same hostility to a convocation at Vicenza, that he had previously displayed towards the whole scheme.^j

But Paul did not suffer matters to stand still. Despite the adverse circumstance which beset him on all sides, and notwithstanding a natural leaning to superstition,^k which

^g I do not wish to repeat the history of the difficulties which interfered with the settlement of a place for the council, as they are fully detailed in the bull for the indiction of the Council of Trent, given in "Decrees and Canons," p. 3, sqq. of my edition.

^h Sarpi, p. 66.

ⁱ "Accordingly, as we no longer had the city of Vicenza, and were desirous in our own choice of a new place for holding the council, to have regard both to the common welfare of Christians, and also to the troubles of the German nation; and seeing, upon several places being proposed, that they wished for the city of Trent, we—although we deemed that everything might be transacted more conveniently in Italy—nevertheless yielded up our will with paternal charity to their demands. Accordingly, we have chosen the city of Trent as that wherein an œcumenical council should be held on the ensuing calends of November; fixing upon that place as a suitable one whereat the bishops and prelates can assemble very easily indeed from Germany, and from the other nations bordering on Germany, and without difficulty from France, Spain, and the other remoter provinces."—Bull of Pope Paul III. "Decrees and Canons," p. 8, sq.

^j See Sarpi, p. 64, sq.; Heidigger, *l. c.* p. 20.

^k Cf. Ranke, p. 64, who observes: "It was not inconsistent with the habits of a mind so constituted, of such far and searching forethought, such a tending to look warily around in every direction, and to ponder its purposes in secret, that it should have taken into the scope of its reflections powers above, as well as upon the earth. The influence of

the many anxieties of his position would tend to foster, his activity was unceasing. Not only did he despatch legates to Vicenza to make preparations for the council, thereby assuring the world of the reality of his intentions, but he instituted a commission to inquire into the abuses of the Romish church, probably with a view of being better enabled to meet objections, or to make concessions which might produce a feeling of content, while the framework and main structure of the papal power remained untouched. Four cardinals and five bishops, four of whom were subsequently raised to the cardinalate, formed the board of inquiry, and a list of corrupt practices, chiefly connected with the covetousness and vanity of the Romish church, were drawn up. The cardinals could not, however, come to an agreement on the subject, and the matter shared the fate of previous attempts of a similar character.¹

A more delicate task remained for the pontiff, namely, the reconciliation of the emperor and the king of France, who had renewed hostilities, and whose mutual good-will was of serious consequence to the success of the council. Having previously despatched nuncios to solicit the attendance of the contending monarchs, Paul hastened to meet them at Nice, solely, as he professed, with the view of peace-making, but, as others supposed, with a view to personal interests^m likewise. His success was not complete, but, during a month's stay at Nice, his unremitting attention and earnest-

the constellations over the results of human actions was little questioned in those days. Paul III. held no important sitting of the consistory, nor made any journey without having first consulted the stars on the choice of the fitting days. An alliance with France was broken off merely because there was no conformity between the nativities of the king and the pope. This pope, it is plain, felt himself in the midst of a thousand conflicting agencies, not only of the powers of the earth below, but of the configuration of the stars above; his plan was to give due attention alike to the one class and to the other, to mitigate their unpropitious influences, turn their favours to account, and dexterously to steer home his bark between the rocks that threatened him on every side."

¹ Sarpi, p. 65, sq.

^m "Ad Ducatum Mediolanensem familiæ suæ comparandum." The advantages which accrued to this pope from the congress at Nice are well stated and reviewed by Ranke, p. 64, sq. Courayer, p. 156, quotes authorities which seem to place Sarpi's statements beyond the reach of doubt.

ness persuaded them to agree to a truce for ten years, which accident subsequently ripened into a friendly intercourse.^a

While the pontiff was at Nice, he received news that as yet, when there wanted but five days to the opening of the council, not a single bishop had arrived at Vicenza. Hereupon he determined to accede to the wish of the two princes, and prorogue the council till the Easter following. In this resolution he was influenced by the promise of the princes to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to treat of matters necessary for the establishment of peace, they urging, that, "peace once established, the council itself would then be much more useful and salutary to the Christian commonwealth."^o Ferdinand, king of the Romans, expressed the same opinion.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Further Suspension of the Council.

And now, when matters seemed favourable, and when the pontiff had reason to believe that fortune was disposed to crown his exertions with success, he was again doomed to experience the instability of his best ally and supporter. Charles V., who had been the most urgent promoter of the council, now began to dread the growing power of the Lutherans, and, foreseeing that the whole spirit of its design was opposed to their wishes, and that hostility would only be increased by the partial measures taken by the Catholic party, he began to urge the propriety of delaying the council, at the same time entreating the pope to make another attempt to conciliate the minds of the Germans by sending Aleandro to them as his legate. Finding that the second meeting convened at Vicenza had been as ill attended as the first, the pontiff, tired of using the word "prorogue," which had

^a Bull of Pope Paul apud "Decrees and Canons," p. 6, of my edition. Ranke, p. 64, remarks: "The Venetian ambassador, who was present, cannot find words sufficiently to extol the zeal and patience exhibited on that occasion by the pope. It was only by means of the utmost assiduity, and but at the last moment, when he was already threatening to depart, that he at last succeeded in bringing about a truce. He effected a good understanding between the two sovereigns, which very soon afterwards seemed to pass into something like friendship."

^o *L. c.* p. 7.

been so often repeated in vain, determined to suspend the holding of the council until his own pleasure.^p Accordingly, letters announcing its suspension were despatched to the different princes on the 10th of June, 1539. The position of the pontiff was doubtless a painful one. Claiming the authority to indict a council, and yet lacking the power to enforce attendance thereat—egged on and harassed to promote a measure in which he had little personal sympathy, and at the same time deserted by those who had literally worried him into such conduct, immediately any difficulties appeared to threaten its success—Pope Paul III. was now a painful example of the incapability of great personal talents to contend with the growing influence of public opinion, where men's spiritual liberties and interests are concerned; and in the supine negligence of the Romish clergy, in the empty benches of the convocation at Vicenza, we can perceive how forced and artificial, how little redolent of a sincere and Catholic spirit of reform, were the whole of the early transactions of this council. It remains for us yet to see whether, unpromising as was its commencement, its subsequent proceedings involved any serious and satisfactory changes, whether its supporters had learnt the lesson which the negligence of their own adherents, not less than the persevering opposition of the Protestant party, might have taught them.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Various Attempts to effect a Reconciliation.

About the beginning of the year 1539, a convention was held at Frankfort, where, by consent of the emperor's legate, the proceedings were adjourned, after a sharp dispute, till the 1st of August, at Nuremberg, with the view of holding a friendly and tranquil consultation touching religious subjects. The Catholic party wished some special deputy to have been sent thither by the pope; but the Protestants urging that such a step would be contrary to the very object of the meeting, they yielded.

The pontiff was much annoyed to find that the emperor was meddling in matters of religion without consulting the

^p Decrees and Canons, l. c. p. 7; cf. Waterworth, ch. xii. p. lxxv. sq.

papal authority, and looked upon the conventions in Germany as an insult to the credit of the projected council. He accordingly despatched Giovanni Ricci, afterwards bishop of Montepulcino,^a to persuade the emperor to contravene the decrees of that assembly.^r But the reply of the emperor was by no means satisfactory; and it was not easy to discern whether he intended to favour the approaching meeting at Nuremberg, or not. The sedition of the Gantois, who had been excited to revolt by the oppressive taxation imposed to meet the expenses of the emperor's wars, diverted his attention from the affairs of Germany, and the year 1539 passed away without any movement in favour of Catholicism being brought to an issue.

In the following year, while the emperor was in Belgium, endeavouring to quiet the seditions which had arisen, Ferdinand came thither from Austria, and the attention of both princes naturally turned to the state of religious dissension, and the best means of allaying it. Cardinal Farnese, a youth of scarcely twenty years of age, who had accompanied the emperor from Paris, as the pope's legate, set himself strongly against any deliberations on the subject, urging that all the attempts at agreement with the Protestants, especially at the Augsburg conference, had proved a failure; that, even if a plan of argument were agreed upon, it would be of no avail with a set of men who changed their opinions daily, followed no certain principles, had departed from the very doctrine they had promulgated at Augsburg, and were as slippery as eels. He furthermore urged, that they had at first wished that the pontificate should be amended, but that they now required its destruction, the extirpation of the Apostolic See, and the abrogation of all apostolic jurisdiction. Again, if they had been so insolent when affairs were tranquil, what would they now do, when peace was not yet agreed upon with the king of France, and the Turk was threatening Pannonia?^s In vehe-

^a He was not admitted to the episcopal office till four years after this, under the reign of Pius IV.—Pallav. iv. 9. Sarpi is wrong.

^r Father Paul is again wrong in placing this event before the issuing of the bull of suspension. Cf. Courayer, p. 163. On the business of the envoy, see Sarpi, p. 68, sq.

^s Sarpi, p. 59. The whole speech betrays the animated zeal of an impetuous youth, which is perhaps the best internal evidence of its authenticity.

ment language he then proceeded to deny the right of private assemblies to deliberate on religious subjects, to assert the pontifical authority, and to denounce the Protestants as greater enemies to Christ than the Turks themselves. In conclusion, he demanded that a council should be convoked, that it should be begun that very year ; that the disputations on religion in the German conventions should be put an end to, but that the Catholic alliance should be augmented, and peace made with the king of France. These proposals, however, were thrown away upon the emperor, who, unknown to the young cardinal, determined upon holding a convention in some part of Germany, which should be convenient to Ferdinand. Farnese departed in disgust, and on his journey persuaded the king of France to promulgate a most stringent and cruel edict against heretics and Lutherans, which was afterwards put in execution throughout his dominions with the utmost severity.[†]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Conventions at Hagenau and Worms. New Meeting convened at Ratisbon.

At the request of Ferdinand, Hagenau was the place appointed for the meeting ; Contarini and the Catholic party wished to revive the *Recess* which had been agreed upon at the Augsburg convention ; but the Protestants, perceiving that that form would be ruinous to their present position, required a new one. Various proposals on the subject of making restitution to the Church for what had been wrongfully usurped by either party, came to an equally unsatisfactory result ; and Ferdinand determined upon another assembly at Worms, to be held on the 28th of October, unless the emperor should disapprove thereof. It was also agreed, that the pontiff should be permitted to send his legates thither, if he wished ; but the Protestants denied either to himself or his nuncios any authority. The emperor expressed his consent to these

[†] Sarpi, p. 59. Compare Courayer, p. 166, sq. An important passage of the bull above quoted, as illustrating the state of affairs described in this chapter, will be found p. 7 of my edition of the "Decrees and Canons."

arrangements, and despatched Granvel^u as his legate, accompanied by some other Spanish theologians. A few days after Thomas Campeggio, bishop of Feltri, the pope's legate, came thither also ; for Paul, as Sarpi well observes,^v "foresaw that, whatever mischief might accrue to his own concerns from a disputation in Germany respecting religious subjects, yet, now that all his efforts to prevent it had failed, he thought it would be productive of less harm if done with his own consent, than without it." A bland and conciliatory speech from the nuncio, well calculated to put the Protestants in a good humour with the projected scheme of a council, and some more indirect influence exerted by Vergerius,^w ostensibly as the ambassador of the king of France, seemed likely to produce some effect. But the emperor, vexed at the slow progress made in the convention at Worms, and harassed either by the difficulties represented to him by Granvel, or by the fear that a denial of his own power was implicated in the refusal of submission to the pontiff, or for other reasons, recalled his legate, broke up the meeting just as the conference agreed upon between Melancthon and Eck had commenced, and transferred it to Ratisbon.

The convention began about the 5th of April,^x 1541, the emperor being himself present, and entertaining great expectations of putting an end to the dissensions which had given occasion to its convocation. Upon his suggestion to the pope, with a view of putting a determinate end to the disputes, without having constant reference to the Romish see in every question of difficulty, the pope had consented to send a person intrusted with full power to define such things as he should judge conducive to the good of the Church. The person chosen by the pontiff to fulfil this important mission, was Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, a man of consummate learning and probity, whose earnest and conscientious desire for

^u The 25th of the November following. — Sleidan, xiii. p. 208, apud Courayer.

^v p. 72.

^w This is denied by Pallavicino, but asserted by Sleidan. See Courayer, p. 169.

^x This is probably the date of the first session. It was called, and perhaps opened, on the 1st, or during the latter end of March. See Courayer, page 170, *note* 12.

reformation in the Romish church, or, as Ranke says, for "the attempt to found a rational papacy,"⁷ made him the fittest person to undertake a negotiation so important. If the choice of such men as cardinals at the commencement of his reign, was a sign of Paul's good taste and appreciation of merit, his selection of an envoy in the present instance did no less credit to his tact and discrimination.

⁷ Ranke's character of Contarini is a masterly piece of biography. Compare p. 40, sqq. The following remarks on the subject of reform are well calculated to show the spirit in which this enlightened and upright man viewed the existing state of the Church: "There are extant some short pieces by Gaspar Contarini, in which he waged the most vehement war on abuses, especially those abuses which were profitable to the curia. The custom of compositions, that is, the taking of money even for the bestowal of religious favours, he pronounces simony, which may be regarded as a species of heresy. It was taken amiss that he inculpated former popes. 'What!' he exclaimed, 'shall we concern ourselves so much about the fame of three or four popes, and not rather amend what is deformed, and win ourselves a good name? It would, indeed, be a trying task to defend all the acts of all the popes.' He attacks the abuse of dispensations most earnestly and effectively. He considers it idolatrous to say, as was actually maintained, that the pope was bound by no rule but that of his own will in confirming or suspending the positive law. It is worth while to hear his remarks on this subject. 'The law of Christ,' he says, 'is a law of liberty, and forbids such gross servitude, which the Lutherans were perfectly justified in likening to the Babylonish captivity. But, furthermore, can that be indeed called a government, the rule whereof is the will of a man by nature prone to evil, and of innumerable affections? No; all true dominion is a dominion of reason. It has for its end to lead those who are subject to it by the right means to their great end, happiness. The authority of the pope is likewise a dominion of reason; God has bestowed it on St. Peter and his successors, to guide the flocks confided to them to everlasting blessedness. A pope must know that they are free men over whom he exercises it. He must not command, or forbid, or dispense according to his own good pleasure, but in obedience to the rule of reason, of God's commands, and of love, a rule that refers everything to God, and to the greatest common good. For the positive law is not arbitrarily imposed, but in unison with natural rights, the commandments of God, and circumstances only in accordance with the same laws and the same things can it be altered. Be it the care of your holiness,' he says, to Paul III., 'not to depart from this rule; turn not to the impotence of the will which chooses evil, to the servitude which ministers to sin. Then wilt thou be mighty, then wilt thou be free,—then will the life of the Christian commonwealth be sustained in thee.' "

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Discussion at Ratisbon.

It is difficult to do full justice to the good sense, moderation, and equanimity displayed by Contarini in this transaction,^z but it is most interesting to contrast the really conciliating measures pursued by this great man with the harsh and rugged policy of his predecessors. Disappointed as he was in the result of his exertions, it has still been truly said, that "in his person moderate Catholicism had assumed a grand position."^a

The pope had been unwilling to bestow the full powers which the emperor had wished for, and Contarini was bound to oppose any concessions to the Protestants that seemed to be attended with danger to the Romish see, and was intrusted with a like request to the emperor. But the pope, in his instructions, evinced no desire utterly to exclude negotiations with the adverse party. "We must first see," said he, "whether the Protestants, and they who have deserted the bosom of the Church, agree with us on first principles, for example, the supremacy of this Holy See, as having been instituted by God and our Saviour, the sacrament, and certain other matters of the holy Church, which have been hitherto observed and approved as well by the authority of the sacred writings as by the constant observance of the universal Church—for by these being forthwith admitted, all agreement touching other controversial points must be tested."^b This vagueness of expression, while it conceded nothing that was at variance with the doctrine of papal supremacy, at the same time left Contarini a free agent to a considerable extent, and perhaps the pontiff may have felt some curiosity in finding whether the known talents of his emissary might not hit upon some lucky point of agreement, which might serve to heal no small part of the ill-feeling

^z I know not whether Dr. Waterworth's silence is to be attributed to his want of sympathy with the temperate desire of reformation shown by this truly great man, or to the brevity of his history.

^a Ranke, p. 45.

^b *Instructio data Revmo. Cli. Contareno in Germaniam legato*, MS. apud Ranke, p. 43, *note*.

which stood in the way of anything like accommodation between the contending parties.

The emperor, anxious to promote peace—especially as the Turk had already penetrated into the interior of Germany, had made choice of John Gropper, Julius Flug, and John Eck to sustain the Catholic side of the dispute, while Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius were to support the Protestant. Frederick, prince of the Palatinate, and Granvel, were to preside over the assembly ; the latter of whom proposed a book of articles to be read and considered by those present, by way of furnishing subject-matter for the dispute ; so that what was approved by all should be confirmed and established ; what was disapproved, corrected ; and what was matter of uncertainty, reconciled as far as they were able. Out of the twenty-two articles thus propounded, some were approved, others amended by common consent ; but they disagreed respecting those on the power of the Church, the sacrament of penance, the hierarchy, the articles determined by the Church, and likewise on the subject of celibacy.^c

Contarini had foreseen that the topic of the papal supremacy would be especially disagreeable to the party whom it was his object to conciliate ; and he therefore wisely permitted this question to be placed last in the list proposed for discussion. He himself took a conspicuous part in the debate, and “ his secretary assures us that nothing was resolved on by the Catholic theologians, nor even a single variation proposed, until his opinion had been previously consulted.”^d The chief difficulty arose on the part of Luther’s old antagonist, Eck ; but even he was brought to an agreement, and the delicate and important articles of the state of human nature, original sin, redemption, and justification, were agreed to unanimously. Contarini agreed to the main doctrine ad-

^c Sarpi, p. 74. These were not, however, by any means, the only points on which disagreement was expressed. See Courayer, p. 174, who quotes the following from Beaucaire, xxii. *note* 50 : “ Inter collocutores convenit ; de præcipuis non convenit, nempe de Ecclesia ejusque potestate, de corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramento, quam Eucharistiam vocamus, de Satisfactione, de Unitate et Ordine sacrorum Ministrorum, de Sanctis, de sacra Liturgia quam Missam vocant, de usu integro Sacramenti, id est, quod sit unus integer sub una specie, de Coelibatu.”

^d Beccatelli, apud Ranke, p. 43.

vanced by Luther, that man's justification is through faith only, and not through merit, adding, however, that such faith must be lively and active—a doctrine which Melancthon^e claimed as the precise creed of the Protestants. So pleased was Bucer, that he declared that in the articles thus admitted was contained “everything necessary towards a godly, righteous, and holy life, in the eyes of God and men,” and the opposite party seemed equally well satisfied.

But Contarini was not destined to meet with the success which seemed to promise itself. The bishops were opposed to the new articles, and wished peremptorily to reject them; but the Catholic princes who were anxious for peace, were of a different opinion. On the emperor referring it to Contarini, he gave an ambiguous reply, expressing a hope, that by the blessing of God, the differences which still remained might be brought to an agreement, and that the whole affair had best be referred to the pontiff, who, by means of a public council, or some other proper medium, would shortly determine what might seem best suited to the welfare of the Christian world, and especially of Germany.^f

But here was the old difficulty at work again! While Francis I. complained of the concessions made at Ratisbon, the pope felt uneasy at the probability that, if matters were referred to a general council, the emperor would claim the right of convoking it, and that the very concession of the points already advanced would only embolden the Protestant party to venture upon greater inroads. Contarini was placed in a most awkward position. It seemed as though the emperor wished to pledge him to the principles avowed in

^e See his own statement, Ranke, p. 43, *note*. The following letter of Cardinal Pole to his friend Contarini is extremely interesting: “When I observed this unity of sentiment, I experienced a feeling of pleasure such as no harmony of tones could have afforded me; not alone, because I foresee the coming of peace and union, but also because these articles are the foundations of the Christian faith. They seem, indeed, to treat of a variety of matters—of faith, works, and justification: on this latter, however, justification, repose all the rest: and I wish you joy, and I thank God that the theologians of both parties are agreed thereon. We hope that he who has begun so mercifully will also complete what he has begun.”—*Apud* Ranke, p. 44.

^f Sarpi, p. 74. The remarks of Ranke, however (p. 43, *sqq.*), are much more important, and their sources more original and authentic. They will form the basis of what follows on this subject.

the articles, while he felt that, in softening the irritation attendant on the doctrine of supremacy, he had somewhat swerved from the precepts enjoined by his master. While his own judgment, or at least his most anxious wishes, had led him to hope that the work of conciliation might have been more directly his own, he felt himself crippled from taking the only measures which could have made it so.

"The pope soon announced it to his legate as his decided will, that he would neither in his public nor his private capacity sanction any resolution, in which the Catholic opinions were expressed in other words than such as admitted of no ambiguity. The formulæ in which Contarini had thought to reconcile the various opinions as to the pope's supremacy, and the power of councils, were unconditionally rejected at Rome, and the legate was constrained to abide by explanations, that even seemed in contradiction with his own previous language."^s

The emperor had wished that both parties would for the present abide by the articles to which they had mutually assented, and extend toleration to the several opinions in which they disagreed, until the matter could be referred to a general council. Neither Luther, however, on the one side, nor the pope and the cardinals on the other, would consent to any such concessions. Finding all attempts in vain, the emperor closed the debate on the 27th of July, pledging himself to obtain from the pontiff either a general or a provincial council; and that if he failed to obtain one or the other within a given space of time, he would announce a national assembly to arrange religious affairs, and would take care that a legate should be sent thither by the pope.

^s Ranke, p. 45, who further remarks: "He was forced to return to Italy, to endure the slanders that were spread from Rome over the whole country touching his conduct, and the reported concessions he had made to the Protestants. He had loftiness of soul to feel still more keenly the ill success of designs of such enlarged utility." Cf. Sarpi, p. 77, who states that he nevertheless succeeded in satisfying the mind of the pontiff, being warmly supported by Cardinal Fregoso.

CHAPTER XL.

Meeting of the Emperor and the Pope at Lucca.

The emperor and the pontiff met at Lucca towards the end of the year 1541, to discuss the matters connected with the council, and the war against the Turks. It was agreed that the pope should send a nuncio to Spire in the early part of the year, to debate respecting both matters, but that in the meanwhile the council should be indicted to be holden at Vicenza, as before. But the Venetian senate, who had lately made peace with the Turks, dreaded the discussion in their own city of a war with that people, and had some misgivings as to the safety of a large influx of strangers. Thus was Paul III. thrown into another difficulty, and the council again shifted from its intended locality, in a manner that fully proved either the apathy of the supporters of the Roman court, or the little confidence they had in the sincerity of its intentions.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Council of Trent indicted at the Diet of Spire.

In the beginning of the following year, the pope sent Giovanni Morone to the diet assembled at Spire, at which Ferdinand presided in the absence of the emperor. He stated that the pontiff, finding all hopes of concord vain, had determined to expedite the convocation of a council as soon as possible, as he had only delayed it out of complaisance to the emperor, with a view of giving opportunity for religious agreement. He alleged that the aged years of the pontiff, the length of the journey, and the changes of climate, rendered it impossible for him to be present, if the council were held in Germany, and that the same objection would apply to many others. After naming Ferrara, Bologna, or Piacenza, as places both suitable and preferred by himself, he named Trent as a final concession,^h a city which, being situated in the Tyrol, on the confines of Germany, and sub-

^h See note ⁱ, p. 65.

ject to the king of the Romans, could not be objected to by those who were really desirous of terminating the present unsatisfactory dissensions. Ferdinand and the Catholic members of the diet were satisfied with this proposal, but the Protestants rejected both the place and the council proposed by the pontiff; demanding a legitimate and free council, that is, one that should be exempt from the prescriptions and the authority of the pontiff.ⁱ

Paul, nevertheless, proceeded to fulfil his pledge, and in a consistory held on the 22nd of May, 1542, a bull was drawn up, and published, indicting the council for the first of November, being the festival of All Saints.^k

CHAPTER XLII.

Mutual Criminations of the Emperor and Francis I. of France.

Meanwhile, the bull of the pope, in which the king of France was named as equally a friend of the Roman see with himself,^l had given great offence to Charles, especially as Francis had just declared war against him, and had attacked his dominions in five different places. In bitter terms, he urged that while he had been the constant advocate of a general council, the king of France had availed himself of every opportunity to hinder it being put into effect, accused the pope of cherishing discord between both, by making separate offers of friendship to each through the medium of his legates, and declared that if the pontiff had any views for the public good, or the convocation of a council, it would be his duty to declare Francis I. an enemy to the pontifical see.

But Francis was not willing to be outdone either in tact or treachery; and, in the true spirit of a time-server, he proceeded to put in force a most severe edict against the Lutherans.

ⁱ Mosheim, b. iii. p. 150, ed. Soames.

^k See the bull published at the commencement of my edition of the "Decrees and Canons."

"Our most beloved sons in Christ, Charles ever august, the emperor of the Romans, and Francis, the most Christian king, the two main supports and defences of the Christian name."—Bull, *ibid.* p. 4.

By this bill heavy penalties were denounced against all who should be detected keeping books suspected of heretical doctrine, or condemned as such by the Romish church; who should secretly frequent conventicles held in private houses; who should despise or neglect the commands of the Church, refuse to acknowledge different kinds of diet on fast days, and use any other language for prayer than the Latin. Having thus sought to gain favour with the pontiff, he next proceeded to retaliate the charges laid against him by the emperor, taunting him with the capture and pillage of Rome, and with having mocked the pontiff by offering up a supplication in Spain for his liberation, while he himself was the cause of his detention in custody. He concluded by professing entire good-will towards the proposed council, and unchanging fidelity towards the Church of Rome, alleging his late violent edicts against the Protestants as proof of his sincerity.^m

The pontiff, who probably felt secretly amused at the bad faith of those whom he had so recently been the means of reconciling, but who must have been sensibly annoyed at the hinderance to his measures which would result from their disagreement, resolved to send Contarini to the emperor, Sadolet to the king of France, as peace-makers; beseeching them to sacrifice their private complaints to the public good. But Contarini dying, he substituted Cardinal Visco, who was so unpopular with the emperor, that the pontiff was compelled to recall him.ⁿ

^m Sarpi, p. 79, *sq.*

ⁿ See Courayer, p. 184.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Legates sent to Trent.

At the same time Paul sent three legates to Trent; Morone, lately raised to the dignity of the sacred college, Peter Paul Parisi, and Reginald Pole, the latter of whom was renowned for theological learning, and venerable for the sanctity of his habits, the splendour of his ancestry, and the glory of the exile and persecution which he had undergone in defence of the papal power.^o They received their commission on the 16th of October, being thereby empowered to notify to the Christian princes their arrival at Trent; to affix to the doors of the cathedral the usual placard, requiring the presence of those who, by right or custom, ought to assist at general councils. They were not, however, to open the council until after the arrival of the principal prelates from Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and then not without giving information to, and awaiting the further commission of the pontiff.

The legates had received the cross on the 20th of October, but were unable to reach Trent by the day fixed for the opening of the council. On the 22nd of November they arrived there, having been preceded by Giantommaso di San Felice, bishop of Cava, who had been deputed, with the cardinal bishop of Trent, to receive the prelates as they arrived, and to make the necessary preparations for the council. But whether the renewed war between the emperor and Francis I. had rendered the journey unsafe, or for other reasons^p less easy to conjecture, the attendance of

^o Pallav. v. i. p. 432. "L' altro il Polo ben addottrinato nella Teologia, e venerabile per la santità de' costumi, per gli splendori del sangue, e per la gloria dell' esilio e delle persecuzioni sofferte a difesa del Vaticano." These are better reasons than Sarpi's:—" Ut ostenderet, Rege licet Angliæ ab Ecclesiæ Romanæ obedientia alienato, ejus tamen regno primarium esse aliquem in concilio locum."

^p Sarpi, p. 80, asserts, that the pope had not only sent bishops whom he could best trust, but that he had ordered them to lag on their journey purposely. Although he has the authority of Adriani (see Courayer, p. 185) for this assertion, it scarcely seems probable. Pallavicino, v. 5, has an unsparing attack upon Sarpi on this subject, and, in a previous chapter, he reviews most of the previous historians of the Council of Trent in a vigorous but too depreciating manner.

bishops was so small, that no measures could be entered upon at present. So slow were they in coming, that Cardinal Farnese was compelled to urge the nuncios at the different courts to take all possible means of expediting the attendance of the prelates of the respective countries.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Granvel and Mendoza at Trent. The Council prorogued.

The emperor, now finding that the business of the council had gone too far to be stopped, sent Granvel and Mendoza as his ambassadors to Trent, whither they arrived on the 8th of January, 1543. On meeting with the pope's legates, they demanded that the council should straightway be opened, and business commenced. But the legates thought that the number as yet assembled was too small to be suited to the dignity of the council, or to the discussion of matters so important as those agitated by the Lutherans. Pallavicino, however, says that Granvel's conduct had gone far to show that the emperor's anxiety for a council was at an end, especially as the chancellor had been heard to express some opinions in favour of a meeting in Germany.¹ He left after a short time, and proceeded to Nuremberg, leaving Mendoza at Trent. Finding, however, that the opposition of the Protestants and the paucity of the assembly prevented any advance being made, he set out on his original embassy to Venice. The remaining legates perceiving that nothing could be done at present, and wearied with having fruitlessly stayed at Trent for seven months, during which time only a few prelates had arrived, while war was raging between the emperor and the king of France, they besought the pontiff to prorogue the council for the present; which he did in a bull setting forth the toils, troubles, and difficulties he had encountered in order to assemble a council. In fact, it was evident that the sympathies of Christendom were by no means strongly enlisted in the cause. Indifference amongst one class, and duplicity on the part of those, who cared not one straw about the matter, when they had a more exciting

¹ Pallav. *ibid.* who, however, thinks that this observation may have been a ruse to excite the alarm of the pontiff, and to lead him to make terms with the emperor.

employment in retaliating private grudges, were sufficient to oppose formidable hinderances to a measure which had rather grown out of circumstances, than been the work of temperate deliberation. Again, it was easy to perceive that the council could have no effect on the Protestants, unless considerable concessions—perhaps inconsistent with its very existence—were made by the papal see, and the Protestants were too large a party, and too much associated with the available power and resources of Germany, to be slighted when war was impending. Moreover, the pope, by his very choice of cardinals, and by his employment of those very cardinals upon confidential missions, had shown a strong inclination towards reforming abuses in the Romish church—a measure which, to numbers of indolent prelates and other clergy, who were now revelling in the spoils of their iniquitous laziness, and whose very presence at, or promotion of, a council where such matters were likely to be brought to the question, could not fail to prove most unpopular.

CHAPTER XLV.

Meeting of the Emperor and the Pope.

The emperor was now meditating his return from Spain to Germany, and the pontiff was anxious to converse with him at some convenient place on the way. After some difficulty, the pope and the emperor met at Busseto, a castle belonging to the Pallavicini, situated on the banks of the river Tarus, between Parma and Piacenza. Both were, however, too much engaged in forwarding their own interests, and too much pressed for time, to bestow much attention upon religious subjects. The emperor, whose whole anxieties were concentrated on the war with Francis I., strove earnestly to set the pontiff against him, and to persuade him to furnish means of prosecuting the war. The pope, on the other hand, ever watchful after the interests and aggrandizement of his family, was wholly bent upon obtaining Milan for his nephews, being encouraged in his expectations by the fact that Margaret, a natural daughter of the emperor, had been married to one of them, Octavius Farnese, and had thereby become duchess of Camarino. With the view of forwarding his

views, the pope promised to enter into an alliance against Francis; to elect several cardinals who should be nominated by the emperor; to pay 150,000 crowns annually for some time; and to leave the castles of Milan and Cremona in his power. But as the emperor required 1,000,000 ducats forthwith, and a like sum after a brief period, no terms could be settled at once; and as the emperor was obliged to hasten into Germany, the matter was left to the minister of the pontiff, who should follow the emperor. As to the council, the emperor contented himself with the belief that, as he had sent some legates and prelates to Trent, the Catholics would be satisfied of his favourable inclination thereunto, while the blame of delay would be cast upon the French king.

But although the pope and Charles parted with great demonstrations of mutual goodwill, the pontiff began again to mistrust the emperor, and to turn his mind towards the French king. Whatever doubts he might have entertained on the subject were wholly set at rest by the open defiance of his authority in the league formed by the emperor with Henry VIII. of England—a prince whom he had excommunicated, anathematized, and *formally* deprived of his kingdom,—a prince, moreover, who, so far from quailing submissively beneath the papal ban, had openly denied its influence, and had punished with the utmost severity those who dared to maintain it. On the other hand, the king of France had evinced a strong and persecuting spirit, highly favourable to the Catholic cause; his late acts and edicts against the Protestants, and the solemn condemnation of their doctrines by the Parisian divines, were strong reasons for deserting the cause of the emperor, who seemed in no haste to gratify the ambitious views of the pontiff for his nephews, and whose leaning to the Protestants seemed to be enhanced by the difficulties in which his wars involved him.

When the complaints of the pontiff came to Charles's ear, he merely recriminated in reply, taunting the pontiff with being in league with the Turks, through the medium of the king of France, on the ground that the Turkish fleet, which had ravaged the rest of the Italian coast with the utmost ferocity, had passed by the papal rivers in a friendly manner—nay, that, when, going to Ostia, under the command of Poli-

nus,^r to take in fresh water on the vigil of St. Peter's, they had thrown all Rome into terror and confusion, Cardinal de Carpi, who then commanded in the pope's absence, had assured them that there was nothing to fear, and that his king would be a friend, rather than a foe, to the Apostolic See. Pallavicino^s attempts to show that this idea was groundless, as the pope could have had little faith even in the most specious promises made on the part of the Turks; but, although he may not have been directly instrumental to their coming, he probably connived at what he may have been unable to prevent.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Diet of Spires.

Pressed on every side by powerful enemies, and feeling his inability to meet the difficulties which beset him, without the aid of the confederate princes, the emperor convened a diet at Spires at the beginning of the year 1544, which was numerously attended. The king of France made an attempt to procure a hearing for his ambassadors, with the view of exculpating himself from the charges alleged by the emperor. But they were not only sent back with their letters unopened, but ran some danger of their lives, being treated as the deputies of an avowed enemy of the empire.

The Lutheran party foresaw that the necessities of the emperor were in their favour; and it is not strange that they availed themselves of the advantage thus presented. Not only did they succeed in procuring the repeal of the obnoxious edicts of Worms and Augsburg, but a universal toleration was established for the present; all questions respecting ecclesiastical property of which they had possessed themselves, were set at rest; and the Protestants were made eligible to offices both civil and ecclesiastical, of which they had not before been capable.

So violent a blow to the papal power could not be overlooked by the pontiff, who was painfully suspended between strong feelings of anger and a desire to conciliate. Perceiving that the disposition of Charles was diseased in a

^r Legate of the French king.

^s v. 4.

manner that might be susceptible of strong remedies, although mild ones might fail,^t he resolved to remonstrate with him in strong terms. Accordingly, on the 25th of August he issued a breve, in which paternal admonitions were mingled with some unmistakable threats.

In this breve Paul sets forth, that his paternal love for the emperor, and the duty owed by him towards the Church, will not suffer him to pass over the proceedings in the late Diet of Spires, and bids him beware lest, following the example of Heli, he should, by a like indulgence towards the errors of the emperor, draw down the divine vengeance upon his own head. He proceeds to assert, that the decrees passed in that assembly were not only dangerous to the emperor's soul, but would be fraught with exceeding troubles to the Church; that he ought not to violate the rules observed by Christians, which command that, in religious subjects, all should be referred to the Church of Rome; whereas he had ventured to hold a council touching matters of faith, without calling upon the pope, who alone, by divine right, has the power to summon such assemblies. Again, the emperor not only wished the laity to be allowed to decree in spiritual matters, but the most indiscriminate class of laity, including heretics of the vilest errors. In the case of spiritual goods, moreover, rebels, whom he had condemned by his own edicts, he had restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges. He acquits the emperor of having acted thus of his own free will, and attributes his conduct to the evil advice of the enemies of the Church of Rome; but complains that he should have yielded to counsels so pernicious, illustrating the danger of usurping the office of the high-priest by the scriptural examples of Uzziah, Korah, and others. "Nor does it suffice," continues the pontiff, "to say that the work was a holy one; for holy things become impious when administered by those to whom it appertaineth not." He then sets forth the good fortune and honours which have ever fallen to the lot of those princes, who have devoted themselves to the service of the See of Rome, adducing the examples of Constantine, the Theodosii, and Charles the Great, and illustrating the consequences of the opposite line

^t I have followed Sarpi, p. 81, *seqq.* and Pallav. v. 5, 6, 7.

of conduct by those of Anastasius, Mauritius, Constans II., Philip, Leo, and other princes. And of such judgment the emperor ought to stand in especial dread, being descended from princes, who have received more honour from the Romish church than they had bestowed upon it.

As touching the work of reformation, he avows himself favourable to it; but he entreats and admonishes the emperor to leave the care thereof to himself, as appertaining to him of divine right. He then urges the pains, trouble, and anxiety he had bestowed in seeking to assemble a general council, as the only means of establishing religious unanimity, and exhorts the emperor to do all in his power to promote that design. In language teeming with the most affectionate phrases, and by no means deficient in solemn earnestness, he urges him to desert the evil counsels, which had led him aside from the right path, and to obey the calling voice of his spiritual father; to cease from interfering in questions touching religion or the priesthood; to refer such matters to their legitimate tribunal; to leave the judgment concerning the goods of the Church to the priests, to whom the Lord has intrusted it; to study peace, or, if he cannot lay down arms, at least to promote the convocation of a general council, with full powers to judge of those who have fomented such pernicious dissensions among the Christian populace; finally, to rescind the decrees passed in favour of heretics, and to do away with the benefits which a mistaken leniency had led him to bestow upon them. In conclusion, he warns the emperor that his own indulgence must have a limit, and must depend upon his future conduct, exhorting him not to drive him to a harshness of conduct inconsistent with the affection he entertains for him, and invoking the mercy of God to turn him away from the evil advisers by whom he is at present surrounded.^u

CHAPTER XLVII.

Peace concluded between Charles and Francis.

Charles received this remonstrance without resentment, the more readily as he had already condemned his own con-

^u Pallav. v. 7, p. 465.

duct mentally, and could but be sensible that the part he had played was anything but a consistent one. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the character of Paul III., however mistaken^l might be the policy or principles which he pursued, was not one to be trifled with. "If the long range of pontiffs be considered, no one was more earnest in the defence of the Apostolic See than Paul; no one contributed so much to reform the manners of the court; no one adorned the senate with better men; no one contributed so largely to wars undertaken against the enemies of the faith; no one abstained so inflexibly from undertaking wars in which the blood of the faithful might be spilt, save when he was compelled to reduce to order the insubordinate of his own dominions."

Such is the praise which a clever, but partial historian bestows upon a man, who, had he possessed any other dignity than that of pope, might have filled it in a manner that would have silenced criticism, and left room for admiration only. But we have already seen too much of that temporizing spirit, which, at all periods the disgrace of the Roman See, was equally conspicuous in this pontiff, who was in other respects a model of emulation for his successors, which few of them could hope to imitate.

An unexpected relief presented itself to the harassed mind of Paul, in the sudden reconciliation of the emperor and the king of France. "The emperor," as Sarpi quaintly observes, "saw plainly, that while he was busied in the French war, and his brother in the other against the Turks, Germany so much increased in liberty, that the imperial name would not be esteemed within a short time; and that so long as he made war in France, he imitated *Æsop's* dog, who, following the shadow, lost both it and the body."^v On September 18th, 1544, peace was concluded between them at Crepy; and Paul, overjoyed at the event, ordered public thanksgivings to be offered throughout the whole Church of Christendom, sent congratulatory messages to the princes, and, in a bull published on the 19th of November, removed the suspension of the council, and summoned the assembly to meet at Trent, on March 15th of the ensuing year.^w

^v Sarpi, p. 103 of Brent's English translation, fol. Lond. 1676.

^w Some of Father Paul's theories and reasonings relative to the

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Legates sent to Trent. Various Delays.

Paul, whose declining years and feeble health rendered him ill-fitted for the journey, selected as his legates to the council, Giammaria del Monte, bishop of Palestrina, Marcello Cervini, and Reginald Pole. "In this man he chose nobility of blood, and opinion of piety, which commonly was had of him, and the rather for that he was an Englishman, to show that England did not rebel: in Marcellus constancy,¹ and immovable and undaunted perseverance, together with exquisite knowledge: in Monte reality and openness of mind, joined with such fidelity to his patrons, that he could not postpone their interests before the safety of his own conscience."^x The bishop of Cava was ordered to precede the legates, as before, and two of them set out immediately. Pole, however, stayed for some little time, from fear, it was said, of experiencing violence at the hands of the king of England's emissaries. At their departure, the legates were not provided either with written instructions, nor with a bull of faculty, being perhaps uncertain as yet what instructions would be best adapted to existing circumstances, and wishing to see how the emperor would act.

On their arrival, they found that no other prelate than the bishop of Cava had reached Trent; but in a few days there arrived Campeggio, bishop of Feltri, and Cornelio Musso, bishop of Ritoreto. Mendoza also came from Trent, to act as representative of Charles at the council, and he was soon after followed by the ambassadors of the king of the Romans.

But the old mischief was still at work;^y and, whether from pope's conduct appear forced and unsatisfactory. I know not whether Pallavicino is always right in his objections to them, but I prefer omitting particulars, where there seems fair room of exception.

^x Vol. ii. p. 105. Brent. Pallavicino is ill pleased with this latter remark.

^y That some foul play was concerned in the delays concerning the opening of this council cannot well be doubted. I insert the following curious passage of Father Paul, rather as illustrative of the surmises entertained respecting the conduct of the pope and his legates, than as wishing to vouch for its strict accuracy. Pallavicino is warm but not satisfactory in his denial:—

"The legates not knowing which way to treat, made demonstration

lack of interest in the proceeding, or because some secret and unaccountable influence withheld, what the authorities of the Romish church professed to put forward, the scene of the council was still comparatively a desert. The old objection was again raised, that the small number of prelates present rendered it inexpedient to open the council on the day which had been appointed, especially as Mendoza alleged that the Spanish bishops would speedily set out for Trent, and the bishops within the jurisdiction of the pope had been commanded by him to hasten thither without delay. Moreover, the legates felt anxious to learn the proceedings of the diet then assembled at Worms, and also to see what would be the result of the letter issued by Pietro Toletano, the viceroy of Naples, requiring the bishops of that kingdom not to leave their dioceses, but to be satisfied with four proxies, whom he promised to depute to act in their name.

Bitterly annoyed, and much surprised at this prohibition, the pontiff ordered the legates to suspend the opening of the council, and then issued a bull, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any bishop to appear at the council by proxy, and enjoining all to present themselves in person. Although the pontiff well knew that this rule could not be universally followed, and would have been willing to have made exception under circumstances that rendered it necessary, still he resolved to adhere to it until he had compelled the viceroy to withdraw the prohibition.

Pole was still absent; but the other two legates having communicated with the pope, he gave orders to open the council on May 3rd, being the festival of the Finding of the

to proceed jointly with the ambassadors and prelates, and to communicate to them their most inward thoughts; whereupon, when letters came from Rome or Germany, they assembled all to read them. But perceiving that Don Diego equalized himself to them, and the bishops presumed more than they were wont to do at Rome, and fearing some inconvenience would arise when their number did increase, they sent advice to Rome, that always one of the letters should be written to be showed, and the secret things apart; because letters which they received until then they had made no use of but by their wit. They demanded also a cipher, to communicate the matters of greater moment. All which particularities, with many more that shall be spoken of, having taken out of the register of letters of the cardinal of Monte, I have not been willing to conceal them, because they serve to penetrate the depth of the treaties."—Sarpi, Brent's translation, p. 107.

Holy Cross. To implore a blessing on the undertaking, as well as to give importance to the solemnity, he had intended to celebrate mass publicly himself in the Vatican church on that day; but a letter which he received from the legates the day preceding, although not absolutely giving proof of a change of intention on their part, was yet sufficiently discouraging to make him desist from so doing.²

The opening of the council was still delayed, the legates feeling doubtful how to act under existing circumstances. On the one hand, the paucity of members as yet present, on the other, the uncertain state of the emperor's feelings, presented difficulties which seemed to admit of no easy solution. In fact, the more we consider the waywardness and listless conduct, the fickle and time-serving principles which seem to have actuated most of those engaged in the transaction, the more does the Council of Trent appear to us in the light of a measure originated by opposition, and carried on rather by force of circumstances, than by any heartfelt interest on the part of one side or the other.

Nevertheless, far be it from me (especially when I am speaking of the manly and enterprising characters of men like Paul III. or Contarini) to deny what an admirable writer of our own time has asserted, viz. that, even "reading the proceedings of this council in the pages of that able, but not very lenient historian,^a to whom we have generally recourse, an adversary as decided as any that could have come from the reformed churches, we find proofs of much ability, considering the embarrassments with which they had to struggle, and of an honest desire of reformation, among a large body, as to those matters, which, in their judgment, ought to be reformed."^b To judge fairly of the amount of sincerity in a man's actions, we must also make some allowance for what he has at stake in the question at issue. It is too much the fault with Protestant writers to forget that the intemperate violence of the Anabaptists, and of other sects of Reformers, whose zeal far outstripped their discretion, and whose rabid

² This communication, which is important in reference to the secret policy of the contending parties, is unfortunately too long for insertion. It will be found in Pallav. v. 10.

^a *I. e.* Fra Paoli Sarpi.

^b Hallam, *Lit. of the Middle Ages*, v. i. p. 370, *note*.

passion for mere alteration led to criminal and terrific excesses, made the Romanist party cling more firmly to a specious conservatism, which, while it stood firmly and sternly in the way of every attempt at substantial and scriptural reform, still defended the sacredness of old institutions, while it upheld temporal interests. Both the sincerely and the selfishly religious had no small reasons for clinging to a principle, which made the Vatican the centre of appeal, where men might intrust their souls and their purses to one custody.

Furthermore, great as may have been the interest conscientiously felt *at times* in the convocation of a council—even admitting, upon a by no means unfair supposition, that the pope and the emperor may have on certain occasions felt a real desire, and felt persuaded of the necessity of such a medium for the suppression of religious discord—still there was enough in the history of previous times to prove that such a council (as the event afterwards showed) would fail in its main object—that of conciliating the Protestants. Nor was this the only discouragement. War and dissension between princes, who at one period appeared to be mutually dependent, and upon whose support the Roman See could calculate only as a matter of speculation—plotting and counterplotting between parties, whose very existence seemed to hang upon mutual well-being, even at the moment they were striving to outwit one another—quarrels and reconciliations, alliances and defections the most sudden and unexpected—all these were difficulties enough for Christendom itself, much more for the pope, to contend with. A late politician once denied that there was such a thing as consistency in the world. The Council of Trent presents but too many instances of the truth of that doctrine in something more than secular matters.

To return from this digression—the main fear both of the pontiff and the legates resulted from the uncertain conduct of the German princes and the emperor—the latter of whom was evidently compelled to conciliate the Protestants—while they were equally opposed to the council, fearing that its commencement would be the termination of the *congé* which had been accorded to religious freedom until the opening of the synod. To Cardinal Farnese, legate of the emperor, it

was therefore intrusted to allow the legates to open the council, without receiving direct orders from Rome, as soon as circumstances should appear favourable. The viceroy of Naples felt compelled to make at all events a show of submission to the papal bull, and "nominally to leave his prelates to act according to their own judgment and sense of duty ; sending, however, only the four whom he himself had chosen, though without the odious name of proxies."^c

Poverty, privation, absence from their wonted residences, and from the administration of customary duties, made this long delay most irksome to a large party of those assembled at Trent. To appease this grievance, the legates voted a subsidy to those whose circumstances rendered it necessary, and wrote to the pontiff, suggesting the necessity of making some further provision to meet such exigences.^d As a further means of quieting the dissatisfaction, and preventing the prelates leaving Trent, the legates employed them daily in forwarding various matters more or less directly connected with the council, and thereby gained two objects, not only quieting the discontented, but gaining a daily accession to their numbers. Still, the delay had an undoubted tendency to weaken the cause, and the legates frequently came in for blame that was more justly deserved by the emperor.^e

At length, in a consistory held on the 16th of November, 1545, it was resolved that the council should be opened on the 13th of the following month ; and a bull was expedited, wherein Paul declared, "that he had intimated a council to heal the wounds of the Church, caused by impious heretics. Therefore he exhorted every one to assist the fathers assembled therein with their prayers to God ; which to do effectually and fruitfully, they ought to confess themselves, and fast three days, and during that time to go in processions, and then to receive the most blessed sacrament, granting pardon of all his sins to whosoever did so."^f

^c Waterworth, p. lxx. It is almost unnecessary to say, that both Sarpi and Pallavicino contain much of the interior history of this period which is well worth knowing, but which is at the same time too copious to be transferred to these pages.

^d Sarpi, p. 97.

^e "Ea res legatos vehementer offendit : quod diversum a vero mentem ipsis affingeret, et concilii dilationem, quæ imperatori esset ascribenda, ipsis imputaret."—Sarpi, p. 96.

^f Sarpi, p. 123, Brent's translation.

Instructions were also given to the legates relative to the manner of proceeding in the council. They were to treat of the articles of religious doctrine at once, notwithstanding any opposition that might arise: they were to regard opinions only, and not their authors. But in the condemnation thereof they were not to enter into trials and proofs of the facts, not only to prevent unnecessary delay, but to give the accused the opportunity of exculpating themselves; they were not to content themselves with general proscriptions of errors, but to enter carefully into details touching those doctrines which were propagated either by word of mouth or by writing, and on which the new heresies built their support.

The subject of reformation, as being but the secondary cause of assembling the council, was to be deferred till after questions of doctrine had been settled. They were not, however, to give way to such delay as was likely to occasion a disbelief that it was either being shuffled out of the way, or postponed till the end of the council. They were to listen carefully to such objections as might be brought against the court of Rome, not, however, with a view of taking any steps in the matter themselves, but of furnishing the pontiff with the information necessary to enable him to determine the right course to be pursued.

All letters and documents expedited in the name of the council were to be attested by the signatures of the three legates, as presidents, and of the pope, whose person they represented, so that he might appear not merely as the author of the convocation of the council, but likewise as the head and ruler of it when assembled. When no hinderance prevented, expedition was to be used in despatching the whole business of the council, both with the view of avoiding the waste of time, and of silencing the objections to which it gave rise.

Finally, they were empowered to grant a certain number of indulgences, but not in the name of the council—such a concession not belonging to an assembly of that description.[§]

I am not going to enter into the sophistry in which Pallavicino has unsparingly indulged with the view of proving

[§] Pallav. v. 16, § 2.

that the pope was exempt from views to his own personal aggrandizement in framing these directions. Nor will I detain the reader with his discussion on the word "politics," as his defence of those of Paul III. will not prove the amount of religious sincerity he would wish to infer. But it may be well to point out a few features in these directions, which serve to show that the council was, as regarded the only purpose for which the reformists could have desired it, wholly useless.

In the first place, the pope had the full power of putting in an objection, or of negating any measure proposed; the abuses of the Church of Rome were to be treated of as secondary, whereas they had been the primary cause that led to its convocation. Rome had lived on in errors that were increasing from day to day, and yet, on the present occasion, she appeared in state to try her own offences, and to test those of her opponents by a jury to which they had unanimously objected. It was a case in which the authority of the pope was the contested point, with the pope as supreme judge in his own cause, and with a foredoomed verdict in his own favour.

Now, there is no doubt, that to admit any power of decision on the part of a general council, in matters where the pontifical authority was likely to suffer, was, however agreeable to the practice of earlier Christian councils, now most thoroughly improbable; and no one can read the directions given to the legates without perceiving, that the independence of the council was limited to the privilege of condemning heretics, establishing and ratifying old errors, and just intermingling such measures of reform as might leave the whole real power of the Church, as before, in the hands of the pope. The maxim was, "Freedom of speech; but don't touch my supremacy."

But a still better evidence of the manner in which this council was subservient to the wishes and tastes of the pontiff, is to be found in a statement of Pallavicino, to the effect that Paul had previously announced to the legates, that he intended shortly to hold an election of new cardinals, both with the view of raising a friend of the emperor to that dignity, and of doing away with an impression on the minds

of the people, little suited to the pontifical authority, namely, that the pontiff had not the power of bestowing the purple while a council was sitting.^h

This fact is interesting, as showing not only that the pontifical dignity was losing credit even amongst its own adherents, and that some ideas touching a limit to its assumptions had been entertained among the greater mass even of Roman Catholics. If direct language to that effect were wanting, surely this measure, and the reason that prompted it, were good grounds for proving the pope's determination to hold a general council as possessing a secondary authority only, and a power in no way calculated to restrain his own proceedings.

Nor can I omit dwelling upon another fact—upon which some political reasoners will perhaps set little value, but which is nevertheless curious, if only as an historical coincidence—the empowering of the council to grant indulgences.

It will hereafter be seen, that conciliation of the Protestant party was anything but the spirit which guided this council; but it nevertheless seems strange that the deputies of an assembly, avowedly called together for the purpose of appeasing disturbances and pacifying the tumults which had sundered the unity of Christendom, should have been endued with a power to exercise that very privilege claimed by the Church, which had been the primary occasion of Luther's secession. Surely it was a beforehand declaration of a determination to persist in the points at issue, even in the very teeth of the opposition they were about to encounter. Was there not a kind of authoritative recklessness in this act, better becoming a party who, as hereafter will be shown, rather meditated personal aggression, than men who had a sincere interest in gaining over the hearts and wills of their fellows, or in honestly probing the truth, apart from the draperies with which increasing superstitions had shadowed it? In the power of indulgences granted to the legates of this council, we seem to read the war-challenge to Protes-

^h Pallav. v. 16, § 1:—"Si per distruggera una popolare credenza poco onorevole all' autorità pontificia, che in tempo di concilio non fosse lecita al papa la distribuzion delle porpore." This fact is omitted by Waterworth, for reasons perhaps not difficult to discover.

tantism, and the haughty determination of the pontiff even to go out of his way¹ to assert his power.

Even now, when no difficulties seemed to interfere with the progress of the council, an unexpected order was sent by the king of France, commanding the four bishops of Aix, Clermont, Agde, and Rennes, to return. Guillaume Duprat, bishop of Clermont, immediately obeyed the royal mandate, and the rest, despite the earnest remonstrances of the legates, the cardinal of Trent, and the Spanish prelates, seemed disposed to follow him. At length, however, it was agreed that the bishop of Rennes should return to the king, the bishop of Agde linger in the neighbourhood of Trent, and the archbishop of Aix remain. The opposition of the king proved but temporary, and he even expressed his approbation of the conduct of the two bishops who had remained behind.

On the 7th of November, the legates received final instructions to open the council on the 13th of the December following, and a breve to that effect reached Trent on the 11th of that month. On the day following a solemn fast was held, and public prayers offered, to crave a blessing on the forthcoming convocation. On the same day, moreover, a general congregation of the prelates was held, when the bishop of Jaen wished that the breve appointing and empowering the legates, should be read on the following day, when the bull indicting the council would be read as usual. This was, however, considered superfluous.

Having now completed this historical sketch as far as the first session of the council, I think it advisable to close the first part, as the necessary notices of doctrinal, as well as historical matters, will render some difference in treatment requisite during the remaining portion of the work.

¹ Be it remembered that this power had been granted them, “che avvertissero di non lasciar mai che queste si dispensassero a nome del concilio, a cui non s’ appartenena un tal atto.”—Pallav. *l. c.* p. 498. Some persons may regard this measure merely as a popular one, likely to attract favour with princes concerned in the council; but it seems to me to suggest designs more deeply connected with the maintenance of the papal supremacy.

² Sarpi says Asturia. He is very inaccurate in many of these particulars, and I have therefore followed Pallavicino.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Opening Ceremonials of the Council. First Session.

ON the 13th of December, 1545, the legates, accompanied by the bishops arrayed in their pontifical robes, and by a large throng of doctors of divinity, clergy, and laymen, proceeded in solemn procession from the church of the Holy Trinity to the cathedral dedicated to St. Vigilius. On their arrival, Cardinal del Monte, as first legate, celebrated high mass; at the conclusion of which he bestowed, in the name of the pope, a plenary indulgence on all present, exhorting them to make earnest and constant prayers to Almighty God for the peace of the Church, and the suppression of heresy and dissension. A Latin sermon was then delivered by Frà Cornelio Musso, bishop of Bitonto, which was followed by the prayers customary on such occasions.^a After the bull of November 19th, 1544, removing the suspension of the council, and the breve of the 22nd of February, 1545, nominating the legates, had been read, a brief exhortation was delivered by the first legate.

When the bishops had taken their seats, the president, Cardinal del Monte, asked them whether it pleased them, "unto the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, for the increase and exaltation of the Christian faith and religion, for the extirpation of heresies, for the peace and honour of the Church, for the reformation of the Christian clergy and people, for the depression and extinction of the

^a See Sarpi, p. 102. Pallav. v. 17, is profuse in charging Father Paul with inaccuracies in his description of the ceremonies observed at the opening of the council.

enemies of the Christian name, to decree and declare that the sacred and general Council of Trent hath begun.”^b

This having been unanimously agreed to by the form “placet,” it was next proposed, that “whereas the celebration of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ was near at hand, and other festivals of the concluding and commencing year followed thereupon, the first ensuing session should be held on the Thursday after the Epiphany, being the 7th of January, 1546.” This having met with a like approval, Hercola Severola, as promoter of the council, ordered the public notary to take a proper and authentic account of the proceedings. The “Te Deum” was then chanted, and the fathers having laid aside their pontifical robes, and assumed their ordinary costume, accompanied the legates to their own dwellings, preceded by the legatine cross. These rites were observed at each succeeding session.

CHAPTER II.

Strictures on the Oration of the Bishop of Bitonto. Further Particulars touching the First Session.

The Germans and Italians, who had eagerly awaited to hear intelligence of the proceedings of the council, were soon gratified by the appearance in print of the charge given through the legates, and the speech delivered by the bishop of Bitonto. This latter document excited great dissatisfaction; nor will the elaborate defence of Pallavicino satisfy any one either of its soundness of argument or excellence of style. Flimsy rhetoric, clumsy platitudes, and paltry comparisons are bestrewed throughout with little discrimination; and many of the exaggerated statements respecting the power and infallible judgment of general councils become almost amusing, from the distorted figures of speech, and the total misconception of the meaning of scriptural texts, by which they are distinguished.

While the admonition addressed by the legates was received by all as pious, moderate, and Christian-like, the opinions respecting the bishop's oration were very different. “All charged him with vanity, and a showing off of elo-

^b Decrees and Canons, p. 12 of my translation.

quence ; while those skilled in the matter found, on comparing the words of the legates with those of the bishop, that they were utterly repugnant, and that the one party had expressed a pious, the other an impious opinion. The legates truly and candidly allowed, that it was vain to invoke the Holy Spirit, unless the mind were first cleansed by a sincere acknowledgment of sins committed. The bishop, on the contrary, held that the Holy Spirit would open the mouth of those in whose very heart the Spirit dwelt not. Moreover, they thought that arrogance had impelled him to assert that if some few bishops went astray, the whole Church erred ; as if councils composed of seven hundred bishops had not erred, whose doctrines had nevertheless been rejected by the Church. Nor were there wanting those who denied that this was suited to the doctrine of the Church, which conceded infallibility to the pope only, and to councils only by virtue of his confirmation of their decrees." ^c Nor were these the only objections urged against an oration, which is only rendered worse by the attempts made in its defence. ^d

Pallavicino states, that three legates, four archbishops, twenty bishops, five generals of religious orders, and the ambassadors of King Ferdinand, formed the council. ^e But

^c Sarpi, p. 103, sq.

^d Cf. Courayer, p. 236, sq. n. 52.

^e Le Plat says, four archbishops and twenty-two bishops. Sarpi simply says, twenty-five bishops. The following remarks of Waterworth (although they totally lose sight of the fact that the pope had reserved to himself a power of interference that rendered the proceedings of the council wholly subservient to his own pleasure) are somewhat important, as showing Roman Catholic views on the subject of the independence of the council :—" It has been not unfrequently represented that, of the prelates present, the majority were under the direct territorial influence of the pontiff, when so far was this from being the case, that in reality not one in five of the bishops who assisted at the council but was completely independent of that influence, and under the immediate control of some one or other of the great princes in Christendom, as the very slightest inspection of the list of bishops present and of the countries from which they came, will at once evince. The history, too, of almost every session of the council proves the complete independence of the bishops on the pontiff" (p. lxxv.). Compare the following very opposite remarks of Bishop Burnet :—" The intrigues at Trent, as they are set out even by Cardinal Pallavicino, were more subtle, but not less apparent nor less scandalous. Nothing was trusted to a session till it was first canvassed in congregations, which were what a committee of the whole house is in

although the council had formally commenced, neither the prelates nor the legates knew what plan of action was to be pursued as to the manner of conducting the assembly, nor were the requisite officers appointed. They accordingly communicated with the pontiff on the subject; and, after some deliberation with the cardinals and other leading men of the Roman court, he appointed Achilles de' Grassi advocate of the council; Ugo Buoncompagni was deputed to draw up the official documents; and Angelo Massarello was intrusted with the office of secretary, at first only for a time, although his abilities and assiduity ultimately secured him the permanent appointment.

The legates having also wished to ascertain whether the votes in the council should be given by nations, or by individuals, the pontiff gave his opinion in favour of the latter system, observing that the other was of but recent growth, having been introduced at the Council of Constance, and subsequently adopted at Basle, while the old system, which had been used in the Council of Lateran, was both the best, the most suitable, and the least likely to give offence.

CHAPTER III.

Preparations for the Second Session.

It cannot fail to strike the reader, that the first session of the Council of Trent was little else than a display of ceremonials, warranted doubtless by the prescript of long-standing usage, but insufficient in itself to compensate for the unsatisfactory state of the other proceedings. Everything was in an unfinished and incomplete condition, and Paul himself, by the delays which he had caused, seemed to throw a damp over the commencement of this council, which augured ill for its ultimate success.

However, preparations for the next session began to be

our parliament, and then every man's vote was known, so that there was hereby great occasion given for practice. This alone, if there had been no more, showed plainly that they themselves knew they were not guided by the Spirit of God, or by infallibility; since a session was not thought safe to be ventured on but after a long previous canvassing."—On the Articles, p. 202.

carried on with greater activity, and the question as to whether any persons but bishops should be permitted to give their vote on matters of doctrine was settled in the following manner. The privilege of voting was to be allowed to the generals of the religious orders; but the three abbots of the Cistercians were to have but one vote, as representing one order. Such prelates as might be let by some lawful hindrance, but who sent proxies, were to depend upon the decision of the pope as to their right of voting. This fact, which has been slurred over by writers on the subject, is of more importance than it appears, showing, as it does, the unwillingness of the pope to yield any concessions calculated to increase the independence of the bishops, even though to the advantage of the council.

Another matter, which, although arranged for a time, never was, nay, up to the present moment, never has been settled, was the title to be given to the council, at the beginning of the decrees in each session. One party, not satisfied with the terms "general and œcumenical," wished to add the words, "representing the universal church," as used at the councils of Basle and Constance. But the legates, who feared to give authority to councils, which (especially that of Basle) had been instrumental to what the Church of Rome denounced as schismatical, and who perhaps thought that they might increase the bad feeling on the part of the Protestant party, succeeded in negating this proposal.^f

On the 7th of January, 1546, the second session assembled with the customary ceremonies, the mass being celebrated by Giovanni Fonseca, bishop of Castell-à-mare, and the sermon preached by Coriolano Martirano, bishop of San Marco. The assembly consisted of more than thirty theologians of great eminence, besides four cardinals, four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, four generals of orders, and three abbots. Two of the archbishops were titular only, never having seen the churches whence they derived their titles; one being the celebrated antiquarian Olaus Magnus, brother of John, bishop of Upsal, who had been driven out of his

^f Pallav. vi. 2. Sarpi, p. 108. Courayer's notes, p. 247, sq. are important.

see at the time of the Reformation being introduced into Sweden; and Vaucop, bishop of Armagh, who had been a confidential emissary of the papal court in Germany, France, and elsewhere.^g The bishop of Castell-à-mare then read a breve, bearing date December 4th, 1545, by which the 13th of December had been appointed for the opening of the council, as well as the bull prohibiting votes by proxy. Next came the decree "touching the manner of living, and other matters to be observed, during the council." In this document, besides various precepts encouraging devotional and abstemious habits during the holding of the council, the members of it are exhorted to give all the results of their learning, and to apply all their powers of thought to determine the questions at issue, and to observe the precepts of the Council of Toledo respecting avoiding disturbances in the assembly, violence of speech, and captious disputation.

Two disputes arose during this session. William du Prat, bishop of Clermont, demanded that, in the prayers appointed to be said during the sessions of this council, the name of the king of France should be coupled with that of the emperor in the suffrages; a request to which the Cardinal Santaacruz made no objection, save that it would lead to a similar desire on the part of other princes. This proposal, which had been already agitated in a previous congregation,^h was negatived.

The second dispute was respecting the addition of the words "representing the universal church," which was negatived for the present; but, as will be seen in our next chapter, was still regarded as an open and unsettled question. In other respects the "placet" was unanimous.

^g See Sarpi, p. 109, and Courayer, p. 248, sq.

^h Sarpi, *l. c.*

CHAPTER IV.

Preparatory Congregations for the Third Session.

On the 13th of January, a congregation was held, in which the legates made great complaints respecting the conduct of those who had opposed themselves to the title of the decree in the last session. They alleged that it was most indecorous to display different and varying opinions in so public a place, and that congregations had been therefore instituted, to the end that each man might be able to give his opinion in private, so that, when they came to give decision in the council itself, all might unanimously agree. Moreover, nothing was so likely to terrify heretics, and confirm the Catholic party in a firm and unshaken adherence to their faith, than the appearance of unanimity. They concluded by urging the adoption of the title "œcumenical and general," as used in the pontiff's bull, and without any further addition.

This dispute, while it serves to show the unwillingness of the Church of Rome to acknowledge the fallibility which the councils of Constance and Basle had satisfactorily established, at the same time proves how little real confidence a large portion of the Romanists felt in their whole proceedings. I have already quoted Bishop Burnet's severe but just criticism on the tendency of these previous assemblies to render the sessions of the council little else than confirmations of the measures which had been agreed upon by private intrigue. In fact, the whole freedom of the council must have been crippled by the certain unpopularity with which the voice of a reformer would have been received, and the obvious desire to stifle free public discussion, while calculated to give a specious appearance of unity to the decrees of the council, was oftentimes not the heartfelt, well-understood determination of temperate and upright counsel, but the curbed and clipped resolve of a packed committee.

In the meetings which followed, a more important question arose, touching the manner of proceeding with the future sessions, and long and animated discussions ensued. The emperor and his party¹ were of opinion that no good

¹ Especially Cardinal Madrucci. See Courayer, p. 254.

could accrue from treating of doctrines, until the errors of the clergy, the cause of so many evils, were properly reformed. Another party were for commencing with the heads of faith, alleging, that to proceed otherwise would be contrary to the whole spirit of Christianity, and wishing the extirpation of heresies to take the first place in the proceedings of the council, as it had done in the papal bull. A third party were for uniting both subjects, observing that, as every doctrine of faith was accompanied by some abuse, and that every abuse arose from the misinterpretation or misuse of some doctrine, they ought to be treated of simultaneously. The remaining party, especially some of the French bishops, wished the establishment of peace to be first considered, and that the princes of Christendom should be called upon to do all in their power to abstain from mutual hostilities, in order to promote the safety and tranquil continuance of the council. They also thought that the Lutherans should be urged to attend the council, and called upon to testify their agreement with the rest of the Christian world.^k

The pontiff had required of the legates that faith alone should be first treated of; but they, finding the impossibility of proceeding in the face of a strong opposition, informed Paul of the difficulty in which they were placed, and requested further instructions. They also urged the expediency of either removing some of the poorer bishops from the council, or of relieving them with supplies of money, observing that it was a mistake to suppose that they could live with the same frugality and poverty at Trent as at Rome; for that at Rome, being of no position or authority, they could endure an humble mode of life, but that their seat in the council gave them greater ambition, and made them expect more competent means of supporting the importance they had thereby obtained.^l

In a congregation held on the 22nd, the dispute was

^k My chief authority throughout this chapter is Sarpi, p. 110, sq.

^l Sarpi, p. 112, who attributes the previous neglect of the pontiff, respecting the matters urged by the legates, to his mind being occupied with the design of a war against the Protestants. Courayer, p. 256, assigns less important, but perhaps more probable, reasons for Paul's conduct.

again renewed, and the legates found themselves met by a firmer opposition than ever; and it was at length determined that the advice of Campeggio, bishop of Feltro, should be followed, and that both faith and discipline should be treated of simultaneously.

As a practical example to the rest, the first legate, Cardinal del Monte, after returning thanks to God, and eulogizing the desire shown by the prelates to reform whatever abuses existed among their order, avowed his determination at once to renounce his bishopric of Pavia, reduce his establishment and expenditure, and do his utmost to carry out the principles of a healthy and becoming reform. His conduct was followed by the cardinals Cervini, Pacheco, and Pole, who admonished the fathers "that the reformation ought to commence with themselves, and extend to whatsoever and wheresoever abuses existed unworthy of the purity and perfection of the Christian character."^m Such a determination, while it doubtless delighted the conscientious churchman, whose principles were really interested in the reformation of abuse, must have alarmed and disgusted the larger mass, whose splendid manner of living, whose cupidity in the search after wealth and position, and whose abuse of both, rendered them the first persons upon whom the amendment would operate. Many there were, who, while urging the necessity of reform, had, with an unfortunate obliviousness of their own character, forgotten that its work would probably begin with themselves.

Having communicated these resolutions to the pope, the legates proposed two matters for consideration in the mean time: first, whether, at the next session, a decree should be set forth commanding that both faith and discipline be treated of simultaneously; and secondly, what system should be observed in selecting, handling, and examining matters connected therewith.

A trivial dispute respecting the form and design of the seal to be used in signing the letters of the council ensued; but it was agreed that they should at present content themselves with the seal of the chief legate.

In another congregation it was determined that no decree

^m Waterworth, p. lxxx.

should be passed, formally binding the council to treat of faith and doctrine in conjunction, but that it should be understood, that such a method of proceeding should be the one pursued, although the change was not to be made in the next session, but in the one following.

It had also been arranged, with the view of securing expedition and quiet during the debates, that the prelates should be divided into three congregations, one of which met at the residence of each of the legates. The result of their debates was to be communicated to a general congregation; and there examined and decided upon, after which it was to be ratified in the public session.

Time was now approaching for the session, and the legates, having as yet received no advices from the pontiff, were in doubt how to act. Finding, however, that many bishops were on their journey to Trent, it was thought advisable to postpone all further decisions until they arrived. Cardinal Pole proposed that, in the interim, the creed of the Romish Church should be proposed publicly in the following session, after the manner of the creeds propounded for acceptation at previous councils. It was finally agreed, that the decree should be drawn up with the old heading, and that mention should be made both of doctrine and reformation, but in terms so general as to be capable of being adapted to every occasion; that the creed should also be recited and published; that another decree should be made, referring the consideration of other matters till the session following, and postpone that session till the furthest period possible, provided it did not extend beyond Easter.ⁿ

CHAPTER V.

The Third Session.

On the 4th of February, 1546, the session was opened with the accustomed solemnities. Pietro Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo, celebrated mass, and the sermon was preached by Ambrosio Politio. The former prelate then read the decree, declaring the symbol of faith,^o as follows:—

ⁿ Sarpi, p. 114.

^o This will be found in my edition of the "Decrees and Canons,"

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible ; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father of all ages ; God of God, light of light, very God of very God ; begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father ; by whom all things were made : who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from the heavens, and was incarnate of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, and was made man : crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried ; and he rose again on the third day, according to the Scriptures ; and he ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father ; and again will come with glory to judge the living and the dead ; of whose kingdom there shall be no end : and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and Son ; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified ; who spake by the prophets : and one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins ; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

Against this first decree only three dissentients protested, and their objections were unimportant, being directed not against the creed, but against the omission of the clause "representing the universal Church." The bishops of Capaccio and Badajoz also protested against the omission of a decree binding the council to treat simultaneously of doctrine and reformation.^p By the second decree, also read by the archbishop of Palermo, the next session was postponed till the 8th of April.

Besides the legates, there were present the cardinals of Trent and of Jaën, twenty-seven bishops, three abbots, five generals of orders, and Father le Jay, proctor of the cardinal bishop of Augsburg.

p. 15. I have thought fit to insert the creed from the same volume, as it will be useful to compare it with that of Pope Pius IV.

^p Courayer, p. 262, sq.

CHAPTER VI.

Dissatisfaction at Rome.

Neither the pontiff, nor any of the party closely interested in the welfare of the Roman court, felt satisfied with the conduct of the legates. So carefully had Paul endeavoured to render the council merely subservient to the support of his own dignity, that the idea of uniting reformation with doctrinal questions was highly distasteful. Nevertheless, even the pontiff was forced to succumb to a principle which was slowly, but surely, working the downfall of the "*ipse dixit*" of papal power.

Moreover, it could but be perceived that the real business transacted at Trent at present lay in a nutshell. Nothing had been done—delays had been grasped at upon every imaginable excuse; ceremonies, serving as prefaces to nothing—discussions, ending in the same;—excuses, explanations, and apologies—these were the doings of the early sessions. Modern times have witnessed the possibility of a House of Commons doing nothing throughout an entire session: the Council of Trent, in its earlier sittings, was not one whit behind the most talkative inactivity that even the head of a cabinet could contrive.

It was but natural that a number of men, many of them pre-eminent for the highest attainments, and endued with all the mental energy to which the recent revival of learning had given an impulse, should have felt disgusted with the listless trifling which seemed to be a mere excuse for keeping them away from the exercise of their ordinary duties. Much vexation existed at Trent. The pontiff appeared to have no decisive intentions, and his legates were proportionably deficient in instructions. The want of some material point for discussion was sensibly felt, and the most earnest entreaties were made by the legates to the pontiff, to decide upon some definite plan and order of proceeding.

CHAPTER VII.

Reformation in Germany. Death of Luther.

Meanwhile the work of reform was proceeding with rapid strides in Germany. At the beginning of the year 1546,

the elector Palatinate had permitted the use of the cup to the laity, as well as public prayer in the vulgar tongue, the marriage of priests, and various other points of religious reform. Furthermore, the assembly which the emperor had convened at Ratisbon proved a failure—a result to which the conduct of both parties probably contributed. The Protestants were ill satisfied by the conditions to which the emperor wished the conference to be subject, and were suspicious of the character of the deputies whom he had sent thither; while the Catholics were naturally averse to assemblies, which were rendered unavailing by their obstinate determination to make no concessions, except in matters of little consequence.¹

On the 18th of February died Martin Luther. His latter days had been principally disturbed by the ill success of his attempts to reconcile the two Counts von Mansfeld,^r while his physical powers had been worn out by the anxieties of a life of controversy, acting upon a system originally debilitated by disease. Marvels were narrated to account for the death of a man aged sixty-three years, and the miraculous power of God's vengeance was called in to account for what had happened in the course of the ordinary working of his will. It is against the plan of my work to enter into the contradictory stories connected with the last days of this great man's life—still more so to declaim in apologies for his many mistakes and errors, or to expatiate, on the other hand, in rhetorical panegyrics, on abilities that can duly be measured by their influence on the whole subsequent state of Christendom. As a specimen, however, of the manner in which his name has been dealt with by Roman Catholics,

¹ I have adopted Courayer's views, p. 263, *n.* 100. He adds: "Il faut avouer, cependant, que les Protestans furent les premiers qui rompirent les conférences, en se retirant secrètement pour suivre les ordres de l'Electeur de Saxe, qui, mal satisfait des conditions auxquelles l'empereur voulait que se tint le colloque, en rappella ses théologiens, qui furent bientôt suivis des autres. A cet égard, il est certain, qu'ils furent ceux qui rompirent le colloque. Mais on ne peut guères désavouer que les Catholiques n'y eussent donné lieu par les différens avantages qu'ils voulurent prendre, soit de ce que l'empereur et les présidens leur étoient favorables, soit en refusant aux Protestans quelques conditions assez équitables que ceux-ci demandoient."

^r Michelet, p. 82.

I will quote the following view of his character by Pallavicino :—

“Luther was possessed of a fertile imagination, but of such a nature, that, whilst he gave utterance to abundant bitterness, he never gave vent to anything mature. His meditations, one and all, fail to satisfy the mind of the reader, and resemble an abortive giant, rather than a perfect offspring. His mind was vigorous, but befitting a destroyer rather than a builder ; and thus we find that the Catholic religion was overthrown by him in many places, whilst his own doctrine was founded in a narrow region. He possessed considerable learning, but it resembled a heap of indigested materials, or a treasury filled with copper coins, rather than a well-arranged wardrobe or casket. And this very flow of erudition he used like the whirlwind of a summer storm, which, while it tears up the ground in all directions, bestows no refreshing and nutritious shower. No subject requiring varied erudition or extensive reading ever received illustration at his hands. He was eloquent both in tongue and pen, but like a whirlwind which blinds the eyes by upraising a cloud of dust, not like a placid fountain pouring forth clear water to refresh them ; for the reader will not find a single period throughout his many works, which does not convey an air of roughness and want of finish. He showed temerity rather than courage—ever valiant to plunge into the beginning of a quarrel, and afterwards persist in it, either fearing contempt, or despairing of pardon. No one was more petulant in treading, by dint of insults rather than satires, on the very sceptres of rulers, so long as he was out of their reach ; no one more timid, when danger was nigh at hand. He often-times professed regret at having proceeded so far against the pontiff, but he still fought on, believing that the bridge was now cut away from his feet. Repeatedly had he proffered silence, if his adversaries would only do the same ; thereby evincing that it was zeal for the praise of men, and not love of the Almighty, that actuated his motives. He perverted Christianity rather to the ruin of others than to his own profit, in which he was followed by princes, who sought their own aggrandizement, and not his advantage ; and thence he lived in continual poverty, the more disagreeable as his pride was excessive. He retained a lasting remembrance in the

minds of men, but of infamy rather than renown, seeing that far greater is the number of those who detest the man as the beginner of a heresy, than of those who venerate him as a prophet."^s

Much of the character of Luther must for ever remain open to the speculations of those who have too few points in common to be ever likely to convince one another. The inward feelings and motives of those men who play the leading parts in the scene of human life are subject to so many varying influences, that it must be left to a higher intelligence than ours to probe their real nature. At the same time, such characters are grand studies as well for the ethical theorist as for the political practitioner. The very uncertainty which at times invests their most prominent acts is instructive, and the doubtful nature of many of the impulses which prompted them is—while it draws largely upon our powers of impartial judgment—the most painful illustration of our incapability to form a proper estimate of the real value of our own.

CHAPTER VIII.

War meditated against the Protestants.

Mosheim broadly asserts, that "the destruction of those who should oppose the Council of Trent had been agreed on between the emperor and the pontiff; and the opening of the council was to be the signal for taking up arms."^t From the writings of the historians on both sides, it is certainly evident that the decision of the points at issue had become a matter for arms, not arguments. The Council of Trent, with its pertinacious adherence to the claims of a papal authority, which, by negating any measures calculated to work reform in the most serious points at issue, rendered it utterly inadequate to the task of calming the dissensions which it was its avowed object to compose,^u was but a standpoint for Romanist aggression—a station from whence the strong hand of the secular power might demand its credentials to act. Despite previous intrigues, and specious attempts at

^s Pallav. vi. 10.

^t V. iii. ch. iv. p. 151.

^u See this point excellently argued by Bramhall, "Schism guarded," serm. iv. p. 624, sqq. v. ii. (Oxford edition).

conciliation, "in the end the masks were removed, and the provisions for war could no longer be hid."^x Rapid preparations were being made by the emperor, the result of which will be shown hereafter.

CHAPTER IX.

Preliminary Congregations to the Fourth Session.

"The divines," observes Sarpi, "had until now served in the council only to make sermons on holy days, in exaltation of the council and the pope, and to make light skirmishes with the Lutherans; but now that controverted doctrines were to be decided, and the abuses of learned men rather than of others to be reformed, their worth began to appear."^y The work of the council might certainly be now said to have commenced, and it is from hence that its proceedings and decrees become an important commentary on the fundamental principles of Roman Catholicism, no less in developing the intrinsic character, than in pointing out their differences from the tenets of the reformed Churches. It was now that

^x Sarpi, p. 140, Brent's translation.

^y Sarpi, p. 141. He adds the following remarks, which will be useful as showing against what Lutheran doctrines the proceedings of the session were directed:—The articles necessary for matter of doctrine drawn out of the Lutherans' books were—

1. That the necessary doctrine of Christian faith is wholly contained in the holy Scriptures, and that it is a human invention to add unto them unwritten traditions as left unto the holy Church by Christ and his apostles, derived unto us by means of the continual succession of bishops, and that it is sacrilege to defend that they are of equal authority with the Old and New Testament.

2. That amongst the books of the Old Testament none should be reckoned but those that have been received by the Jews; or in the New, the six epistles, that is, under the name of St. Paul to the Hebrews, that of St. James, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, one of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse.

3. That to understand the Scripture well, or to allege the proper words, it is necessary to have recourse to the texts of the original tongue in which it is written, and to reprove the Latin translation as full of errors.

4. That the divine Scripture is most easy and perspicuous, and that to understand it neither gloss nor comment is necessary, but only to have the spirit of a sheep of Christ's pasture.

5. Whether canons with anathematisms adjoined should be framed against all these articles.

doctrinal antagonism to the principles of Luther and other reformers, was to pave the way to the more active measures of aggression that were to widen the breach, and sever the combatants for ever.

In the first preliminary congregation, held on the 8th of February, 1546,² some further disputes took place respecting the "representing" clause, and on the omission, in the last session, of a decree binding the assembly to proceed jointly with matters of faith and reformation, the legate, Del Monte, urging that there was no objection in the council "omitting in word, what it had done in effect," and declaring his intention to have introduced other clauses besides those stated in the pontiff's bull, had he not been otherwise advised by men of the highest authority. He next propounded the canon of Holy Scripture as the subject to be examined, with a view to the ensuing session. As this involved the settlement of the first outlines of religious belief, and as many books of Scripture had been impugned by the reformist party, it obtained a ready assent, and the three following questions were placed before the next congregation.

1. Were all the books of both testaments to be approved and received?

2. Was this approval to be given after a fresh examination of the evidence proving them canonical?

3. Would it be expedient to divide the Holy Scriptures into two classes; one containing such books as were to be read for instruction in morals, such as the Proverbs and Books of Wisdom, not yet received as canonical; the other, such as were to be used for proving the doctrines of belief?

This latter proposal, urged by Bertan and Seripando, found few supporters, and was dropped without hesitation; but the first question met with a unanimous assent; the purpose of which was expressed in a speech by Cardinal Cervini, who set forth the authority of the last canon of the apostles, by the councils of Trullo, Laodicea, Florence, and the third Council of Carthage, as well as by St. Athanasius and Gregory of Nazianzum, and by the popes Innocent IV. and Gelasius.

² I have followed Pallavicino, vi. 11, in describing the proceedings of this session. Sarpi is too lax and uncircumstantial, but many of his remarks will be noticed subsequently.

But the second question was less satisfactory ; and even the legates differed one with another. Del Monte was opposed to any fresh examinations, and was supported in his opinion by Pacheco. But Cervini and Pole, together with the cardinal-bishop of Trent, were anxious that the labour should be undertaken, not with a view of impugning the resolution to which previous councils had come, but to be provided with still more satisfactory proofs for confuting the objections of heretics. But the other party urged, that there would be an impropriety in even examining into what had been once settled as a matter of faith by councils approved by the Church, and that even the tacit sanction of the Church, ratifying the decision of previous prelates, ought not to be disturbed by a new scrutiny. As to the objections of heretics, they had been amply refuted by such scholars as Cochläus, Pigheri, and Eck.

In the private congregation, at which Cardinal Cervini presided, the second opinion prevailed ; but in the general one, which was held on the 12th of February, no decision was arrived at, while in that held the following day the confusion and difference of opinion became so great, that it was necessary to take the votes of each separately and by name. The result of the scrutiny was a perfect unanimity in receiving as canonical the books of Scripture usually found in the sacred volume ; but Madrucci, with fourteen bishops, was opposed to the insertion of a clause denouncing anathema against those, who should refuse to receive the deuterocanonical writings, while Pacheco, the legate, and upwards of twenty of the fathers, were in favour of the anathema.

A compromise was, however, effected in regard to the renewed examination proposed respecting the canonical authority of the books of Scripture, it being determined that a private examination should take place, but that the result of their investigations should not transpire among the public acts of the council. In other words, a packed assembly might give as many reasons for the existing belief as they could find ; but the papal authority refused to recognise even their right to give a public and independent proof of their researches, even when in its own favour. Clear investigation and accurate scholarship were not wanting ; but the

impartial spirit and the freedom of judgment, which can alone give validity to the decisions even of the most learned, were crippled and stunted in their growth and development by the *ex cathedrâ* assumptions of the self-styled successor of St. Peter.

Some activity, however, was displayed in the arrangements which were formed on the 18th of February. Each of the three private congregations was to be provided with two of the fathers, one learned in theology, the other in the canon law, to whom was committed the task of drawing up the decisions formed respecting Scripture and tradition. Salvador, archbishop of Sassari, the archbishops of Matera and Armagh, and the bishops of Badajoz, of Belcastro, and of Fel-tro, were the prelates nominated to this office. Moreover, the numerous theologians and professors of the canon law, who numbered in their ranks some of the most celebrated scholars of the time, were employed as advisers to the assembled prelates. "They were to be presided over by the legates, with a recommendation to the bishops to assist at their deliberations, but not to take any part whatever in their proceedings. The various questions placed before the three congregations of prelates were also to be submitted to these classes of theologians, and the result of their examination was to be referred to the congregation of bishops, to be by them considered, prior to the general congregation and sessions." Again, eleven of the fathers were deputed to treat on such abuses as might have crept into the use of Scripture or of tradition; thus uniting the principle of reformation with that of doctrine.

The subject of tradition, as might reasonably have been expected, was not concluded so easily. It was impossible that, even in a Romanist assembly, unanimity should exist upon an unscriptural theory, however convenient to the maintenance of existing abuses and corruptions. All agreed as to the existence of traditions; but while one party wished that the traditions to be received should be distinctly specified, others were equally urgent that they should be approved of in general terms; nay, they even wished to exclude

* Waterworth, p. lxxxvii. His abridgment of Pallavicino in the description of the proceedings of the sessions is far more clear and satisfactory than in the earlier part of his history.

the term "*apostolic*" as an epithet, lest they should seem to reject all the others touching rites and ceremonies, which even themselves confessed to be unapostolic in their origin. Nothing could better serve to prove the conservative spirit, even in the case of the most flagrant absurdities, which distinguished the spirit of this council. So far from reforming the excrescences which had deformed the fair body of the gospel, this council, in equalizing tradition with Scripture, ratified the decree of the Council of Florence, and declared itself the patron of many opinions as ill-founded, even in the prescript of antiquity, as in the authority of God's word revealed. It was objected by the bishop of Chioggia, that the decree of Florence was dated February 4th, 1441, whereas that council actually terminated in 1439. Del Monte, probably at the instigation of Cervini, replied that it was true that the Greeks had left the council at the period mentioned by the prelate, at the close of the seventh session; but that the council continued open for three years more. He added, that there could be no doubts as to the authenticity of the decree in question, since it was preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, at Rome, signed by the name of the fathers then assembled, and authenticated by the Pope's seal.^b

Speaking of the arrangement of the canon of Scripture, Sarpi observes, that "the book of Baruch troubled them most, which is not put in the number of canonical books, neither by the Laodiceans, nor by those of Carthage, nor by the pope,^c and therefore should be left out, as well for this reason, as because the beginning of it cannot be found. But because it was read in the Church, the congregation (esteeming this a more potent reason) resolved, that it was by the

^b Pallav. vi. 8. A great many curious particulars, mentioned by Sarpi, denied by Pallavicino, and defended by Courayer, I have been obliged to omit for want of room. See Sarpi, p. 118, sqq. It is unfortunate that this writer has failed to mention his authorities, especially when they were of a recondite character.

^c *I. e.* not inserted in the catalogue given by previous popes. "De libro Baruch controversia fuit et est tum quia non invenitur in Hebraeis codicibus, tum etiam quia nec concilia antiqua neque pontifices neque patres . . . qui catalogum librorum sacrorum tenuit hujus prophetæ disertis verbis meminerunt."—Bellarm. quoted by Courayer, p. 272, n. 13. See Beveridge on Art. VI. *sub fin.*

ancients accounted a part of Jeremy, and comprised with him."^d

CHAPTER X.

Continuation of the Congregations. State of the Scriptures after Translation.

To continue the narrative with Pallavicino—The six deputies, who had been commissioned to draw up a decree concerning Scripture and tradition, agreeably to the sentiments of the various congregations, laid the results of their labours before the assembled fathers. The old objection about the "representing clause," and also to the insertion of the words, "the legates of the Apostolic See presiding therein,"^e was raised by the bishop of Fiesole. Cervini again replied, that the words proposed to be added were at variance with the custom of older councils, while the addition of the clause respecting the legates had at least some sanction of previous example.^f

A select assembly of fathers, and of those who acted as advisers,^g was next held respecting the corruptions connected with Holy Scripture, and the following four objections were stated as the result of their investigations, and were afterwards propounded, together with their proposed remedies, by the bishop of Aigues, and afterward explained at greater length by the bishop of Bitonto :—

1. In order to remedy the mischief arising from the great variety of translations current in the Church, St. Jerome's version, or the Vulgate, was proposed as the authorized translation, as it was more correct than most of the other editions, and had been prepared before the modern disputes—a fact likely to insure impartiality.

2. It was considered, that in consequence of the various readings in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew copies, an accurate edition should be prepared under the care of the Sovereign Pontiff, and each episcopal church should be supplied with a copy.

^d Pallavicino is unjust in his denial of this statement, as Courayer shows, p. 272, n. 3.

^e Cf. Decrees and Canons, Sess. iv. p. 17 of my translation.

^f This is not, however, very distinctly made out. See Pallav. vi. 12. 1.

^g See above, p. 115.

3. In order to secure a more accurate interpretation, it was recommended that it should be forbidden to interpret the Scriptures contrary to the doctrines of the Church and the fathers, and that no commentary of the Scriptures should be published without a license from the ecclesiastic censors.

4. Heavy penalties and fines were recommended against printers who should publish from incorrect editions of the Scriptures, or omit to annex their name or that of the author.

In respect to this latter proposal, the archbishop of Palermo thought that the Church had no right to inflict a pecuniary fine upon the laity, but that her influence ought to be limited to the infliction of such punishments as affected the soul—excommunication, for example. But the bishop of Bitonto declared that most of the select censors, perceiving the necessity of a universal power in the right administration of the affairs of Christendom, and the superior utility of bodily and outward punishments in prohibiting outward offences, considered that the censorship of the press must be enforced with penalties of a secular character.

But the great blow struck against the freedom of the worshipper, and the privilege of understanding what he was taught to believe, was the attack made against the translations of Scripture into the vulgar tongue, which Cardinal Pacheco held to be a serious evil. Many were of the same opinion, alleging in defence thereof, that for ages the Scriptures had not existed, even among the Jews, in the vernacular tongue. Cardinal Madrucci politely, but warmly, remonstrated, pointing out the vexation such a decree would cause in Germany, when they heard that the Scriptures, which, by the precept of St. Paul, ought never to be away from the mouth of the faithful, were to be taken from them. He wound up by saying, "I bear in memory the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed delivered to me in the German tongue, which are commonly learnt by the people of Germany with equal sense of piety and advantage. Would to God that no professor of Greek and Hebrew had ever come hither! then would the Church have been freed from these ills with which it is now harassed."

The latter opinion afterwards prevailed, although there were many who thought the advice of Pacheco sound, and well adapted to extraordinary circumstances, holding that

many passages, apparently plain in their meaning, conveyed a deep and hidden sense, the misconception of which was likely to give fresh opportunities to the inroads of heresy.

CHAPTER XI.

The Bishop of Bitonto cited to Rome.

In a congregation held on Friday, March the 5th, advice was received that the pensionaries of the bishop of Bitonto had demanded their payment at Rome, and had for this cause cited him before the auditor, requiring that he should be compelled, by excommunication and other censures, according to the custom of the court, to make payment. He lamented the poverty which prevented him complying with their demand, alleging that, "so long as he was in the council, he could not spend less than six hundred crowns by the year, and that his pensions being detracted, he had left but four hundred : wherefore it was necessary that he should be disburthened, or assisted with the two hundred."^h Pallavicino labours to disprove this statement ; but his language, in effect, goes far to prove what he denies.ⁱ The poorer prelates, who were interested in the dispute, vented bitter language against the oppression they could so well understand, "and said it was an infamy to the council, that an officer of the court of Rome should be suffered to use censures against a bishop assisting therein ; that it was a monstrous thing, and would make the world say that the council was not free ; and that the honour of that assembly required that the auditor should be cited to Trent, or some revenge taken against him, that the dignity of the synod might be preserved."

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of Don Francis of Toledo and Citation of Vergerius.

On the 15th of March, the congregation was postponed in consequence of the arrival of Don Francis of Toledo, who had been deputed by the emperor to assist Mendoza at the council. He was met on his way by a grand procession of the families of the cardinals and of the clergy, and having

^h Brent's Sarpi, p. 144.

ⁱ Cf. Courayer, p. 273, n. 15.

spent four days at Trent, proceeded to Padua, to commune with Mendoza—a condescension little agreeable to the pride of Don Diego, or to the advice of Pacheco—since, although Mendoza had asked for assistance in his capacity of orator at the council, he had done so with an earnest hope and confidence that his request would be refused.

In his private conversation with the legates, Don Francis stated, that the emperor was most anxious for a perfect unity with the pope, and that he himself had been sent thither by Charles chiefly on account of his faithful and ancient attachment to the pontiff. He also asserted, that Charles had declared to the Protestants that the council was convoked and assembled by his own will.

About the same time Vergerius came to Trent, hoping to escape from the rage excited against him among his own people. He had long since been accused by Aleander of a tendency towards Lutheranism, but the suspicions seem to have died away, and Sleidan asserts, that the idea of making him a cardinal had even been entertained. Subsequently he was charged by the inquisitor, Friar Hannibal, a Grison, with having caused the barrenness of the land, which brought upon him the popular odium, and caused his departure, seeing that “he knew not where to remain with more dignity, nor to have greater commodity to justify himself against the imputations of the friar, who published him a Lutheran, not only in Istria, but before the nuncio of Venice, and the pope.” But the legates would not suffer him to appear at the council, without having first been justified before the pope, to whom they advised him to make further appeal. Departing in disappointment, he sought to return to his bishopric; but, on reaching Venice, he was forbidden to go thither by the nuncio. He quitted Italy within a few days, and subsequently became an earnest, and by no means temperate, opponent both to Romanism and the council.^k

^k I have blended the accounts of Sarpi, p. 145; Pallav. vi. 13, 3; and Courayer, p. 274, *note* 17, into one. Heidigger, p. 80, is merely the epitomiser of Father Paul. I shall hereafter have occasion to describe the attack made by Vergerius upon the bull of Pius IV., dated the 29th of November, which has been published by Mendham, *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, p. 167.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the Formation of the Decree respecting the Reception of Scripture and Traditions.

In the congregations held on the 27th of March, and on the earlier days of April, the following form of decree was proposed by the legates: that those traditions, which the apostles had received, handed down either by the outward voice of Christ, or by the inward inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and which had been propagated up till that time, should be received jointly with the sacred volumes. Some objected that this statement was too limited, and would be obnoxious to the objections of heretics, who would say that those traditions only which pleased were approved, while others had been suffered to pass into oblivion by voluntary desuetude. Seripando, on the other hand, thought it too extensive, as embracing even the apostolical canons. Neither objection, however, was of much weight in an assembly where all were prepared to find an excuse for what already existed, rather than to subject its claims to impartial investigation.

Stronger objections were made to the declaration that both the written and unwritten word were received with equal affection of piety and reverence. Bertan alleged, that although every truth proceeds from the first great Truth, yet are not all truths to be regarded and revered as the written word of God? But the bishop of Bitonto, who was followed by most of the prelates, replied, that those traditions, which were thus equalled with the written word, were such only as were equally the revelations of God, differing only in the accidental condition that the one class had remained written in volumes, the other in the heart alone. Again, that as the being written did not make certain registered facts the word of God, neither did the being not written cause traditions to cease to be the word of God. In a few days after, however, conviction seems to have taught him better; for he wished the word *like* or *similar* to be substituted for *equal*—a change, however, that was far from meeting with approval.

¹ The account which follows is substantially that of Pallavicino, vi. 14. I have not, however, thought it necessary to append all the dates of the precise congregation at which each point was determined, as I should thereby often interrupt the clearness of the narrative.

Still more revolutionary was the opposition raised in a general congregation of the 5th of April, by the bishop of Chioggia,^m who regarded the traditions not as of divine inspiration, but as laws, and, judging their weight intolerable, when the question of receiving them all was agitated, he declared that it seemed impious to place them on an equal authority with the Scriptures. So violent and unrestrained was the indignation which this avowal inspired, that he was forced to explain away, and eventually to apologize for, his attempted opposition to the council. Although I cannot give credit to Pallavicino's defence of this prelate's vacillation in a matter so serious, his endeavours to acquit him of the charge of innovation, while they say little to the credit of the bishop, are an honourable proof of the historian's candour.

In discussing the list of the sacred writings, the proposed phrase, "*Psalms of David*," was considered objectionable, as seeming to convey the notion that all the pieces in that collection were from the pen of that prophet. Despite the prescript of antiquity,—as the matter was one in no way affecting the power of the pope,—the phrase "*Davidical Psalter*" was therefore adopted. It was also resolved, that the Acts of the Apostles, which, in the proposed copy of the decree, were placed after the Epistles of St. Paul, should be put after the Gospels.

CHAPTER XIV.

Dispute respecting the Anathema against the Violators of Scripture and Tradition. The Vulgate.

The discussion respecting the anathematizing of those who should "violate the sacred books and apostolical traditions,"ⁿ was again renewed. Seripando asserted that such an anathema had never been appended to any canon prepared by previous councils, nor in the decretals of the pope, and that at most an excommunication should be imposed, not to be *ipso crimine* incurred, but inflicted by the competent authority of the judge. His objection, however, was overruled, on

^m Some curious particulars respecting this personage will be found in the correspondence collected by Mendham, *Memoirs*, p. 55, sqq.

ⁿ See *Decrees and Canons*, p. 19.

the plea of the example of the seventh synod of Gratian. Few impartial readers can doubt that, in this respect, as in some previous cases, the Council of Trent had already begun the work, if not of introducing, at least of fostering and arbitrarily adopting, innovations which rested upon as slender an authority as their own claims to infallibility.

The four heads touching the abuse of Scripture, which have been already mentioned,^o next came under consideration, and we have seen with what result. Cardinal Pacheco now desired, not only that the Vulgate should be proposed as the authorized version, but that all others should be rejected, especially such as were published by heretics—a rejection which he wished to be extended even to the Septuagint. The coolness of this demand was too much even for the most earnest advocates of the Vulgate. Bertan replied, that the practice of the Church had sanctioned the use, not only of the Septuagint, but likewise of the versions of Theodotian, Symmachus, and Aquila. He allowed that one version should be acknowledged as the legitimate one, but that the rest should neither be approved nor disproved. Some of the bishops also recommended that the council should select some one copy of the Greek and Hebrew languages, as the standard according to which others should be formed; but the majority were amply satisfied with the Vulgate, perhaps dreading that, as Erasmus once said, if the Vulgate lost its credit, more honour would be paid to grammarians and classical scholars than to theologians.

As to the emendation of the Vulgate from the abundant errors and misrepresentations with which it abounded, it was thought dangerous to confess to its imperfections, which would be at once to establish a book and to condemn it. A clause, conveying in reality no meaning, beyond a declaration of Tridentine insincerity, was inserted, to the effect, “that an edition was to be printed in the correctest manner possible.”

^o See above, p. 117, sq.

CHAPTER XV.

Disputes on the Reception and Authority of the Vulgate.

Before proceeding to conclude the determinations on the abuse of Scripture, it will be well to mention some of the disputes which Father Paul details, touching the reception of the Vulgate, especially as, although impugned by Pallavicino, they convey obvious evidences of the unsuccessful struggle of good sense against prejudice, learning against ignorance, which led to the dogmatical adoption of such a translation as the standard text-book of the Church. It will be well to observe, that Pallavicino's denials do not apply to the facts stated by Sarpi, but to the inferences he has drawn from them.

Father Louis of Catanea alleged that Cardinal Caietan, on going into Germany in the year 1523, found that no fitter means of convincing heretics could be found, than the accurate examination of the real and literal meaning of the text of Scripture in the original tongue, and that he consequently "gave up the remainder of his life to the study of Scripture, expounding not the Latin translation, but the Hebrew roots of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament. In which tongues, having no knowledge himself, he employed men of understanding, who made construction of the text unto him word by word, as his works upon the holy books do show.^p That good cardinal was wont to say, that to understand the Latin text, was not to understand the infallible word of God, but the word of the translator, subject and obnoxious unto errors. That St. Jerome spake well, that to prophesy and write holy books proceeded from the Holy Ghost, but to translate them into another tongue, was a work of human skill." The worthy father then proceeded to state, "that if the holy council should examine, or correct an interpretation according to the true text, the Holy Ghost, which assisteth synods in matters of faith, would keep them from erring; and such a translation, so examined and approved, might be called authentical. But that any could

^p The orthodoxy of Caietan was severely questioned on this account. See Pallav. vi. 17, 2, whose abuse of Sarpi is in many instances almost childish.

be approved without such an examination, with assurance of the assistance of the Holy Ghost, he durst not say, except the synod did determine it, seeing that in the council of the holy apostles, a great inquisition was made before. But this being a work of ten years, and impossible to be undertaken, it seemed better to have things as they had remained fifteen hundred years, than that the Latin translations should be verified by the original texts."⁹

Other divines urged that, to confess the unauthenticity of the Vulgate, would be to yield the cause to the Lutherans and heretics, and that, as the doctrine of the Church of Rome was to a great extent founded thereupon, the new grammarians would question not only the tenets advanced, but the meaning of the passages on which they were grounded. The changes which Luther, in his anxiety to arrive at the truth, had made from time to time, were also advanced as a proof that "if this liberty be given to all, Christianity will soon be brought to that pass, that no man will know what to believe."

Another party observed, "that if the providence of God hath given an authentical Scripture to the synagogue, and an authentical New Testament to the Grecians, it cannot be said, without derogation, that the Church of Rome, more beloved than the rest, hath wanted this great benefit; and therefore that the same Holy Ghost, who did dictate the holy books, hath dictated also that translation which ought to be accepted by the Church of Rome And if any should make dainty to give the Spirit of God to the interpreter, yet he cannot deny it to the council; and when the Vulgar edition shall be approved, and an anathema be thundered against whosoever will not receive it: this will be without error, not by the spirit of him that wrote it, but of the synod that hath received it for such."

More temperate was the language of Isidore, of Brescia, a Benedictine abbot, who, after going learnedly into the history of the various versions which had, at different times, obtained authority in the Church, concluded by observing: "St. Jerome saith plainly, that no interpreter hath spoken by the Holy

⁹ Brent's Sarpi, p. 146. These arguments are temperately and neatly answered in the notes of Courayer, p. 276, sqq.

Ghost. The edition which we have is his for the most part : it would be strange to attribute the assistance of God to him that knoweth and affirmeth he hath it not. Wherefore no translation can be compared to the text in the original tongue. Therefore his opinion was, that the Vulgar edition should be preferred before all, and allowed, yet so as that it should be corrected by the original, and all men forbid to make any other : only that should be amended, and the others extinguished : and so all inconveniences caused by new interpretations, which have judiciously been noted, and reprehended in the congregations, would cease."

Andrea de Vega, a Franciscan, approved the opinion of St. Jerome, "that the qualities of an interpreter are not any prophetic, or other special divine spirit, which giveth them infallibility, and the opinion of the same saint, and of St. Augustus, that the translations should be corrected by the texts of the original tongue." He then proceeded to point out the spirit in which the Vulgate was to be received,^r "that the Latin Church holdeth the Vulgar edition to be authentical, because it is thus to be understood, that concerning faith and manners there is no error in it, though in some small matter, or expression of words, there may be a mistaking ; it being impossible that all the words of one language should be transplanted into another, but that there will be some restriction or enlargement of significations or metaphor, or other figure. That the Vulgar edition hath been examined heretofore by the whole Church during the space of one thousand years, and known that there is no error in it, in matter of faith or manners ; and in this account it hath been held and used by the ancient councils, and so ought still to be held and approved, and declared as authentical ; that is, that it may be read without danger, not hindering those that are more diligent to have recourse unto the Hebrew and Greek originals, but forbidding so great a number of whole translations, which beget confusion."

So much, then, for the arguments which terminated in a decree, shutting up the word of God from the poor, and speaking an unknown tongue to the unlearned. So much

^r His views are approved by Waterworth, p. xci. after Pallavicino. The latter author seems totally to forget that his adversary is detailing other men's opinions, and not his own.

for a decree,^s which gave a premium to ignorance, and permitted enlightenment, by way of courtesy, to those whom it could not keep in the dark !

CHAPTER XVI.

Touching the Interpretation and Non-abuse of Scripture. The Fourth Session.

Long disputes ensued respecting the limits to be set to the interpretation of Holy Scripture; but the establishment of the Vulgate as a standard text^t seemed likely to cut the knot it could not hope to disentangle. Cardinal Pacheco held that "the Scripture was expounded by so many and so excellent men in goodness and learning, that there was no hope to add any good thing more, and that all the new heresies sprang from the new expositions of the Scripture; and therefore that it was necessary to bridle the sauciness of modern wits, and to make them content to be governed by the ancients, and by the Church; and that if any had some singular spirit, he should be enforced to conceal it, and not to confound the world by publishing it."^u

This opinion seems to have met with general approbation. The bishop of Chioggia, however, remarked that the words of the decree^x were not to be understood of any kind of difference from the unanimous opinion of the fathers, but of direct opposition and contradiction; leaving such passages, as had received no fixed sense either upon the authority of the fathers or the Church, an open question. With a view, however, of preventing any misuse even of this liberty, the cardinal of Jaën wished the interpretation of Holy Scripture to be confined to doctors and clerks; but in this he was warmly resisted by the cardinal of Trent, who thought it unfitting that the profitable occupation of expounding the divine word should be restricted to men according to their circumstances and profession—rules by which piety and learn-

^s The qualifying clauses were omitted. See Decrees and Canons, p. 20 of my edition.

^t How far it really was a standard text, and how long it remained so, may be seen from a passage I shall hereafter quote from Menham's *Memoirs*,—a book in which "many things new and valuable are to be found."—*Ranke*, p. 378.

^u *Brent's Sarpi*, p. 150.

^x *Decrees and Canons*, p. 20.

ing ought by no means to be restricted. He held, however, that no publication of that description ought to be put forth without the sanction of the censors. Madrucci finally proposed and carried, that no work on the interpretation of Scripture should be published anonymously ; while, with regard to the printers of such books, the decree of the last Lateran Council was ratified, and the penalty there threatened was commanded to be enforced.

It remains briefly to notice the remarks made respecting the abuses of Scripture. These are best summed up in the decree passed at the session to the following effect :—"Wishing to repress that temerity, by which the words and doctrines of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all manner of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain ; to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incantations,^y divinations, casting of lots, nay, even hereafter defamatory libels ; the synod commands and enjoins . . . that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the word of God, be restrained by the bishops, by the penalties of law and of their own appointment."^z

^y Probably the *Sorti dell' Epiphania* is one of the incantations, &c. here alluded to, as we find, in a letter written about this time (in Mendham, *Memoirs*, p. 50, sq.), and which seems to have been some ancient kind of lottery, such as is played in drawing characters at Twelfth Night.

^z The following remarks of Sarpi furnish an excellent idea of the nature of the objections which this part of the decree was intended to remedy, as well as being interesting as a sketch of prevalent superstitions : "It remained to speak of the other abuses, of which every one had collected a great number and many ways to redress them, as human weakness and superstition useth holy things, not only beyond, but also contrary to that for which they are appointed. Of enchantments to find treasures, and to bring lascivious designs to pass, or to obtain things unlawful, much was said, and many remedies proposed to root them out. Amongst enchantments some put, carrying the Gospel about one, names of God to prevent infirmities, or to be healed of them, or to be kept from evils and mischiefs, or to be prosperous ; likewise to read them for the same ends, and to write them with observation of times. In this catalogue were numbered masses said in some countries upon red-hot iron, upon boiling waters, or upon cold, or other matters for vulgar purgations, to recite the Gospel over arms, that they may have more force against the enemies. In this rank were put the conjuration of dogs, to make them not bite ; of serpents, to make them not offend ; of powerful beasts of the field, of tempests, and other causes of the barrenness of the land, requiring that all these observations might be condemned, forbid,

The fourth session, held on the 8th of April, 1546, presented no particular features. The archbishop of Sassari having celebrated mass, and the general of the order of Servites preached, the decrees previously mentioned were publicly read by the archbishop, and they were passed with but little opposition. The bishops of Cappacio, Fiesole, Badajoz, and Osca, still demanded the representing clause; but, as to the clause touching the reception of holy Scripture and tradition, the bishop of Chioggia and the coadjutor-bishop of Bergamo both expressed objections.^a

This session was attended by three legates, two other cardinals, eight archbishops, forty bishops, and the same abbots and generals, as in the preceding one.

The following observations, from a diligent inquirer into the internal history of this council, deserve a place at the conclusion of our sketch of this session:—

“It will be discovered that the matter of these decrees was by no means final, and that a considerable quantity of controversy was yet in reserve, and not easily to be disposed of. It will also be observed, that although confessedly, and as all parties agree, the holy Scriptures are the true foundation of all Christian truth, and the arbiter of all theologic disputes, the junction and incorporation of the apocryphal books, how-

and punished as abuses. But in divers particulars there were contradictions and disputes. For some defended things as devout and religious—or at the least permitted—and not damnable, which others did condemn for wicked and superstitious. The like happened speaking of the word of God, by casting of lots, or divinations, or extracting schedules with verses of the Scripture, or observing those they met when they opened the book. To use sacred words in scandalous libels and other detractions was generally condemned, and much was said of the means how to remove the Pasquins of Rome, wherein the cardinal of Monte showed great passion in desiring a remedy, because he was often made a subject of the sauciness of the courtiers’ tongues, by reason of his natural liberty and pleasantness of wit. All agreed that the word of God could never be revered enough, and that to use it to men’s commendation, though princes and prelates, is not seemly, and generally that all vain use of it is a sin.”

^a “When the decrees were read, all answered, Placent. Monsignor di Chioggia, however, said, *Obediam forsan*, and there were three bishops who denied the representing clause. The coadjutor of Bergamo did not approve, that traditions should be received *patri pietatis affectu ac reverentia*, but would substitute for the word *patri* that of *summo*. The rest, however, agreed to swallow the affair whole.”—Mendham, p. 61.

ever important, if not necessary, to the support of some of the peculiar heresies of the Roman Church, perfectly destroyed the quality of the judge as to integrity—not to add, that this procedure is flatly condemned by the judgment of Jerome of Prague, whose *prologus galeatus* is prudently omitted in the Tridentine edition of the Vulgate. But it was not enough that the voice of God, in his genuine word, should be thus diluted and corrupted; what is called tradition, a very different thing from ancient and legitimate tradition, a rule only explicable by those who monopolize it to themselves, and the consent of fathers, who are almost as various in themselves and with one another as the winds, are still by them called in aid, to restrain the oracles of God from misleading the people, or becoming an instrument of evil.”^b

CHAPTER XVII.

Affairs in Germany and at Rome.

The decision of the last council gave little satisfaction in Germany. That a small number of prelates, few of them remarkable for learning, should have taken upon themselves to decide the canonical authority of books never before settled upon, and to give additional force to a translation little deserving the credit even of ordinary correctness, was sufficient to astonish even a Romanist. Moreover, so far from the council being anything like a general assembly, scarcely a thousandth part of Christendom was represented.

Others looked with more indulgence upon the decree in favour of traditions, alleging that “it was nothing to ordain they should be received, if it were not declared what they were, and how they should be known: then because there was no commandment to receive them, but only a prohibition to condemn them wittingly and deliberately.” Again, “as for the Vulgar edition declared authentical, nothing at all was done, because, among so many copies, it cannot be known which is the true.”^c

Meanwhile, the pope was taking ample care of his own authority, and the legates were duly admonished not to

^b Mendham, p. 61. In the *addenda*, however, Mendham correctly remarks, that the “*prologus galeatus*” has been added in later editions.

^c Brent’s Sarpi, p. 153, sq.

publish any decree until they had first communicated it at Rome, to avoid too much celerity in proceeding, "which might make them resolve of some indigested matter, and want time for orders from him, what they should propose, deliberate, and conclude. Nor were they in any way to allow the pope's authority to be made a subject of dispute."^d

CHAPTER XVIII.

Excommunication of the Elector of Cologne.

Having sent a nuncio to some of the Swiss bishops and abbots,^e urging their attendance at the council, concerning which he appeared to be more anxious, the pope, at the

^d The breve will be found in Le Plat, v. iii. p. 404, sq.

^e Father Paul's statement, impugned by Pallavicino, and insufficiently defended by Courayer, p. 295, n. 48, is fully borne out by a letter preserved by Mendham, dated the 15th of May, which, says he, p. 70, "presents us with nothing very observable, except the repeated assurance of the legates that they will amuse the council, up to the session, with extended discussions about the punishment of non-residence, and that they will not go forward in anything touching reformation without giving his holiness time to consider and resolve upon the subject." Equally characteristic is another passage, p. 68: "In a letter of the last day of April, is curiously illustrated the method of proceeding in the council, as [far as] its managers are concerned, in the undisguised confession that the legates kept the congregation employed with certain subjects—in the present instance it was abuses (no matter what)—in order to gain time for receiving an answer from Rome—the pope and his little council." Well may we quote the following words of Archbishop Bramhall, touching the *independency* of such councils:—

"Hence it is that all the councils since the Council of Constance and Basle and the two Pisan councils, have wanted conciliary freedom, and been altogether at the disposition of the popes,—to prorogue them, to transfer them, to stint them what matters they might handle and what not, to defer their determinations until he had formed or created a party, or wrought some of the dissenting bishops to his will, to ratify or reject their decrees at his pleasure. When or where was it ever heard before, that there was twice as many bishops of one nation in a general council as of all the other nations in the world? Hence was that complaint of the fathers in the Council of Trent, that the synod was guided by 'the Holy Ghost sent from Rome in a mail.' If it had not been for this thing, but the fathers had been permitted freely to have proceeded in the Council of Trent in the resolution of that noble question, concerning the residence and divine right of bishops, in all probability this great rent had been made up, and he and I had not needed to have disputed the question at this day."—Bramhall, vol. ii. p. 625.

instance of several of his clergy, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the archbishop-elect of Cologne, depriving him of all ecclesiastical benefices and privileges, and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance, because he had incurred the censures of the bull published by Pope Leo X. against Luther and his party. In another bull he ordered their obedience to be transferred to Adolphus, count of Schawembourg, who had been taken as coadjutor by the archbishop.

But the emperor was ill disposed to quarrel with the elector, and, paying no attention to the pope's remonstrances, he continued to treat him as an archbishop. But the effect of this conduct of the pope was, to inspire greater mistrust than ever on the part of the Protestants, who perceived that the pope, by condemning a prince for heresy before the council had yet defined what heresy really was, virtually set the council at nought. The duke of Saxony signified this to the emperor, and afterwards observed, that as the pope's mind was now made manifest, it was high time to provide for the welfare of Germany, by a national council or diet respecting matters of religion.^f

CHAPTER XIX.

Preparatory Congregations.

Some attention had previously been paid to two points next to be handled, viz., original sin, and the reformation of abuses connected with public preachers and lecturers.^g The Spanish bishops, as well as those who favoured the emperor, wished reformation to be treated of without doctrine. The legates were in difficulty, and communicated with the pope in a letter, in which they also entered into questions of episcopal residence and jurisdiction. Don Francis of Toledo protested most earnestly on behalf of the subject of reformation, being most earnest to avoid measures likely to give further annoyance to the Protestants. But his efforts, even to obtain a further delay, were in vain, and, in a congregation held on the 28th of May,^h the Cardinal del

^f Sarpi, p. 155.

^g See Mendham, p. 62, sqq.

^h My limits compel me to pass over many interesting particulars respecting the internal management of these congregations, as well as

Monte proposed that they should resume the examination of the doctrine of original sin, which had already formed a main subject of their private debates. Five points were proposed: 1. The nature of original sin; 2. The manner of its propagation; 3. The effects produced by it; 4. Its remedy; 5. The effects of that remedy.

At the same time, the following propositions, taken from the books of the Lutheran party, were placed before the fathers to be examined and condemned:—

1. "That Adam, by transgressing the precept, hath lost justice,ⁱ and incurred the wrath of God, and mortality; and though he be impaired both in soul and body, yet no sin is transferred from him to posterity, but only corporal punishments.

2. "That Adam's sin is called original, because it is derived from him to posterity, not by transmission, but by imitation.

3. "That original sin is ignorance, or contempt of God, or want of fear, without confidence in his majesty, without divine love, and with concupiscence, and bad desires; and generally a corruption of the whole man in his will, soul, and body.

4. "That in children there is an inclination to evil, proceeding from the corrupted nature, so that after the use of reason, it bringeth forth a loathing of divine things, and an immersion in matters of the world; and that this is original sin.

5. "That children, at the least born of faithful parents, though they are baptized into the remission of sins, yet they have no sin but by descending from Adam.

6. "That original sin is not cancelled in baptism, but not imputed, or so razed, that it beginneth to diminish in this life, and is wholly rooted out in that to come.

7. "That the sin remaining in the baptized hindereth his entrance into heaven.

8. "That concupiscence, which cherisheth sin, and remaineth after baptism, is truly sin.

concerning various matters appertaining to preachers and lecturers, &c. See Father Paul, pp. 156-161 (Brent's translation); his remarks on the enthralled proceedings of the council are pertinent and convincing.

ⁱ *I. e.* original righteousness, *δικαιοσύνη*.

9. "That the principal punishment due to original sin, is hell fire, besides corporeal death, and other imperfections, unto which man is subject in this life."^k

To state the resolutions which the various assemblies, and subsequently the session, came to upon these subjects, would be to repeat what is clearly set forth in the Decrees and Canons^l published by their authority. Nor would my limits in any way permit me to do justice to the many arguments urged, and the different views advanced, respecting this delicate and difficult question. In the private congregations, the opinions of the Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas, were urged by the bishops of Natola and Bossa ; while, on the second, an ingenious explanation brought forward by Catherinus,^m who held the existence of a covenant between God and Adam, whereby the obedience or disobedience of our first parent was to affect the whole human race either for good or evil, found favour with a large number. Soto opposed it with arguments drawn from the Dominican opinions, and the council were forced to content themselves with asserting the existence of original sin, and its actual propagation, and condemning the opposite heresies.

In fact, the Roman Catholics did not understand their own belief on this subject, and were forced to give a sufficient laxity to their definitions to furnish loopholes for their own inconsistencies and contradictions. Moreover, half the bishops assembled were totally incompetentⁿ to

^k Brent's Sarpi, p. 162.

^l P. 21, sqq. of my translation. To those desirous of entering into scholastic disquisition on these matters, I may recommend a book bearing the following title :—" *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, per D. D. Martinum Chemnicium scripti ; opus integrum, quatuor partes, in quibus præcipuorum capitum totius doctrinæ Papisticæ, firma et solida refutatio, tum ex sacræ Scripturæ fontibus, tum ex orthodoxorum Patrum consensu, collecta est, uno volumine complectens. Fol. Francofurti, impensis Heredum Sigef. Feyrabendi, M.D.LXXXXVI.*"

^m Copiously stated in Sarpi, p. 137, sq. Latin edition.

ⁿ Burnet, *Hist. of the Ref.* pt. ii. bk. i. p. 303. "They entered by such slow steps as were directed from Rome, into the discussion of articles of doctrine, which were, as they were pleased to call it, explained to them by some divines, for most part friars, who amused the more ignorant bishops with the nice speculations with which they had been exercised in the schools, where hard and barbarous words served in good stead to conceal some things not so fit to be proposed barefaced and in plain terms."

enter into crabbed scholastic disquisitions, which many of them had never dreamt of. Accordingly, the decrees of this session, while totally free from any mistaken leniency towards Protestant deflections,^o leave the questions of the nature of original sin, and the manner of its transmission, freely open to the trifling of human zeal and partisanship. The Dominican and Franciscan still enjoy their bone of contention.

CHAPTER XX.

Touching the Immaculate Conception, and Limbo; also of Baptism.

When these decrees had been read in a general congregation held on the 8th of June, Cardinal Pacheco, who had previously been anxious^p that the question of the Blessed Virgin's nature should be settled by the council, again brought forward the matter, requiring that, to the second canon, which asserts the transmission of original sin to the whole human race, there should be added this clause: "The council does not intend to include in this decree, where original sin is treated of, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of God; but that the constitutions of Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory, are to be observed, under the pains contained in the said constitutions, which it renews."^q

^o Cf. Chemnitii Examen, pt. i. p. 89. "Sed ferme oblitus eram ejus quæstionis quæ ad nos proprie pertinet; cum scilicet omnes qualescunque disputationes de peccati originalis definitione, in Tridentino Concilio siet libera opinandi licentia relictæ sint: quid ibi factum fuerit doctrinæ Augustinæ Confessionis, quæ ex Scripturæ testimoniis constituit descriptionem peccati originalis? Num igitur probant eam Pontificii? Nequaquam: num liberam eam permittunt? Nihil minus: sed expresse eam damnant. Hoc vero mirabile est, cum reliquas omnes opiniones, quales eæ cunque sunt, liberrimas relinquunt. Sed discat ab hoc exemplo lector, sicut poeta dixit: 'Romæ omnia cum liceant, non licet esse pium:' ita in Concilio Tridentino, omnes qualescunque opiniones liberas relinqui, solam vero illam sententiam, quæ ex Scripturæ testimoniis extracta est, non tantum non relinqui liberam, sed horrendis clamoribus damnari."

^p In a congregation held May 24th. See Le Plat, v. iii. p. 419.

^q Decrees and Canons, p. 24. See Le Plat, *ibid.* p. 423. The passage of St. Augustine, from which this decree is taken, is De Nat. et Grat. c. 36. "Excepta itaque sancta Virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem." The following most important passage is from Mendham, p. 76, sqq.:—"The council was evidently in a strait between two

Another dispute arose as to the nature of the punishment of infants who die in original sin, unregenerated by baptism. "Though Saint Austin, grounding himself upon St. Paul, held expressly that the pains of hell fire belonged unto it, even in little children, whereunto none of the holy fathers contradicted, yet the master of the sentences, with the schoolmen, who follow most of all philosophical reasons, distinguished two kinds of eternal punishments,—one the privation only of celestial blessedness, the other a chastisement; and they assigned the first only to original sin. Only Gregory of Arimini forsook the general opinion of the schoolmen, who by that means gained the name of Tormentor of Children. But neither he nor St. Austin was defended by the theologues in the congregations. Yet there was another division among them. For the Dominicans said, that children dead without baptism, before the use of reason, remain after the resurrection in a limbo and darkness under the earth, but without fire; the Franciscans say, they are to remain upon the earth, and in light. Some affirmed also, that they should

strong and important parties; and its dexterity at least is admirable. It applies the epithet *immaculate* to the Virgin, but not to her conception, and refers, as a confirmation, to constitutions of a pontiff, which do indeed mention the *conception*, but the epithet there found is not *immaculate*, but *wonderful*. It deserves to be added, that in the first two editions of the canons, decrees, and acts of the synod, up to the last session inclusive, printed at Antwerp and Paris in the same year, 1546, this clause is wanting. In the Protestant edition, of the same year, it appears, and for the first time. The first papal edition in which it is extant is that of Milan, in 1548, which comprehends the seventh session. That ever such a doctrine as the immaculate conception of the virgin mother of the Incarnate Word, should have been admitted into any creed professedly Christian, much more that it should have become the subject of eager contention among professed Christians, can only be accounted for by reverting to the established appointment of a just and holy Providence, that when men have embraced one atrocious and cardinal error, they will be allowed to precipitate themselves into others equal or superior in iniquity without limit; and to the fact, that when the blessed Virgin was deified and exalted to an equality with her divine Son, it became a natural, if not a necessary consequence, in order to support and justify this impiety, that the mother should be equally and in the same respect immaculate with her Son." A valuable dissertation on the origin of the worship of the Virgin Mary will be found in Sarpi, p. 142 (170, Brent's transl.). On the subject of the immaculate conception, see the Appendix to Mill's Sermons before the University of Cambridge.

be philosophers, busying themselves in the knowledge of natural things, not without that great pleasure which happeneth when curiosity is satisfied by invention. Catanius said further, that they shall be visited and comforted by the holy angels and saints. And in this, so many varieties were delivered, that they might give great matter of entertainment."^r

This point was, however, left at issue, as a matter appertaining to scholastic disputation, rather than to the business of an ecclesiastical synod. Well would it have been had many a similar one shared a like fate !

It was also universally admitted, that baptism is the true and appointed remedy for original sin, whereby man is restored to the grace and favour of God, and made a child of God, and inheritor of the kingdom of heaven ; and it was likewise agreed, that " by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is conferred in baptism, the guilt of original sin is remitted, and all that which has the true and proper nature of sin is taken away. . . And that concupiscence, which the apostle sometimes calls sin, has never by the Catholic Church been understood to be called sin, as being truly and properly sin in those born again, but because it is of sin, and inclines to sin."^s

CHAPTER XXI.

Congregations on the Subject of Reformation.

We have already said, that the legates had communicated with the pope on the subject of episcopal reformation. They had also evinced a desire to pay a just attention to the abuses engendered by the system of pluralities and non-residence. Before, however, proceeding to the consideration of these matters, they determined to treat of certain reforms connected with the use of the Scriptures ; the establishment of more numerous lectureships on those writings ; and the more frequent and efficient preaching of the word of God. All these matters had been previously discussed, and much real sincerity and honest desire of reform had been displayed

^r Brent's Sarpi, p. 167, sq.

^s Decrees and Canons, p. 23, sq. See Rogers on Article IX. prop. iv. p. 46.

by many in the investigation of existing evils; but no specific decision had been as yet determined on.

But it is quite certain, even from the partial admittance of Pallavicino, that any positive attacks on the existing state of things were far from being palatable to the tastes of the party favouring the Roman court, and with whom the real influence generally lay. For instance, Martelli, the bishop of Fiesole, complained that the bishops, after coming to Trent at an immense expense, found that their opinions had no freedom, but were shut up within the privacy of private assemblies; that the privileges and exemptions given to the regulars in their dioceses had the practical effect of leaving the ordinaries with the name only, but without the office of bishops; that to the regulars alone was practically committed the office of preaching, the confessional, and, in a word, nearly the whole ministry and government of the churches. He protested earnestly against the decrees now brought forward, as calculated to confirm the evils it was intended to rectify, and called upon the assembled bishops, in the name of Jesus Christ, whose office they were bound to sustain upon earth, to vindicate to themselves their pristine authority, and to resist the violent change which was likely to sever the unity of the Church, contrary to all divine or human right. He then, turning to the legates, admonished them, that two of them had formerly been merely bishops, and that it was their duty to exalt, not to diminish, the episcopal dignity.^t

The cardinal del Monte replied with much heat; but Cardinal Pole, in more temperate language, while admitting the correctness of some of the charges brought by Martelli, reprehended his violence of speech, and pointed out some inconsistencies in his arguments. Dispute followed dispute, and the unfortunate bishop of Fiesole, whose honesty was perhaps greater than his firmness, was forced to apologize for what was deemed an act of insult and insubordination to head-quarters.

^t Pallav. vii. 4, 12.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Fifth Session. The Emperor's Intentions become more apparent.

On the 17th of June, 1546, Alessandro Piccolomini, bishop of Pianza, celebrated mass, and the sermon was preached by Marco Laureo, a Dominican friar, and the decrees^u were passed amid some slight dissent on the part of Cardinal Pacheco and the bishop of Cava, besides a renewed outcry against the omission of the "representing" clause. The meeting was attended by four cardinals, nine archbishops, forty-eight bishops, two abbots, and three generals of religious orders. The next session was indicted for the 29th of July, but was postponed in consequence of the discussions we are about to describe.

We must not, however, lose sight of the state of affairs in Germany. The dissolution of the Diet of Ratisbon without coming to any terms likely to produce good-feeling, was most vexing to the emperor; and the demands of the Protestant party for a national, in preference to a general council—especially to one which, they urged, was not conducted with the freedom which had been promised—were equally troublesome. Their faith in the emperor had also become weaker than ever, by his reconciliation with the French king, especially when it was known that both the pope and the emperor were quietly putting themselves in a condition to enforce obedience by the sword.^x

Nor did the decrees of the council give satisfaction. The revival of the question respecting the Pelagian doctrines, condemned so many hundred years ago, was looked upon as an unmeaning superfluity. People argued, that "it had been

^u See Decrees and Canons, pp. 21-9, and Sarpi, p. 173, Brent. It is useless to repeat matter already printed in its own proper and complete state.

^x Sarpi, p. 172. "And the emperor seeing he was discovered, the ninth of June sent the cardinal of Trent post to Rome, to demand of the pope the succour he promised, and sent captains with money into Italy and Flanders to levy soldiers, and solicited the princes and Protestant German captains, not combined with those of the League of Smalcald, to follow his colours, affirming and promising he would not make a war for religion, but suppress the rebellion of some who, under that pretence, would not acknowledge the laws nor the majesty of the prince."

tolerable, if the ancient doctrine had been confirmed ; that, in conformity thereunto, they had well propounded a true universal proposition, asserting that the sin of Adam passed into all his posterity, but had afterwards destroyed it, by the exception made in favour of the Virgin Mary." Moreover, it was no defence to say, "that the exception was not assertive, but ambiguous ; for as one particular maketh false the contradictory universal, so one ambiguous particular maketh the universal uncertain."

CHAPTER XXIII.

War declared against the Protestants.

On the 26th of June, a treaty between the pope and the emperor, the terms of which had been previously settled,^y was concluded at Rome by the cardinal of Trent. It was herein declared, that whereas the whole state of Germany had, for some years past, been disturbed and shaken by various heresies, and that the Protestants, and those united in the League of Smalcald, had declared their resolution never to submit to the decrees of the general council which had been assembled at Trent, with the view of appeasing the existing disorders ; it had therefore been resolved, "that the emperor's majesty, in the name of the Lord, aided by the supplies of his holiness the pope, should lead his whole forces against the parties aforesaid, as well as against all heretics of whatsoever sect, and should bring them back to the true and ancient religion, as well as to obedience to the Apostolic See ; that the emperor should not enter into any treaty or terms with the Protestants and Smalcald party, and shall permit nothing contrary to the Catholic religion and the sanctions of the Church, without the express permission of the Apostolic See or its legate ; that the pope should, in the course of one month from the present time, lodge 100,000 crowns with the bankers at Venice, to be appropriated, together with the like sum already deposited at Augsburg, to the purposes of the expedition ; that the pope should also equip and maintain, at his own proper cost, twelve thousand foot, and five

^y See Courayer, p. 334, n. 100. It had, in fact, been begun before at Worms, by Cardinal Farnese. My leading authority for the decree itself is Le Plat, v. iii. p. 434, sqq. Cf. Pallav. viii. 1.

hundred light horse, for six months, and should give the emperor, for the present year, half the rents of the churches of Spain, as well as power to alienate 300,000 crowns from the revenues of the monasteries in Spain and Italy." This last proposition gave great offence to the conclave of the Vatican.^z

This document, which left no further room for doubting the real disposition of the papal association, received the customary subscriptions; and Cardinal Farnese was chosen legate of this "holy" expedition, while his brother Octavius was intrusted with the chief command of the pontifical forces. Pallavicino confesses that the procession with which they set out from Rome, as far as the Flaminian gate, although they did not really quit Rome till some days after, shows "that the solemnities attendant on a work, and the work itself, are not always united."^a

At Trent, continues this historian, the legates thought that, although war entailed much danger, yet peace left no hopes of conciliating Germany; that death by a hectic fever, or by the sword, was the only alternative left in the present state of things; that the council, if confirmed by force of arms, would perform its office with a stout heart and a strong hand, seeing that it would have a powerful army, as it were as the lictors of its tribunal, and Charles the Fifth as the executor of the decrees it might pass.

A few days after the passing of this decree the pope again wrote to the Swiss in friendly terms, urging them to persevere in adherence to the old religion and in obedience to the papal see, as well as entreating their attendance at the council, and deploring the neglect thereof on the part of the German princes; "a conduct," he adds, "which has compelled him to think of force and arms. And because it hath happened that the emperor hath made the same resolution, he hath been constrained to join with him, and assist him with his own and the Church's power, to restore religion by war."^b

^z Pallav. viii. 1.

^a "Secondo il moderno uso del mondo, che la solennità e la sostanza dell' opere non sogliano andar congiunto."—T. i. p. 661. Dr. Waterworth omits all mention of this league, which, in the abridger of Pallavicino, seems strange, and scarcely consistent with what impartiality demands.

^b Brent's Sarpi, p. 177.

But the emperor, who perhaps felt unwilling to appear to be consulting the pontiff's wishes rather than his own, and whose real care for religion the reader, perhaps, by this time can tolerably well appreciate,—alleged that his motives for making war were of a secular character, and calculated to vindicate his own authority rather than the offended dignity of the Church of Rome. Some of the Protestant party, on the other hand, laid the whole blame on the pope and the council, reminding the emperor of the capitulations which he had sworn in Frankfort, when created emperor, and protested against the injustice of his present conduct. But the more wary class, who did not suffer enthusiasm to blind them to the real state of things, felt persuaded that the religious partisanship of the emperor was but subservient to other interests, and avoided disagreement with a prince whose power made him at once religiously influential and politically dangerous. Moreover, as the emperor still remained on friendly terms with the archbishop-elect of Cologne, it seems evident that he had no intention of sacrificing his interests to his obedience, as well as that the pope, in his anxiety to find efficient means of putting down the Protestants, was afraid to insist upon implicit compliance with all his demands.

However this may have been, on the 11th of July, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse published a manifesto, declaring that the war was really undertaken in the cause of religion, and that the emperor's pretext of taking revenge against certain persons for rebellion was but a cloak by which he hoped to deceive and disunite the confederate princes, and oppress them by degrees. The concessions made by the Spanish prelates out of their own revenues for the purpose of carrying on the war, confirmed their suspicions, as it seemed unlikely that they would have tolerated any reduction of income with the view of promoting a merely political expedition.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Preparatory Congregations, &c. for the Sixth Session. Doctrine of Justification, &c.

We now return to the discussions which, previous to the remaining part of the year, preceded the sixth session. The

plot was beginning to thicken. It was now useless to deny that the secular and the spiritual powers were henceforth destined to work together on behalf of Romanism, and that the so-called general council, while its decrees in no way tended to conciliate those who had deserted the papal standard, was likely to form a rallying point round which the defenders of the old system would collect their forces, alike prepared for resistance and for offence. But although the mask was now thrown off, and anything like even a desire to unite with the Protestant party seemed, under present circumstances, almost preposterous, the business of the council proceeded with considerable spirit; and, where the desire of reform was wanting as a motive, the wish utterly to proscribe the doctrines of the reformists, and, at all events, to anathematize upon prescript whatever it was difficult to prove by argument, was a sufficient stimulus to the minds of a set of men as various in abilities and disposition as they were (with but few exceptions) consistent in bigotry.

In a congregation held on the 21st^c of June, 1546, the first legate being absent, from indisposition, Cardinal Cervini proposed the subject of justification as the one to be now considered by the assembly, and at the same time recommended that the question of reform respecting episcopal residence should be deferred until the impediments to the enforcing of residence could be considered. Cardinal Pole observed that this article would be most aptly connected with the one touching original sin, which they had just determined in the previous council; seeing that, whereas by that it was ascertained what loss the human race had sustained in the first Adam, by this it might be known how the good things lost might be recovered in the second. He exhorted them to bestow attention proportioned to the intricacy of the subject, and diligently to study the books of their adversaries, not with the determination to find that

^c Father Paul says the 18th. It is probable that a *private* congregation may have then been held, but that the affairs in question were discussed, as Pallavicino states, in the general one held on the 21st. Father Paul states, that on the 18th, the secretary read a writing framed by the chief theologians, on this subject, but that it met with some objection from the bishop of the emperor's party. Supposing this took place in a private congregation, it might well be wanting in the acts seen by Pallavicino.

"because Luther says this, therefore is it false," but carefully to sift the truth from amidst the falsities with which it was the policy of heretics to enwrap it.^d

Cardinal Pacheco then suggested, that as in the consideration of justification they were destitute of the authority not only of ancient scholastic divines, but likewise of councils, and as the assembly of Trent was consequently called upon to determine on this delicate subject by its own resources, he recommended that the theologians should first submit the various points of the matter to private discussion, until they should have fairly considered every head : when these were collected together, and properly arranged, they might be considered by the public congregation with greater advantage both in point of distinctness and expedition. He also thought it advisable that another party should be employed in considering the question of residence, and concluded by lamenting that, where business of so arduous and responsible a nature was being transacted, so far from receiving an accession to their scanty numbers, Trent became more and more deserted every day. Furthermore, with just sarcasm, he condemned the conduct of those, who, after absenting themselves throughout the debates, did not hesitate to pronounce their sanction and give their vote respecting matters of which they had heard nothing. He then proposed, that no one should be permitted to leave Trent without permission, and that the legates might be at liberty to grant leave of absence for the space of ten or fifteen days ; but that leave for a longer period should only be given by the synod.^e

^d Sarpi gives the arguments, brought forward on the 18th, as follows : — "Having undertaken from the beginning to oppugn the indulgences, Martin saw he could not obtain his purpose, except he destroyed the works of repentance, in defect whereof indulgences do succeed ; and justification by faith only, a thing never heard of before, seemed to him a good means to effect this ; from whence he hath collected not only that good works are not necessary, but also that a dissolute liberty in observing the law of God and of the Church will serve the turn : hath denied efficacy in the sacraments, authority of priests, purgatory, sacrifice of the mass, and all other remedies for remission of sins. Therefore, by a contrary way, he that will establish the body of the Catholic doctrine must overthrow this heresy of justice by faith only, and condemn the blasphemies of that enemy of good works."—P. 179.

^e Pallav. viii. 8. Dr. Waterworth really gives little idea of Pal-

It was answered, that the legates had given no such permission, but that the prelates had left of their own accord—a fact satisfactorily proving the forced character of the whole proceeding, and the little real interest felt in it by those who formed its constituents. Cardinal Pacheco's proposal for enforcing their stay was carried into effect, and the assembly became, like a shut-up jury, forced to debate and pronounce upon matters, sometimes without thought, sometimes against their conscience,—the fear of the delay resulting from further discussion being a sufficient silence to the scruples of those, who were already worn out with the tedious length of a council which seemed to be giving little satisfaction to any of the parties concerned in its convocation, while, as an anti-Protestant measure, its failure seemed getting every day more and more obvious.^f

In regard to the subject proposed for discussion, the following propositions were propounded :—

1. What is justification, both as regards the signification of the word, and the essence of the thing signified ; and what is meant, when a man is said to be justified ?

2. What are the causes of justification ; *i.e.* What does God effect, and what is required on the part of man to bring about that end ?

3. How must we understand that saying of the apostle, that *man is justified by faith* ?^g

4. Whether, and in what manner, works coming before, or after, justification, appertain thereunto ; and what relation the sacraments possess to the same ?

5. What precedes, accompanies, and follows justification ?

6. On what authority do the doctrines rest which are to

lavicino's fidelity, by his constant habit of suppressing whatever that historian says unfavourable to the character of the Tridentine proceedings. Suppression of facts which make against one's own prejudices, is at least the next offence to misstatement, and is even more dangerous, because much less easily perceived and corrected.

^f A vote of censure had already been passed, condemning the conduct of the absentees. Cf. Le Plat, v. iii. p. 427, sqq.

^g Rom. iii. 24, 28. Cf. Decrees and Canons, Sess. vi. ch. viii. I must again remind my reader that the learned "Examen" of Chemnitz, the contents of which are far too voluminous to be even abridged in these pages, will be found a valuable commentary on all the doctrinal matters in the Tridentine sessions.

be confirmed ; is it on that of Scripture, councils, fathers, or of apostolical tradition ?^h

As to the first of these heads, all agreed that justification is the transition from a state of enmity with God, to that of a friend and adopted son of God. Touching its nature, its formal cause was held to be charity, or grace infused into the soul. Mazzochio, however, a Servite, followed an opinion, ascribed to Peter of Lombardy : that the divine grace is not an inward thing within us, but the outward presence and assistance of the Holy Spirit. He also, in common with a few others, held that free will, in the case of the person to be justified, concurs passively, not actively.

The same party of theologians, with one other follower, differed from the unanimous opinion of the rest concerning the third point proposed—holding that man is said to be justified by faith, inasmuch as he firmly believes that he will receive pardon of his sins through the merits of Jesus Christ. The rest united in asserting, that man is justified by faith, not as its proximate and efficient cause, but as its first preparation, and, as it were, root, necessary to lead to the proximate actions whereby justification is obtained ; that, if we speak of the efficient cause, man is justified by faith accompanied by penance and baptism ; if of the formal cause, it is faith animated by charity and sanctifying grace.

With the same exceptions,ⁱ it was unanimously decided, that works going before justification do only merit justification *de congruo* ;^k i.e. as tending to our justification by a

^h Pallav. viii. 4. His order of narrative is strangely irregular, and I have followed Dr. Waterworth in describing the following particulars in their historical order, not in that of their historian's treatment.

ⁱ These few approximated to the Reformists, in their low estimate of the value of works in man's justification.

^k See Rogers on Art. XIII. prop. 2, p. 62. His work is generally valuable for its copious comparative references to the Tridentine decrees and to the confessions of the various Reformed churches. The following statement of our own views by Bishop Beveridge may be useful :—
“And hence it is here said that there is nothing that we do before we receive grace can make us meet to receive grace, or as the schoolmen say, ‘deserve grace of congruity ;’ that is, we can do nothing for which it is so much as meet that God should bestow anything upon us, as we cannot do anything which it is just God should reward, and so deserve grace of congruity, so neither can we do anything which it is fit or meet God should reward, and so deserve grace of congruity. So that God

certain fitness or congruity ; but that works done after justification, and therefore by the divine grace, and acquiring greater power from the merits of Christ, whose living member the righteous man is, preserve and increase *de congruo* the grace that has been received.

CHAPTER XXV.

Further Discussions concerning Justification.

On the last day of June the result of the previous discussions was laid before a general congregation, and the first legate, now convalescent, expressed his opinion that, from the decisions come to by the theologians, it seemed advisable to divide the subject-matter into three heads, as follows :—

1. “ How are the merits of Christ to be applied to those who embrace his faith ; and what grace do they afterwards deserve ?

2. “ What is to be done by a Christian in order to preserve the divine grace vouchsafed to him ?

3. “ What ought to be done by him who has lost the grace once received from God ? Can he obtain strength to recover it, and in what manner ? And wherein is this second justification like, or unlike, the first ?”

This proposed division was approved by all present, except Pelargus, bishop of Treves, who thought it advisable that free will should also be made the subject of discussion, the assent thereof being, in adults, essential to justification.

It was also determined that no form of a decree should be drawn up by the theologians, until the matters discussed, and the result of their deliberations, had been laid before the fathers. This was done, partly out of respect to the judges, partly because it was thought easier to commence the work

should not do what is unmeet and unfitting to be done, though he never reward any of the works of even rational men. And the reason is clearly here asserted—*because they have all the nature of sin*. And if they have the nature of sin and iniquity, certainly they cannot deserve grace of congruity. So that it cannot be meet that God should reward them, nay it is rather meet he should not reward them. Nay it is not only meet he should not reward them, but it is meet and just too that he should punish them ; justice requiring sin to be punished, as well as virtue to be rewarded ; and therefore if thy works be sins, they cannot in justice be rewarded, but punished.” On Art. XIII. p. 309.

anew, than to patch up the old. It was also resolved, that each individual point should be put to the vote; not all collectively. At the same time, twenty-three propositions, selected from the writings of Luther, Zwingli, Pelagius, and other heretics, were read, and placed before the assembly for consideration.¹

My limits will not allow me to enter into even a sketch of the disputes which, in almost daily congregations, took place on the difficult subject in question. Nor is it easy to reconcile the loose memoranda which seem to have fallen into the hands of different writers. Generally speaking, Pallavicino's^m attention to chronological arrangement gives us a clearer idea of the progress of the discussions, while Father Paulⁿ is more circumstantial in his details of particular speeches and arguments. I feel the less regret in avoiding a minute statement of these disputes, as the results of them are set before us in the Decrees and Canons promulgated at this session; and although the task of reviewing the different steps, by which men gradually reached those conclusions, is both curious and interesting, its general utility, as regards a popular treatise, may fairly be questioned.

When the first point proposed for discussion had been thoroughly examined, it was determined, in the general congregation held on July 15th, to appoint four deputies to draw up a decree expressing the sentiments of the fathers on the subject. The votes were given in secret, and the choice fell upon the archbishop of Armagh, and the bishops of Acci, Bitonto, and Belcastro.^o

¹ These propositions are divided into three heads in Le Plat, v. iii. p. 433, sq., who, however, only reckons twenty-two. Sarpi, ii. p. 115, sq. reckons twenty-five, but without any division, and avowedly taken from the writings of Luther only.

^m See viii. 4.

ⁿ See ii. pp. 152-8, Latin ed.; Courayer, p. 344, sqq., who well observes: "Nos deux historiens rapportent assez diversement les avis des théologiens. Mais comment ils ne le font que par extrait, il n'est pas étonnant que chacun d'eux ait fait ces sortes d'extraits conformément à ses idées, ce qui produit toujours une assez grande différence."

^o Just about this time the following untoward event occurred:—"On the 17th of July, at a general congregation, the occupations of the fathers were unseasonably, and not very decorously, interrupted by a corporal altercation between two of its most reverend members. At the close of the meeting, the bishop of Chiron, approaching the bishop

CHAPTER XXVI.

Progress of the War. Alarm at Trent.

Meanwhile, the pope and the emperor had been at open variance respecting the avowed motives of the war they had undertaken. The latter, still bent upon maintaining the political character of his motives, published an edict against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, in which he charged them with having constantly hindered his designs; given way to disobedience and conspiracy; and, under pretext of religion, seized upon bishoprics and other means of wealth. He therefore proscribed them as rebels guilty of high treason, absolved their nobility and people from obedience to them, and desired that none might venture to assist them.

The princes proceeded to arm in their defence, and in the month of June, 1546, they took the field with 70,000 foot and 15,000 horse, and, had their proceedings been decisive, they might have rid themselves of their crafty and dangerous enemy. But the division of command was fatal to their chances of success; when one was disposed for battle, the other was against it. Thus they lost their opportunity, and gave the emperor ample time to gather his forces together; their own resources were getting exhausted, whilst the imperial forces were daily augmenting. No particular action, however, ensued during the summer, although the two armies were frequently in sight of each other.^p

But if the war undertaken against the Protestants was, at present, little active in its effects upon the state of Germany—its influence was felt with no small disadvantage at Trent. Whether the pope was really tired out with the coun-

of Cava, told him, that he could not clear himself of great ignorance or great impudence in what he had advanced; upon which, the individual addressed, seizing the beard of the offender with both his hands, extracted some of the hair. It was necessary for the authorities to interfere in such a case of violence and indignity, and the over-hasty prelate was sentenced to incarceration in the monastery of St. Bernardino. He was shortly released, but forbidden to return to the council, and ordered to Rome to obtain absolution of the pontiff."—Massarelli, in Mendham, p. 83.

^p Mosheim, vi. cent. xvi. ch. iv. Burnet's Reformation, pt. II. bk. i. p. 305.

eil, or not, it is certain that little short of absolute compulsion kept the members thereof at Trent. Even in the synod held on the 15th of July, above mentioned, attempts were made to transfer or break up the council, and Cardinal Cervini struggled so hard to procure its dismissal, that the emperor charged an ambassador to tell him, that, "in this, if he did cross his majesty, he would cause him to be thrown into the river Adige."¹ The pope, who could neither please himself, the emperor, nor the council, was obliged to content himself with a compromise. While he persisted, contrary to the emperor's desire, in treating conjointly of doctrine as well as reformation, he at the same time desired the legates to postpone the session. Accordingly, on the 25th of July the session was deferred until a time hereafter to be intimated, and the congregations intermitted for fifteen days. The appearance, first of the Protestant army near the Tyrol, and the subsequent arrival of the Italian troops, under the command of Ottavio Farnese, were the cause of much terror and inconvenience to the assembly; and save a little talking at private meetings, the business of the council remained at a stand-still till the middle of August. It is difficult to reconcile the listless apathy, the countless attempts to evade or escape from the duties of the office, and the subterfuges, in which even the pretext of ill health was made to bear a part,²—which distinguished the conduct of the Tridentine

¹ Brent's *Sarpi*, p. 190. Cf. Courayer, p. 361; Pallav. viii. 15. The latter author candidly confesses himself at a loss to understand why the assembled prelates and legates were so anxious to get away from Trent.

² "On the 23rd of July was announced the arrival of the Cardinal Farnese; he was on his way to Germany, but was detained at Rovereto by a fever. The object of his journey was to join Ottavio Farnese, who had the command of the papal army. The cardinal wished to have had the cross carried before him, and to have published indulgences, as legate of the army against the Lutherans; but the emperor would not consent; in consequence of which the cardinal retired to Ratisbon, pretending to be ill, and transmitted an account of the affair to the pope, his grandfather, at Rome."—Mendham, p. 84. In the same place will be found some most important extracts, tending to show the violence of the disturbances which hindered the progress of the council. By way of illustrating the compulsory situation of the assembly, I will observe that letters are mentioned by Mendham, p. 88, sq. bearing dates from the 20th to the 26th of August inclusive, which are "strongly expressive of the perplexity in which the legates found themselves.

assembly—with the characteristics of a council, working under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost, guided by integrity, and claiming infallibility.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Further Proceedings respecting Justification.

To return to the business of the council—the document presented by the prelates on the 24th of July, as the result of their united labours, proved little satisfactory. It was distinguished neither for brevity nor clearness, and was intrusted to Seripando; who, after having with great learning drawn up a statement, somewhat tinctured with peculiar views of his own, on the subject of justification, was destined in turn to find his own writing so changed by the opinions of others, that he could not recognise it as his own. He held “that the faith, upon which man’s justification depended, not only is its beginning, but its most certain cause; and that by such a faith in the Redeemer the Redeemer’s merits are applied to us. Furthermore, that there is a twofold righteousness: one intrinsic, which he again divided into two kinds; the former being that, whereby we become friends, instead of enemies, of God, and that this is

They and the whole company began to feel the effects of the unholy league into which their sovereign and the imperial one had entered, for the subjection and destruction of Protestantism, and probably all the parties flattered themselves that it would be a matter not of contest but of certainty. In this they were disappointed; and the legates complained, that it was idle to talk of the distance of the war, when they saw troops passing and repassing. The bishops were naturally terrified. Instead of being able to retain them in their place until October, which was suggested, it was doubtful whether they could be kept there more than eight or ten days. Themselves were sons of obedience, said the legates, and only waited the clear commands of their master; but they were men, and wished for an early intimation of their fate, or that successors might be appointed them, instead of being coolly forbidden to innovate.” So much for Tridentine freedom!

“On the 10th of September the legates wrote that they kept labouring at the article of justification: but add, still harping upon the one great question to them, that if the council is to continue where it was till October, they must beg to represent themselves as incapable (*inhabili*), partly from indisposition and partly from remorse of conscience. On the 20th, they affirm that they had put the last hand to the article, still urging the translation of the council.”—Mendham, p. 9

given us with the grace infused by baptism ; the latter, whereby man is said to live righteously, which results from the acts of virtue proceeding from the aforesaid grace. The second kind of righteousness he held to be outward, and to consist in the righteousness and merits of the Redeemer, imputed to us by the divine mercy as if they were our own, not indeed wholly, but to such an extent, and for such effects, as seemeth good unto God.”^s These opinions met with but little favour from the assembled theologians, as but five gave their assent thereunto. Nevertheless, the many delays, both external, and resulting from the intricate nature of the subject, served to protract this disputation to an unreasonable extent, and it was not until the conclusion of the year that the question was settled, even amongst the select committees that preceded the session.

It cannot be denied that Cervini, despite his anxiety to get away from Trent, laboured earnestly to draw up documents likely to compose differences among the rival sects of the Romish Church. So lax were the definitions given concerning this doctrine, that neither Dominican nor Franciscan had the slightest difficulty in twisting them to suit his own views, a fact which the published commentaries on this subject satisfactorily evince.^t

In the last congregation, held on the 15th of November, Cardinal Pacheco and a few others proposed certain alterations calculated to render the document still more accommodated to the dissensions of the schoolmen, and more earnest in its condemnation of the tenets advanced by Luther. In fact, on this head, there was an unanimity of feeling that contrasted strangely with the many irregularities and variances of the council upon other points.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Controversies respecting Residence.

In the present day, it will be a cause of pain to all sincere Christians, to reflect that the objections long since directed against the desertion of flocks by their shepherd, the incom-

^s Pallav. viii. ii. 4, 5.

^t Sarpi, p. 202 (Brent).

petent administration of many districts through the non-residence consequent on the unapostolic system of pluralities, are still but too applicable to the Reformed Church. Sad it is to confess, that the charge of avarice, which once awoke the voice of Luther to its denunciation, can still be rebutted against our own church, the same taunts against largely-paid sinecurists, which even the ingenious sophistry and wondrous wit of a Sydney Smith could not defend—the doing of God's work by other men's hands—that these are evils against which we have so often declaimed, and done so little to rectify. In reading the measures of reformation proposed at Trent on this head, we cannot, despite the violent opposition displayed on many occasions, deny the existence of much disinterested and honourable desire of improvement, even where personal sacrifice was involved, and we can but regret that, at so late a period of history, the proportionate movement in our own church should have been so tardy and so imperfect.

In the earlier discussions on the subject of reformation, it was proposed to enumerate the qualifications necessary for the promotion of the greater prelates and ministers of the Church. "And very grave sayings," says Father Paul,^a "were delivered with great ostentation; but there was no way found how those things whereof they spoke might be observed. For where the kings have their presentation, they saw not with what bonds to tie them: where election hath place, the chapter doth consist of great and mighty persons: for the residue, all dignities are conferred by the pope, and more than two-thirds of the benefices are reserved to the Apostolic See, unto which it is not fit to prescribe a law. Whereupon, after many and long discourses, it was concluded, that it was better to leave the business."

At the advice of the pope, communicated through the legate Del Monte, the question as to whether residence was of divine right, was but slightly alluded to in the proceedings of this session, ostensibly with the view of preventing the progress of the council being retarded by trivial and unsatisfactory disputes. While Caietan and others had held

^a See his useful and entertaining dissertation on the whole subject, p. 171, sqq. Lat.; p. 203, sqq. Brent.

that the obligation of residence cometh of the law of God ; and while one party urged the obligation as springing from the spiritual, others from the ecclesiastical, law, Catarinus, the Dominican, held that the popedom is the only bishopric established by Christ, but that the institution of other orders is by the pope, who, “as he divideth the quantity and number of the sheep to be fed, so he prescribeth also the manner and quality. Therefore it belongeth to the pope to appoint every bishop to attend the flock, by himself, or by his substitute, and may allot unto him either much or little, and deprive him also of the power of feeding. Campeggio, on the contrary, pleaded for non-residence, on the grounds that the bishop is of Christ’s institution, but not so the dominion of bishoprics ; that Christ gave the charge of feeding to all the disciples, but tied them not to a place, as the Acts of the Apostles, and of their disciples, do show.”

It was declared, after various discussions, that prelates should be obliged to reside in their own dioceses, and the ancient canonical penalties were revived, and others imposed, against defaulters in this respect ; that all persons entrusted with cure of souls should be similarly bound by their ordinaries ; and that, even if a temporary absence were granted them, the bishop, as delegate of the apostolic see, should be empowered to appoint a vicar as a substitute, with a competent salary paid out of the revenues of the benefice ; that all irregularities of conduct on the part of secular priests, and of regulars living away from their monasteries, should be taken cognizance of and punished by the ordinaries ; that the exemptions enjoyed by chapters should be abrogated ; and that no bishop, under pain of suspension, should exercise any pontifical function in the diocese of another, without his express permission.^x

^x See Decrees and Canons, p. 47, sq. As a specimen of the influence exercised by the legates upon the council, take the following :—“On the 6th of November we have a letter which, while it represents the politics of the two rival sovereigns on the subject, strongly represents the value which the legates put upon the privilege which they had assumed, and hitherto without contradiction, of *proposing* the subjects to be discussed in the congregations. Upon the question of suspension, they affirm, that they have the majority, that is, the Italian prelates, on their side, and wish to know from his holiness whether they should *propose* it, since the *proposal* from any bishop would not be allowed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Success of the Emperor's Arms in Germany.

While the above matters were in progress, the armies of the emperor were destined to meet with a success which earlier activity on the part of the Protestant princes might have prevented. The pope, thinking that it was scarcely creditable for an apostolic legate to remain in Ratisbon, whilst his soldiers were in the field, recalled Cardinal Farnese; and he accordingly set out, accompanied by a number of Italian gentlemen belonging to the papal troops. In the middle of October, the two armies came so near to each other, that there was but a little river between them. A detachment of Italians and Dutch, sent by the emperor, under the command of Ottavio Farnese, took Donavert in sight of the enemy. In November, the states belonging to the imperial faction made a great attack upon Saxony and Hesse; and the governors of those places were obliged to hasten to the defence of their own states, leaving Upper Germany at the emperor's discretion. "At first, the fortunes of Charles had seemed utterly desperate; but he stood firm in the most perilous circumstances. In the fall of the year 1546, he saw all Upper Germany in his hands; cities and princes vied in submitting to him: the moment seemed come when the Protestant party might be wholly put down in Germany, and the whole north again made Catholic."^y

Great was the vexation of the pope at the present success of the emperor, especially as the latter—too often himself deceived to be willing to make the smallest sacrifices to his papal ally—persisted in disclaiming all idea of having undertaken a war on religious grounds, and by an affectation of tolerance at once strengthened his own interest, and undermined that of the Roman see. The pope retaliated by withdrawing his forces, and depriving the emperor of any further supplies from the churches in Spain.

'We,' they add, 'having, in an especial manner, always kept this rod of office firm in our hands, to let no one invade our office of proposing. We do not therefore think that the affair can succeed, except we ourselves, with a flag on the mast, according to the proverb, propose it.'"^y—Mendham, p. 93, sq.

^y Ranke's Popes, p. 66.

Utterly shaken in any faith which might have still attached him to the emperor, Paul III. now felt anxious to turn the council into a means of aggression, and to weaken the influence of Charles with the Protestants, by hastening the passing of measures likely to be unpopular, and of which the emperor, from the interest he had previously displayed in the council, would bear the chief reproach. It will hereafter be seen, that the pope was strangely destined to become the indirect friend of the Protestants; but at present his hope seems to have been, that "to separate the council was too violent and scandalous a remedy, especially having continued seven months in a treaty, whereof nothing was published." He therefore preferred "to publish the things already digested, seeing that by that declaration, either the Protestants would refuse to go thither; or if they went, would be constrained to accept it; wherein the principal point of all the controversies consisting, the victory would be his own; and if there were no other reasons to do it, this was sufficient to prove it was good for him, because the emperor would not have any controversies decided. For the counsels of those who have contrary ends ought to be contrary. He saw well that the emperor would take it for an affront. But the distastes between them were already so great, that little could be added to them; and the pope, when he was pressed with reasons, which did persuade, and dissuade, was wont to use the Florentine saying, 'A thing done hath an head,' and so to execute that which was necessary. Therefore he wrote to the legates in Christmas, that they should hold a session and publish the decrees already framed."^z

CHAPTER XXX.

The Sixth Session is celebrated.

Accordingly, on the 13th of January, 1547, the session was opened with the accustomed solemnities, the mass being chanted by Andrea Cornaro, archbishop of Spalatro, and the sermon preached by Tommasio Stella, bishop of Salpi.

As usual, the session was but the confirmation of documents already agreed upon in the private congregations, and

^z Brent's Sarpi, p. 209.

the decrees touching justification were proposed and agreed to with universal assent, with the following exceptions. Vigerio, bishop of Sinigaglia, objected to the decree as being defective in its manner of treating on faith, and the mercy of God; at the same time stating, that, as regards the doctrine of being in a state of grace, he approved of the decree, in so far as it was confined to the condemnation of the opinions of heretics, as had been stated in the congregations. On the other hand, Balthazar, bishop of Bossa, wished that the words touching the certainty of being in grace should be transferred to the fourteenth canon,^a and an anathema be thus declared against the heretical doctrine. A few bishops also revived the favourite objection to the omission of the "representing" clause.^b

But the questions of reformation were far less easily settled. In fact, if we bear in mind that the simultaneous consideration of this class of questions had been rather a concession to the emperor than a voluntary measure on the part of the papal see—nay, that the pope had even expressed his disapprobation at such a concession on the part of the legates, we cannot be surprised that, in proportion as the coldness between the two had increased, the pontiff, ruling, as he did, the whole proceedings of the council, should have been little disposed to use his influence in favour of measures so agreeable to the emperor. Again, many contending interests, lay and clerical, were mixed up with almost every point that became the subject of this discussion; and when a *written*, instead of a verbal, statement of opinions was asked for by the legates, they found that the sentiments of the fathers were so various, that it was thought advisable to defer the consideration of them till another opportunity.

"It may be mentioned here," says Dr. Waterworth, "that, in the congregation held on the 25th of February, it appeared after examination that the decrees as proposed had been approved of by a majority, and they were accordingly declared to have the sanction of the council."^c

The next session was then indicted for the 3rd of March, and the contumacy of the absent prelates having been noted,

^a See "Decrees and Canons," p. 44 of my translation.

^b Pallav. viii. 18.

^c P. cix.

it was determined to proceed against them according to the penalties allowed by the canons, with the exception of the German bishops, who were shown to be lawfully impeded. To restrain the recreant prelates, command was also given, that none should leave Trent before the next session.

At this council there were present four cardinals, ten archbishops, and forty-five bishops, Claude le Jay and Pelargus, as proctors of the bishop of Strasburg and of the archbishop of Treves, two abbots, and five generals of orders.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Preliminary Congregations to the Seventh Session. Of the Sacraments.

In the first general congregation, held on the 15th of January, 1547, two days after the preceding session, it was determined that the sacraments be next treated of, as being the means appointed by God for the acquisition, preservation, and increase of justification, and the means whereby, if lost, it is recovered ; and that the subject of reformation, especially with reference to the impediments to episcopal residence, should also receive attention. Some attempt was made to revive the "representing" clause, but it was overweighed, chiefly by the influence of Del Monte.

On the 17th, it was agreed that the private congregations on faith should be held in the presence of the legate Cervini, and those on reformation before Del Monte.^d Cervini then read the errors, which had been extracted from the writings of the reformers, on the subject of the sacraments, individually and collectively, which were to form the subject of examination during the preliminary meetings. A similar list of the alleged impediments to residence was also read by the other legate.

As the Catholic doctrine respecting the sacraments was held to be satisfactorily defined by the council of Lateran, it was thought sufficient to condemn the errors of the so-called heretics. Accordingly, a copy of the following propositions was given to each of the divines assembled, and they were directed to say whether, in their opinion, all or any of them

^d The other legate, Cardinal Pole, had resigned his office, in consequence of ill-health.

deserved to be condemned by the synod ; “ and if any deserved not that sentence, they should allege their reasons and authority ; and afterwards should declare what had been the opinion of councils, and of the holy fathers, in all those, and which of the articles have been reprov'd already, and which remain to be condemned.”

The propositions^c were as follows :—

Touching the sacraments in general, there were fourteen :—

1. That the sacraments of the Church are more or less than seven.

2. That the sacraments are not necessary ; and that grace may be obtained by man without them, by faith alone.

3. That one sacrament is not more worthy than another.

4. That the sacraments of the new law do not confer grace on those even who do not place any obstacle to their operation.

5. That neither grace, nor the remission of sins, was ever given by the sacraments ; but by faith alone in the sacrament.

6. That immediately after Adam's fall God instituted the sacraments, by which grace was given.

7. That by the sacraments grace is given only to those who believe that their sins are remitted.

8. That grace is not given in the sacraments, always, and to all men, in as far as the sacrament is of God ; but only when, and where God pleases.

9. That there is no sacrament in which a character is imprinted.

10. That an evil minister does not confer sacraments.

11. That all Christians, of either sex, have power to administer the word, and the sacrament.

12. That each pastor may enlarge, abridge, and change, as he pleases, the forms of the sacraments.

13. That the intention of the minister is not necessary, neither has it any effect in the sacraments.

14. That the sacraments were only instituted to nourish faith.

Touching baptism, there were seventeen :—

^c See Le Plat, v. iii. p. 502 ; Sarpi, p. 185, sqq.

1. That there is no true baptism in the Roman Catholic Church.

2. That baptism is free, and not necessary unto salvation.

3. That when conferred by heretics it is no true baptism, and should therefore be repeated.

4. That baptism is penitence.

5. That baptism is but an outward sign, like the red mark stamped on sheep, and is of no avail in justification.

6. That baptism ought to be renewed.

7. That true baptism is that faith whereby it is believed that sins are remitted to the penitent.

8. That by baptism sin is not utterly removed, but only not imputed.

9. That the baptism of John had the same efficacy as that of Christ.

10. That the baptism of Christ did not make that of John of non-effect, but only added a promise to it.

11. That in baptism immersion alone is necessary, all other ceremonies are free, that is, may be omitted without sin.

12. That it is better not to baptize infants, than to baptize them when incapable of believing.

13. That infants ought not to be baptized, because they have no actual faith of their own.

14. That those baptized in infancy ought to be rebaptized upon coming to years of discretion ; because they had not faith.

15. That they who were baptized when infants ought to be asked, upon coming to riper years, whether they will ratify their baptism ; and, if they refuse to ratify it, they are to be left to their free choice.

16. That sins committed after baptism are forgiven by the sole remembrance and faith of the baptism any one has received.

17. That the baptismal vow has no other condition save that of faith, and makes all other vows of non-effect.

Touching confirmation there were four :—

1. That confirmation is not a sacrament.

2. That it was instituted by the fathers, and has no promise of the divine grace.

3. That it is now a useless ceremony; and was formerly nothing but a catechism, in which children, in the face of the Church, made a profession, and gave an account of their faith.

4. That a bishop is not the only minister of confirmation, but any priest.

But the private congregations were not confined to these subjects; since we find, that on the 3rd of February, a congregation of the minor theologians was held, and that they then began to examine certain heretical articles on the eucharist. They were ten in number. It was, it should seem, expected that this, as well as the two preceding sacraments, would be settled at the ensuing session; which was, however, not the case. The examination was, nevertheless, pursued in succeeding congregations before that session. The articles, as given in Mendham's summary, are the following:—1st, "That in the eucharist there is not truly the body and blood of Christ, but only as in a sign, in the same manner as wine is said to be in the sign of an inn; 2nd, That Christ is there exhibited, but spiritually only, to be eaten by faith; 3rd, That the body and blood are together with (*simul cum*) the substance of the bread and wine, so that there is no transubstantiation, but a hypostatic union of the humanity and the substance of bread and wine; 4th, That Christ is not to be adored or venerated with festivals in the eucharist, nor to be carried about in processions, nor brought to the sick, and that the adorers of the host are real idolaters; 5th, That the eucharist is not to be kept in the sacrarium, but to be eaten at the same time, and given to those present, and that those who do otherwise abuse the sacrament; 6th, That in the hosts, or consecrated particles (wafers), remaining after communion, the body of Christ does not remain, but exists only eaten, and neither before nor after; 7th, That it is of divine right to communicate in both kinds, and that therefore they sin who compel the people to use one kind; 8th, That there is not contained under one kind as much as is contained under both; 9th, That faith alone is sufficient preparation for receiving the eucharist, and that a person is not bound to communicate at Easter; and, 10th, That it is not lawful for a person to communicate himself."^f

^f Memoirs, p. 112, sq. These articles will be referred to in the thirteenth session.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Deliberations on the Propositions.

Almost daily congregations were held on the matters referred to in these propositions; and many disputes, displaying no small discontent and vexation at the undefined character of the power given to the Church, disturbed the peace of the assemblies to such an extent, that Cervini, dreading the consequences of party spirit, entreated the legate Del Monte in a letter, to take such measures as might calm the irritated feelings of the members of the council.

Dreading that the warm disposition of his colleague might betray him into some intemperate conduct, he recommended him by soothing words to remove suspicion, and to make use of general terms in speaking of the power of the council, stating that its power was most ample touching the matters committed to its charge by the Roman pontiff, but not so in other respects;^s but that the pontiff was ready to exercise his whole power to the advantage of the Christian commonwealth, and that they (the legates) would themselves do their utmost to persuade the pontiff to keep his word.

Accordingly, in the synod, Del Monte, in speaking of the subject of reform, took care to adopt a conciliatory tone, condemning any extreme measures, and reminding them, that although they had the power of making decrees tantamount to laws, it was not for them to pass laws invalidating the power of the Roman pontiff. Cardinal Cervini then presented the opinions of the theologians touching the propositions enumerated in the last chapter, the results of which will be found in the thirty canons^h passed at the ensuing session.

It is impossible to give even a partial account of the various disputes held on the important matters discussed in these congregations; nor would our limits permit a com-

^s A fine proof of the total dependence of the council upon the papal authority. Pallav. ix. 1, 9, is my authority; but Dr. Waterworth, although touching closely upon this very chapter, says not one word on the subject.

^h See "Decrees and Canons," p. 51, sqq. Dr. Waterworth observes:—"It will be seen that they are given nearly in the words of the heretics, as they were drawn up for condemnation by Seripando, after numerous emendations, however, in the particular and general congregations."

parison of them with the articles of the reformed churches ; but a few remarks on the wording and import of some of the canons may be useful to the reader.

The opinion of Peter of Lombardy respecting the number of the sacramentsⁱ was universally received ; and thus the word of a schoolman became an article of faith, and was held up as an apostolical tradition, to be received under pain of anathema. But the second point of the first article, namely, that there are neither more nor less than seven sacraments, was thought too bold, as doubt had been entertained as to whether a sacrament could be defined. Various mystical and other reasons were, however, alleged in favour of the number seven.

In the fourth canon, it was resolved that the words "in any way" should be added to the denial, that "no sacrament is more worthy than another," in the third article, inasmuch as, under certain views, no sacrament can be considered as inferior to another. This was in condemnation of Luther.

In the fourth, "we may observe," says Mendham, "that the closing sentence, which the fathers awkwardly mean to represent their own doctrine, is evidently intended to shelter the priesthood, who are forbidden the use of one of the sacraments of their Church—matrimony."^k

In the eighth, the *opus operatum* is defended, by which the faith of the recipient is not supplanted by the outward act of the priest ; but it may be observed, that the sixth article,

ⁱ On the freer use of the word "sacrament," as denoting any holy observance or institution, see Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, p. 4, sqq.

"It is no wonder, if the word 'sacrament,' being of a large extent, there should be some passages in ancient writers that call other actions so besides baptism and the Lord's supper ; for in a larger sense every holy rite may be so called. But it is no small prejudice against the number of seven sacraments, that Peter Lombard, a writer in the twelfth century, is the first that reckons seven of them. From that mystical expression of the seven spirits of God, there came a conceit of the sevenfold operation of the Spirit, and it looked like a good illustration of that to assert seven sacraments ; this Pope Eugenius put in his instruction to the Armenians, which is published with the council of Florence, and all was finally settled at Trent."—Burnet on the Articles, p. 270.

^k Mendham, p. 115. The passage is : "Then all the sacraments be not necessary for every individual."

from whence this canon appears to originate, was nearly being omitted.

In the ninth, Dominicus Soto wished to prove that the "character" imprinted by the sacraments is based upon the authority of Holy Scripture, and although the name had not been used by the fathers, that it was derived from apostolic tradition. But others alleged the silence of Gratian, and the different opinion of Scotus, on the subject. After much cavilling and trifling, it was agreed "that three sacraments have the character ; yet some did say modestly, that it was to be approved as more probable, not as necessary : others on the contrary said that it was an article of faith, because Innocent III. made mention of it, and it was so defined by the Council of Florence."¹

In the eleventh canon, Luther's opinion, expressed in the thirteenth proposition, is condemned ; he having maintained that, agreeably to man's justification by faith alone, the sacrament is valid, even if administered in joke, and with no fitting disposition on the part of the speech. If we may believe the elaborate, and, apparently, well-supported statement of Pallavicino,^m it was only at this opinion of Luther's that the words of the canon were directed, and that the opinion advocated by Catharinus, bishop of Minori (to which he clung, even after the decision of the council), was simply this : that, for the validity of the sacrament, it is sufficient that the minister act outwardly in a serious manner, free from any obvious intention to make them the object of ridicule, whatever may be his inward intention, or want of intention.ⁿ

Among the canons of baptism, I will merely quote Mendham's remark on the ninth : "that it discovers the apprehension lest the comprehensive vow of baptism should render superfluous the ulterior vows enjoined by the Roman Church, and not unconnected with her profits and her reputation."

In the third canon on confirmation, the word "ordinary "

Brent's Sarpi, p. 224.

^m ix. 6, 2. He certainly labours to do justice both to the orthodoxy and abilities of Catharinus.

ⁿ Pallav. ix. 6, § 3. Some curious arguments on the matter will be found in Sarpi, p. 191, sq. Pallavicino's views are somewhat opposed by Courayer, p. 440, n. 70.

was added, but after a long dispute, in consequence of the Florentine Council having permitted priests, when sufficient cause was found, to administer that sacrament, provided the chrism used had been consecrated by a bishop; and the same privilege had been exercised by various priests, especially those of the Franciscan order.^o

Although, as before stated, the eucharist had been made the subject of considerable attention, it was not at present brought forward as a matter to be determined by the synod.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Decrees touching Reformation. Difficulties thereof.

An admirable writer of the present day observes, that "the Council of Trent, especially in its latest session, displayed the antagonist parties in the Roman Church, one struggling for lucrative abuses, one anxious to overthrow them."^p Such was indeed the case in the present disputes, and slow was the progress made towards substantial reformation. To give some idea of the difficulties with which even the pope, so far as he was interested in this department of the council, had to struggle, we find the following particulars in a contemporary diary.

"Concerning the subject of pluralities, the author of the Diary informs us, the legates wrote to the pontiff, suggesting to him not to make the reform too universal, but to leave the council to satisfy the bishops. The Spaniards presented eleven censures on ecclesiastical subjects, of which the legates complained to the pope, who partook of their dissatisfaction, and suspected the emperor to be at the bottom of these symptoms of insubordination. And our author adds, that certainly his majesty did aim to depress his holiness. This state of affairs induced the pope to think of transferring the council to Bologna."^q

There is no doubt that the coalition of the Spanish, French, and German prelates, formed a formidable adversary to the court of Rome, and that, whatever real desires of

^o Pallav. ix. 6, § 11.

^p Hallam, Lit. of Europe, v. ii. p. 96.

^q In Mendham, Memoirs, p. 114. The censure will be noticed shortly.

reformation Paul III. may have felt, they were curbed by the dread of losing a power to which he clung as fondly as any of his predecessors. His rupture with the emperor, and the discontent of the prelates assembled at Trent, while they compelled him to exercise a firm sway over the council, at the same time deadened its efforts, and prevented measures of a decided character. It is therefore matter of little surprise, that the decrees on reformation, which were the result of the present session, were comparatively languid and inefficient.^r

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Seventh Session.

At the seventh session, held on the 3rd of March, 1547, the mass was sung by Andrea Cauco, archbishop of Corfu, but in consequence of the illness of Martirano, bishop of San Marco, the usual sermon was omitted. The canons respecting faith met with unanimous approval, as did those on reformation, with the exception of a few unimportant objections. The question of the "representing clause" was also agitated.

At this session were present three cardinals, nine archbishops, fifty-four bishops, the proctors of the archbishop-elect of Treves, and of the bishop of Augsburg, two abbots, and five generals of orders.

Having now brought down the history of the council to the period of its translation to Bologna, I think it best to close the second part of my narrative.^s

^r They will be found p. 55, sqq. Cf. Sarpi, p. 195, sqq., who has many useful observations on the subject of pluralities.

^s I may just advert to an important event in reference to the court of Rome—the death of Henry VIII.—which had taken place on the 28th of the preceding January. Although he scarcely comes within the pale of Tridentine history, I may recommend to my readers the able sketch of his character by Pallavicino, ix. 3, 13, and the still more brilliant and impartial criticism of Dr. Lingard, *History of England*, v. vi. p. 364, sqq.

PART THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Transference of the Council to Bologna.

WE now arrive at the climax of dissension relative to the Council of Trent, that ended in its translation to Bologna. Rome seemed unfit, as it was likely to increase the rapidly-spreading irritation in Germany; but Bologna, being situated within the pale of the pontiff's supreme authority, and being both fertile and well-frequented, seemed to be admirably adapted for the transference of the assembly.

"His motives to this step," says the best historian of papal Rome,^a "do not admit of doubt. The political and the ecclesiastical tendencies of the papacy were once more in collision. That all Germany should be vanquished and really submissive to the emperor, was a thing the pope could never have desired: his expectations had pointed to a far different result. He might have thought it probable that the emperor would obtain some success which would redound to the advantage of the Catholic Church; at the same time he doubted not, as he himself confesses, that he should see him involved in many difficulties and perplexities, which would enable himself, the pope, more freely to pursue his private ends. But fortune mocked his calculations. He had now to fear, and France drew his attention to this, that this paramount power attained by the emperor would react on Italy, and be felt by himself but too soon in spiritual as well as temporal affairs. In addition to all this, he felt a growing uneasiness with regard to the council. It had long been a burthen to him, and he had already bethought him of dissolving it; but now the imperialists among the bishops, made more and more presumptuous by victory, were taking some

^a Ranke, p. 66. Cf. Hallam, l. c.; Mosheim, v. iii. p. 152, sq.

singularly bold steps. The Spanish bishops brought forward certain proposals under the name of censuræ,^b that tended generally to a circumscription of the papal dignity. The Reformation, always so much dreaded by Rome, seemed no longer capable of being postponed."

Nor is contemporary evidence^c wanting to prove that accident only served to give opportunity for carrying a pre-conceived scheme into execution, even if the juncture of circumstances, and the doubtful position of the pope at this period, left any room for doubt. The collective force of the council, and the unmistakable earnestness of the emperor in pursuit of a reformation much more calculated to enhance his own popularity than to support the exclusive dignity of the papal see, and the dissatisfaction, even expressed by the legates, at the state of affairs at Trent—these were ample reasons to justify his desire to sever what threatened to be a dangerous union, and either to disunite the assembled prelates by calling away those faithful to the pontifical interests, or, by bringing both parties more within the reach of his own authority, to diminish the influence of Charles over the imperial prelates, and gradually mould both to his own inclination.

Strong as was his hatred against the Protestants, his dislike to the emperor was now more keen, more deeply mixed up with the preservation of his own interests. Again were these master-plotters outvying each other by the same

^b See Sarpi, p. 203, sq., where they are given at length.

^c "The writer of the Diary, who is evidently not one of the pontifical party, represents the affair thus. Many of the prelates and their domestics were at this time indisposed, either from the indulgences of the council, or the humidity of the atmosphere. The Cardinal del Monte employed persons to inquire of the physicians whether there was any danger of contagion, who, dropping an ambiguous word, a general pause ensued, which was justified by the recent death of Henry Loffredi, bishop of Capaccio; and as the disease increased, the legate ordered the procurator of the council to institute a process concerning it. It was reported that the neighbouring towns, and Verona in particular, had suspended all intercourse with the infected place; so that a congregation was held on the 9th of March, when the legates published their faculty for transferring the council. The imperialists protested that there was no just cause for the measure, and afterwards the congregation inquired, and found that it was a pretence and a concerted thing."—Mendham, p. 119. Cf. Sarpi, p. 213.

scheme, each taking up the cast-off weapons of the other, and seeking to ruin his adversary by the same implements which had been used against himself. But there was this important difference. The emperor had favoured Protestantism when it suited him, and had all along felt that its growing power was too serious to be tampered with. As long as the pontiff was of any use to him, he had kept up as much fealty to the court of Rome as he considered a fair equivalent for the services he expected from the pope, and which he knew him to be capable of rendering. But his selfishness never deserted him for a moment. To the last, he had used the papal resources, and had yet avowed different motives : with the revenues allotted him for the carrying on of a religious war, he had declared himself simply the avenger of a political quarrel. He had done the work of the pope,^d and had not only carried off the spoils of victory, but robbed his confederate of his share of credit. If papal cunning and ingenuity ever found its match at its own weapons, it was in the crafty counterplotting of Charles the Fifth.

The pope, on the other hand, had fully equalled his adversary in insincerity, and had regarded him as a most important instrument for putting down Protestantism. Bitterly as he had been thwarted and disappointed in this aim, and many as had been the opportunities of fixing, by more direct concessions, the wavering mind of the emperor, he had still stood proudly upon the papal eminence, and while he condescended to deceptions and inconsistencies in minor matters, against which his own powerful mind must have inwardly rebelled, he scorned to yield one iota from his authority. The emperor might sap his designs, and might treat Protestantism alternately as an enemy to be conquered, and a means of invading the papal authority ; but Paul III. stood firm in his hatred of the reformists, and preferred a civil war, so to speak, amongst the Romish prelates, to a tranquillity bought by concessions which might recoil upon the very existence of the Vatican. He not only wished princes to do the work of Catholicism, but to do it in his name, and under his credentials and authority. He cared

^d Witness, for example, his having just deprived the archbishop of Cologne of his pontificate.—Pallav. ix. 13, 1.

not even to oppress Protestantism, if his influence were employed to raise the glories of a temporal prince, and not to exalt the thunders launched by the successor of St. Peter. His selfishness was as great as that of Charles, but his motives were nobler. There was more of heroism in his opposition, and less of meanness in his concessions, where circumstances forced him to yield.

Those circumstances had already come; and Paul trembled as he watched the growing discontents of the council, and bethought him of the chances that the successful progress of the emperor might menace Rome ere long. To transfer the synod had been long in agitation, but, with his stern determination to yield no point except upon invincible compulsion, he had resisted even the suggestions of his legates. But now his mind was made up: a pretext only was wanting, and chance furnished one, the plausibility of which was unfortunately only surpassed by its insufficiency.

CHAPTER II.

Ostensible Causes of the Translation of the Council.

In the last synod, the day for the next session had been fixed for the 21st of April, but circumstances tending to favour the transfer of the council, an earlier day was selected.

On the 4th of March, the day after the last session, copies of the heretical articles on the eucharist, which had been already canvassed to some extent,^e were given to each of the fathers, with a view of being immediately considered; but on the 8th, Henrico Loffredi, bishop of Capaccio, died of a malignant disease, to which the general of the Cordeliers had previously fallen a victim. The legates had already written to Rome for authority to transfer the council, should the disease continue to increase; but the subject of the eucharist was nevertheless discussed in a general congregation held on the 7th.

It will be sufficiently certain, from what has already been said, that, whether the disease was contagious or not, it was

^e These propositions have been already given. See the last book, chap. xxx.

rather the excuse, than the cause, for the removal of the prelates. But a brief view of the statements respecting the disease itself can scarcely be omitted.^f

The opinions of the accomplished physician and poet Hieronymo Fracastoro, and of Balwin de Baldwinis de Barga, physician to the Cardinal del Monte, coincided in describing the disease as a putrid fever, producing great languor and debility, accompanied by pustules on the skin, dimness of vision, wiriness and slowness of pulse, and bearing the medical name of *ponticularis* or *lenticularis*.^g

As to its infectious character, they said that it appeared chiefly to arise from the climate—a fact which they argued from its having spread throughout not only the city, but the neighbouring villages, a fact which could scarcely result from the infection of one person by another.^h The dangers to be apprehended from it were sudden attacks of fever, either proving fatal, or leaving deafness, loss of memory, and debility of intellect. It was also defined to be a disease more dangerous to the higher than to the labouring classes; and the physicians concluded by recommending “change of air” as the only means of insuring safety.

Without attempting to determine how far the sanitary condition of Trent may have justified this report, we must nevertheless be struck with the fact that so large a number of prelates of the emperor’s party stayed at Trent, while those favouring the pontiff were unanimous in hastening away. On the whole, I am inclined to think, that while considerable malady may have been really prevalent, it was insufficient to have produced the movement, had not other motives rendered it advisable. Many historians have condemned the whole affair as purely fictitious; but the truth appears to lie between the two extremes.ⁱ

^f Le Plat’s collection of documents on the subject is curious and valuable. See v. iii. p. 590, sqq.

^g Was it a species of virulent influenza, resulting from the dampness of the air?

^h Le Plat’s Collection, p. 601. This assertion is not medically correct, a fact of which the plague of London is sufficient evidence.

ⁱ See the subject very learnedly discussed by Courayer, p. 494, note 58, and Heidigger, v. iii. p. 357, sqq. It must be remembered, that the great learning and exquisite poetical taste of Fracastoro, are no

In a general congregation held on the 9th, the legates made known the opinions of the physicians, the deaths which had already taken place, the eagerness of some to depart, and the actual departure of twelve of the bishops, either without leave, or in open violation of orders. They then requested the assembled prelates to declare their opinion, professing their willingness to submit to the decision in all things short of breaking up the council. Pacheco and others of the imperial party replied, that the matter was one of extreme difficulty, and asked for time to consider, declaring that they doubted the propriety of transferring the council without first consulting the pontiff and the emperor. This was granted, and on the next day, a full congregation having been convened, the first legate expressed his opinion that, although all idea of breaking up the council was preposterous, it seemed to himself far best to transfer it to another place; and that such a place should be chosen as would be capable of accommodating persons coming thither suddenly, not too distant, well victualled and with sufficient accommodation, and healthy. He concluded by naming Bologna as best calculated to fulfil these conditions.

Pacheco, on the other hand, was disposed to deny the authority of the legates to take such a step, as offering an open insult to the princes by whose trouble the convocation of the synod had been mainly effected; and he alleged the necessity of at least an unanimous consent on the part of the fathers assembled, before such a step should be taken. He also remarked that the medical men of Trent had refused to subscribe to the verdict of the two physicians upon whose report the legates were acting, and threatened not only to oppose any such measure, but to publish his opinions on the subject.

Cervini replied, by insisting on the greater trustworthiness of the physicians called in, than of the local practitioners, and he adverted to the fact, that the only motive for assembling at Trent, viz. the desire of suiting the convenience of the German Protestants, no longer existed, as they had refused to be present at the council. Furthermore, he confessed,

guarantee for his unwillingness to promote the views of his patrons by an exaggeration, which is, at least, ostensibly kind to humanity.

more sincerely, perhaps, than prudently,^k that there were *other* reasons which rendered it expedient to transfer the council.

Further disputes ensued ; but the influence of Pacheco was outweighed, and it was agreed to hold the session for the transfer of the council on the day following, being the 11th of March.

CHAPTER III.

The Eighth Session. Decree for the Transference of the Council.

Mass having been celebrated by the bishop of Butinoro, and the usual ceremonies gone through, the first legate briefly recapitulated the remarks on the preceding day, and declared that it was his own intention, as well as that of his colleagues, to abide by the determination of the fathers as to whether they should leave or stay at Trent. At the instance of Pacheco, the reports of the two physicians, and a number of depositions of witnesses, which had been collected and drawn up by Severoli, the procurator of the council, were then read. It was therein alleged that the disease, for upwards of a month past, had been gradually spreading ; that fevers, developing themselves in pustules breaking out on the skin, seized people with great suddenness, and for the most part proved fatal ; that the daily number of deaths was most alarming ; moreover, that all communication of the city was being cut off, which would soon add the horrors of want and famine to those of the pestilence. Finally, Fracastoro had declared, that "he would not remain another month in Trent for a hundred crowns of gold a day, and that those who did so would repent of their rashness."¹

Del Monte then proposed the translation of the council in the form which had been agreed upon in the congregation of the preceding day, in which the 21st of April was again named as the day for the next session.^m

^k Pallav. ix. 13, 3. I am indebted to this author for my report of these speeches. Dr. Waterworth's abridgment, by its omissions of everything calculated to do plain justice to both sides, completely loses sight of the spirit of the very writer whom he has avowedly taken for his model.

¹ "Io giuro sopra queste lettere, che chi mi donasse cento scudi il giorno, non starei piu un mese, et chi ci stara se ne pentira."—Apud Le Plat, *l. c.* p. 602. Pallav. ix. 15, 1.

^m See "Decrees and Canons," p. 63, sq.

It is unnecessary to enter into any of the discussions which followed the reading of the form of transference. It suffices to state that, when it had been approved by a majority, the legates produced the papal breve,ⁿ dated as early as the 22nd of February, 1545, which empowered them to transfer the council, when and whithersoever they pleased.

The legates left Trent on the 12th, being exactly two years since their first arrival. The other prelates for the most part followed them ; but those who clung to the emperor's side,^o with but one exception, remained at Trent, and refused to stir thence until authorized by the emperor. Thus was the assembly broken up in the very midst of its proceedings ; thus had an accident contributed to bring about the temporary dissolution of an assembly, which even the strict and compact policy of Paul III. could not render wholly subservient to his interests.

CHAPTER IV.

Feelings at Rome on the subject.

At Rome, the opinions were as various as the size of the city, and the mixed characters of its inhabitants, rendered probable. While one party rejoiced at the removal of the bishops of the Apostolic See from the dominions of a prince who had dared to strive against the pontifical jurisdiction, the Spanish party were enraged that, contrary to the will of the bishops of their nation, and without the cognizance and permission of their king, the matter should have been thus carried into effect. They loudly inveighed against Cervini as the author of the whole mischief, declaring that, while he had outwardly seemed to study the interest of the pontiff, he had in reality done far more to promote the advantage of Charles ; for since the pontiff had shown such negligence of the emperor's wishes, it was but likely that the emperor

ⁿ See "Decrees and Canons," p. 61, sq.

^o The following prelates continued at Trent : — Cardinal Pacheco, bishop of Jaen ; Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo ; Sassari, archbishop of Tarragona ; and the bishops of Sinigaglia, St. Mark, Bossa, Castellamare, Lanciano, Siracusa, Pace, Astorga, Osca, Cagliari, the Canaries, Oporto, Agde, and Aquino. The bishop of Fiesole, after some hesitation, joined the legates at Bologna, and the bishops of Agde and Oporto, who had at first stood neutral, followed his example.

would retaliate the slight, and would have the less hesitation in entering into a treaty with the Protestants, being desirous only to embrace such terms as were to his own interest.^p Whatever were his real feelings at the time, the pope, in a consistory held on the 28th of March, 1547, approved of the conduct of the legates as necessary, prudent, and lawful. A few urged the propriety of the matter having been first communicated to the emperor; but the pontiff, with some heat, replied that the matter had been well done, and that there was no occasion to have waited any longer, since the Germans had been vainly expected for two years past. In fact, Paul perceived that, after intrusting his legates with a power so great and so responsible, it would have been a satire upon his own management to have allowed their judgment to be called in question.

“But none,” as Sarpi observes, “were so simple as not to believe that all was done by his commandment; it being certain that nothing, how little soever, was handled in the council without an order first received from Rome. For which purpose, letters coming once every week, and some weeks twice, it was not credible that a matter of that importance was hatched in the legate’s brains. Besides, only to bring so many persons into a city, so jealous as Bologna, without consent of the prince thereof, seemed to be a thing which the legates would never have attempted. Many did believe that the bull had not a true date, but was newly made, though the date was old, and with the name of Cardinal Poole, to give it greater reputation; otherwise, that clause in which authority is given unto two of the legates, the other being absent, to translate the council, would seem a kind of prophecy that *Poole* should depart a year after; and the liberty to transfer it to what city they wished, seemed too large and improbable, considering the suspicion always fixed in the mind of the popes, that the council should be celebrated in an unfaithful city, showed more than ever by Pope Paul when he did call it. So that it was incredible that he would unnecessarily expose himself to the discretion of another in a matter of so great weight. Yet following the notes which I have seen, as I said before, I assure myself that it was

^p Pallav. ix. 17, 3.

made two years, and not eighteen months,^q before this time."^r

Pallavicino^s would have us believe that both the pontiff and Cervini were vexed that the matter had not been delayed for a longer period. If this were really the case, it seems to me that such a feeling must have sprung from an after-thought of the possibility of the emperor's displeasure manifesting itself in some unlooked-for manner. Moreover, the firm determination of the imperial prelates to remain at Trent, in which they were confirmed by the mandate of Charles, may have deceived their expectations, and presented a barrier which threatened fresh conflicts, and was fraught with new annoyances to the aged pontiff. Even supposing that he had foreseen the probable adherence of the imperial prelates to their royal master, hope perhaps flattered him into a belief which sounder judgment repudiated; and, with a feeling common amongst mankind, he began to reflect whether matters might not have turned out better, had he pursued a different course.

Meanwhile, the prelates who remained at Trent, on receiving the legatine summons to migrate to Bologna, resolved to avoid proceeding with any conciliar act, for fear of incurring the charge of schism.^t

CHAPTER V.

Breve for the Safe-Conduct to Bologna.

After some discontented correspondence with the emperor, whose language was daily getting more and more unrestrained, the pope published a breve, dated March 29th, by which a

^q This assertion is scarcely correct. See Courayer, p. 500, note 75. Pallavicino, ch. 16, indulges in unsparing, but not always reasonable, attacks upon his adversary.

^r Brent's translation, p. 251. I must confess that the question relative to the dating of this bull puzzles me entirely. Mendham, p. 118, says,—“A bull, with a faculty of transferring the council, without naming to what place, was directed by the reigning pontiff to the legates, which bears the date of February 22, 1547.” And so it is printed in the Decrees and Canons. The date must, therefore, have been altered, and adapted to present time.

^s Pallav. *ibid.* 17, 5.

^t Sarpi, book iii. p. 253, Brent.

safe-conduct was offered to all who might choose to go to the council at Bologna, while the legates used every means in their power to persuade the prelates, who had left Trent through fear of disease, to set out thither.

Some preliminary congregations were held at Bologna, on the subjects of the eucharist and of penance, and on the 21st of April, in an assembly of thirty-four bishops, the legates proposed that, as so many prelates were absent, and as Del Monte was disabled by the gout, and Easter near at hand, no matters of doctrine should be treated of at present, but that the session should be prorogued to the 2nd of June; the assembly, however, retaining the power of choosing an earlier or a later period if advisable. "It was also decreed, to write letters in the name of the *Holy General Synod*, to the fathers remaining in Trent, exhorting them to go to Bologna, and to unite themselves with the body, from which being separated, they cannot be called an ecclesiastical congregation, but do give much scandal to Christendom."

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings of the Emperor.

The emperor was so deeply occupied with warlike matters, that he had given little heed to the council, beyond resenting the transfer thereof by the pontiff. On the 24th of April, he came to a decisive battle upon the banks of the Elbe, in which he made a prisoner of the elector of Saxony. The Protestant forces had been weakened by the circumstances to which we have already alluded, and the landgrave of Hesse was also compelled to yield, and, a few days after, by the mediation of his son-in-law Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburg, made his appearance before the emperor. The elector was at first condemned to death as a traitor, but his life was spared upon some hard conditions. But the emperor was so resolutely bent upon making political, not religious ends, the cause of his quarrel, that he waived the question of obedience to the Council of Trent, in respect both to the elector and the landgrave. Both were, however, imprisoned.

The pope had now fairly given over the emperor, and sought to make favour with the French king. To this end he despatched Jeronymo Baccaferrio, a Roman cardinal of

St. George, to condole with him on the death of his father, and congratulate him on his accession ; at the same time to do his best to bring about an alliance. This, although little else than a repetition of a previously-tried policy, is valuable as an instance of the game of politics which has ever distinguished the Roman courts, and which has made kingdoms a chess-board, in which popery has used each set of pieces in succession.

CHAPTER VII.

Advice of Don Diego.

The delay of the council, according to Pallavicino,^u was by many attributed to the desire of Cardinal Farnese to conciliate the emperor ; and it was alleged that he, by his efforts in that direction, “ had overcome the noble constancy of Paul.”^x However this might be, the event seemed to show that the cardinal had looked rather to the interests and wishes of the emperor, than to those of the pontiff. Don Diego de Mendoza proposed that the prelates now remaining at Trent should forthwith join the rest, but that the synod should then be transferred back again to its original seat. The conditions of such a concession were, that the emperor should compel the Germans to receive and abide by the Tridentine decrees already passed, and to obedience to those hereafter to be promulgated ; that due attention should be paid to prevent the detriment likely to accrue to the Apostolic See ; and that, in the event of the pontiff dying while the council remained open, the choice of a successor should, as heretofore, be referred to the college of cardinals. Other conditions were named, and it was supposed that the present successes of the emperor in Germany would be likely to render such proposals acceptable. Such, however, was not Cæsar’s policy. He would only persecute when his own interests were likely to receive benefit.

^u Pallav. x. 1.

^x “ E se ne incolpò il Cardinal Farnese, il quale per guadagnarsi, ò mantenersi l’ Imperadore, frangesse la valorosa fermezza di Paolo co’ suoi ufficii.”

CHAPTER VIII.

The Tenth Session.

Meanwhile, the fathers assembled at Bologna were not losing time. While the matter of the eucharist had been thoroughly discussed and put into form, so that little remained but the promulgation of the decrees and canons now prepared, the question of penance, in like manner, had received almost equal attention, and was in nearly as forward a state of preparation. Every exertion to retain the prelates, and to encourage them in their work, was made by the legates, and the pontiff, well knowing the influence of numbers in carrying a victory, was liberal and frequent in his supplies.

Nor were the prelates at Bologna unmindful of the political interests which the Roman court now had at stake. Funeral honours were given to the recently deceased king of France—a measure calculated to further the views of the pontiff in that direction ; and the most joyful ceremonies, on the other hand, celebrated the triumph of the emperor over the Protestants in Germany.

In a congregation held on the 1st of June, the Cardinal del Monte, who, with the other legates had received advice from Rome to prorogue the business of the session until the will of the emperor with regard to the proposals of Mendoza should be known, called upon the assembly for their opinion. He observed that, “as the day of the session was now at hand, it behoved them to consider whether the decrees now prepared should be promulgated : that there were reasons on both sides, for that the most important doctrine of the eucharist being now ready, and the previous session having been held to no purpose—a like fruitlessness in the next meeting would greatly prejudice the dignity of the synod. But, on the other hand, this would involve the necessity of publishing the canons of the eucharist separately, without saying a word on the subject of reform, of which it had been proposed to treat conjointly. And the subjects connected with reform, upon which they were employed, and which were not yet completely arranged, were of the utmost importance—embracing, as they did, injuries done to the

authority of the bishops by the conduct of the secular princes, and by the privileges of religious orders, and which were most importantly concerned in the question of residence. In the absence of any ambassadors from these princes, and likewise of a sufficient number of generals of orders, he thought it advisable to postpone the treatment of both subjects, more especially as, being now in a city within the jurisdiction of the pontiff, and therefore being supposed to be guided by his immediate influence, it was the more important that the original plan, by which doctrine and reform were to be handled together, should be adhered to." Nor did he omit to urge the present dissatisfaction of the emperor, and the probability that, by waiting for a season, his objections might be removed, and the prelates still abiding at Trent, might join their brethren at Bologna. He also observed, that, in the event of the embassy to the king of France also proving successful, they might hope to receive an increase to the synod, not only from the Germans, but the French bishops.^y

With the exception of the bishop of Acci, who thought that at least the decree concerning the eucharist ought to be promulgated, the opinion of Del Monte met with unanimous approval. On the 2nd of June, 1547, the tenth session was opened by Olaus Magnus, bishop of Upsal, celebrating mass; after which it was decreed that the 15th of the September following should be fixed for the next meeting, and that both the matters of discussion should meanwhile be proceeded with conjointly. At the same time, power was reserved of increasing or reducing this delay.

At this session were present the two legates, six archbishops, thirty-six bishops, one abbot, and two generals of orders.

CHAPTER IX.

Further Delays. Ranke's Reflections.

Meanwhile, the efforts of Paul to form a confederation with the French king prospered; a promise of the attendance of the French bishops, and the union of Oratio Farnese with Diana, natural daughter of Henry II., were events that

^y Pallav. l. c. 2, 4.

bade fair to reassure the hopes of the pontiff, whose age and infirmities were fast wearing down the almost untiring activity of his mind. Several prelates of influence arrived at Bologna; but although the business went on in frequent congregations, a variety of untoward events still combined to interfere with the efficient holding of a public session; and it was wisely judged little expedient to convoke an assembly without passing efficient measures.

The remarks of Ranke, as showing the strange relation in which all parties were placed at this juncture, are curious and important. No historian has done better justice to the intrepid spirit with which Paul III. so well knew how to face difficulties; no writer has more fairly estimated the extent of those difficulties, or of the general complexity which involved the whole affairs of Christendom in its relation to the papal court.

"The transference of the council," observes Ranke, "was a matter of the greatest importance. It is wonderful how much on this occasion, too, the dissensions of the pope and the emperor, produced by the political position of the former, aided the cause of the Protestants. The means of compelling them to submit to the voice of the council now obviously presented themselves. But as the council itself had divided (for the imperial bishops remained in Trent), since there was no longer a possibility of its arriving at any valid resolution, neither could any one be forced to give his adhesion to the acts of that body. The emperor was compelled to see the most essential part of his plans frustrated by the defection of his ally. He not only insisted continually on the retransfer of the Council of Trent, but even went so far as to say, 'that he would go to Rome, and hold the council there himself.'"²

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings of Sfondrato.

Brevity compels me to pass over the events with which the conclusion of Paul's life abounds, and a passing glance at the many vexations and failures which embittered his last

² Ranke, p. 67.

years must suffice, ere we pass on to the resumption of the council.

Great hopes had been entertained from the mediation of Sfondrato, who had been deputed to carry out the suggestions of Don Diego; but the event proved otherwise. After some vain attempts to urge the emperor, who was on his way to Augsburg, with the view of holding a diet, to make war against England, with the view of revenging the insult offered to his kinswoman Catherine of Arragon by the late king of England, as well as to promote the renewal of Catholicism, he set forth the necessity of consolidating the now divided forces of the council. To this the emperor replied, that his own expeditions in the cause of religion were the best earnest of his sincerity; but that the dissensions in Germany could never be appeased, except by the removal of the council back to its original destination—"a change," he added, "which would easily be in the pontiff's power, especially if, as he had asserted, its removal took place without his knowledge." As to the ostensible cause of its transfer, he asserted that it was not a legitimate reason in the first instance, and now had altogether ceased.

The legate replied that such could not be the case, unless the fathers summoned to the council found that some great and real benefit to religion would result from their return to Trent. He then urged the propriety of embracing the terms proposed by Don Diego; namely, that the Germans should first receive the decrees already passed, and bind themselves to a like obedience to future ones. But the emperor was obstinate and not to be convinced. All the ingenuity of Sfondrato could not persuade him to abate one tittle of his unqualified demand for the council to be held at Trent, and his dispatches to Rome told nothing that was satisfactory.

Paul, while unwilling to derogate from the dignity of the Apostolic See by reassembling the council at Trent without some certain prospect of persuading or compelling the Protestants to abide by its decrees, and still anxious for peace, proposed to make Ferrara the seat of the transfer, as being dependent on the emperor. But, as Pallavicino writes, "the imperial party were not so much unfavourable to Bologna, as being in the papal jurisdiction, as desirous of Trent, as

being opportune for Germany." Sickness of a serious character now added itself to the other troubles of the pontiff, and great dread was felt lest a general council should be held in Germany under present circumstances, should death make the chair of St. Peter vacant.^a

CHAPTER XI.

Diet at Augsburg.

At the beginning of September, 1547, the diet was held at Augsburg, in which the emperor asserted that, with a view of pacifying the troubles of Germany, he had caused the council to be convoked and commenced at Trent, but that, his efforts failing to bring about the wished-for end, he had been constrained to seek for another remedy by war. "And because it had pleased God to give a happy issue to his resolution, reducing Germany to those terms that he felt sure would reform it, he had assembled the princes for that end. But for that the difference of religion was cause of all those troubles, it was necessary to begin there."^b A finer instance of the vacillating principles of the emperor could hardly be conceived, than his present avowal of religious motives for actions to which he had all along attempted to give a political colour.

"The opinions of the princes in that diet were divers; for among the electors the ecclesiastics desired and urged that the Council of Trent should be held, and demanded no condition. The seculars, adhering to the Lutherans, were content with these conditions: that it should be free and pious; that the pope should not preside, neither in person, nor by his ministers; that he should release the oath by which the bishops are bound unto him; that the Protestant divines should have a decided voice; and that the decrees already made should be re-examined. The other Catholics demanded that the council should be continued, and the Protestants have a safe-conduct to go thither and speak freely, and be enforced to obey the decrees."^c

^a My authority throughout this chapter is Pallav. x. 2.

^b Sarpi, p. 256, Brent.

^c Id. p. 256. See Waterworth, p. cxxiii. sq.

CHAPTER XII.

Murder of Pietro Luigi. State of Affairs.

But the terrors of an episode, too frequent in Italian history, were not wanting to fill up the cup of bitterness which Pope Paul III. was destined to drain before his death; and this period of our narrative must give place to a tale of horror, which, while it illustrates the deadly immoralities to which the influence of the court of Rome often furnished the means of gratification, and the shameful characters upon whom the revenues of the Church were wasted by the so-called successors of St. Peter, is equally sad in the moral it conveys, and as it shows how heavily the consequences of a base misapplication of means and interest recoil upon the heads of those, who have abused the responsibility with which they have been intrusted.

It has been seen, that the aggrandizement of his family was an object of which Pope Paul III. never lost sight; and that he had availed himself of his intimacy with the emperor, to transfer Parma and Piacenza to his natural son, Pietro Luigi, as a fief under the papal see.^d

Crime, avowed and secret, stained this unhappy offspring of early indiscretion with a reputation as little creditable to his memory as it was conducive to his untimely end. Deeply implicated in those secret societies, in which the dagger and the cup too often served as the ready and short road to wealth and aggrandizement; mixed up with the malcontent party of Florentine emigrants; and endued with a boldness which no consideration of conscience ever daunted—he had become the centre of a power and influence which was

^d “By way of compensation, he reattached Camerino and Nepi to the Church, and sought to prove that the Camera would suffer no loss in the transaction, by calculations of the cost attending the maintenance of those frontier places in a state of defence, the tribute that his son would have to pay on account of them, and the revenue to be derived from the newly-annexed localities. But it was only in private conferences with the cardinals he could succeed in bringing them over to his views, and this not even with all of them. Some openly resisted; others sedulously abstained from attending the consistory, in which the matter was brought forward; and Caraffa was seen on the day appointed for that business, proceeding on a solemn visit to the seven churches. —Ranke, p. 67.

destined at once to be his glory and his ruin. "One day," says the spirited historian of these times, "the pope, who thought himself still under the influence of favourable stars, and able to conjure all the storms that threatened him, was particularly cheerful at the audience. He enumerated all the felicities of this life, and compared himself in that respect with the emperor Tiberius. On that very day his son, the possessor of all his acquisitions, the heir of his good fortune, was assailed and murdered by conspirators in Piacenza."^e

Whether the emperor was really privy to this deed or not, is a question resting upon uncertain evidence, although it is more than probable that he may have been willing to get rid of so dangerous an enemy, especially now that his connection with the pope was on the decline. At all events, he did not fail to take immediate advantage of the event; the imperial troops quickly took possession of Piacenza, and asserted the claims of Charles to that city. The immediate perpetrators of the murder were the Ghibelline party, whom Luigi's violent oppression of the nobility had driven to desperation, and who were doubtless instigated by Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan,^f to which city the ambitious son of Paul III. had aspired.

Dreadful was the state of Italy. Political factions rent the whole of society: even the Camera was filled with men who nourished dark and ominous thoughts towards one another, and the pope found himself daily plunged in deeper difficulties. France was the only country to which he could look for aid. Oftentimes did he discuss the relation of the Roman See to France, in the presence of the French ambassadors and the newly-created Cardinal Guise. "He had read in old books," said this weather-beaten politician, "and had it from others during his cardinalate, and had personally experienced it since he became pope, that the Holy See was always in power and prosperity when allied with France, while on the contrary it sustained losses so soon as this

^e Ranke, p. 68.

^f "Gonzaga's biographer, who had been, in the times we are speaking of, his confidential secretary, and who seeks to exculpate him, assures us that his intention had only extended to the imprisonment, and not to the assassination, of Farnese."—*Ibid.* I regret that I cannot transfer the whole of the masterly remarks which follow to my pages.

ceased to be the case. He could not forgive Leo X. and his predecessor Clement; he could not forgive himself, for having even favoured the emperor: now, however, he was determined for ever to unite himself with France. He hoped to live yet long enough to leave the papal see devotedly attached to the French king; he would endeavour to make the latter the greatest sovereign in the world; his own house should be connected with him by the most indissoluble ties.”^g

CHAPTER XIII.

Prorogation of the Session to an Indefinite Period.

We have already alluded to the prorogation of the council, which followed these events. The following description of what transpired on that occasion, is derived from the statements of an eye-witness.

On the 14th of September, the day before the one fixed for the next session, “when the fathers were assembled in the usual place, the first president invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit in a prayer, which he read, imploring the Lord the Holy Spirit to be present with them, to direct them how to proceed, to rule their judgments, and not to suffer the enemies of righteousness to triumph. ‘Let not,’ he proceeds, ‘ignorance betray, favour warp, acceptance of persons corrupt, our minds; but, being assembled in thy name, and united with each other, grant that, under the influence of piety, we may follow righteousness; so that our decisions here may in nothing oppose thine, and that in future we may obtain the eternal reward of our good deeds.’ He then addressed himself to the fathers, to the effect, that they were encompassed with difficulties and impediments; that many of them, particularly the French, had so recently arrived, that such important matters as were before them could not be settled with sufficient gravity and maturity; that those who had all along been present were as yet unprepared, and that amidst all their perplexities, increased by the recent assassination of the duke of Piacenza, it became necessary to omit the session of the morrow, and prorogue it to some future time.

“The president proceeded in his address, informing the

^g Lettres de Guise, in Ranke, p. 68.

audience, that, in the midst of their present difficulties, he could fix upon no certain time for the next session ; that when at Trent they had considered fifteen days sufficient for settling the doctrine of justification, which with uninterrupted congregations had occupied them for seven months together ; that they were beset by other difficulties arising from the turbulence of the times ; that therefore it appeared most prudent and advisable to prorogue the next session at the pleasure of the council, as might appear most conducive to the divine honour ; that there did indeed exist some reason for fixing the time ; that he trusted the present suspense would not continue long ; and he finally requested the fathers to deliver their opinions freely on the subject proposed." The assent was unanimous.^h

CHAPTER XIV.

Further Proceedings of the Pope. Cervini recalled to Rome.

The German ecclesiastics still continued to urge the restoration of the council to Trent, and Cardinal Madrucci brought word that the emperor, at the recent diet, had persuaded the heretical princes, and, with some greater difficulty, the free states likewise, to submit themselves to the decrees of the council which was to be held in Trent, in which council matters should be discussed according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers. He added, that "the emperor, as patron of the Church, had promised to secure freedom of speech, safe residence, and a safe-conduct on their return, even to those who professed adherence to the Augsburg Confession."

The pope felt displeased, both because no mention of the Apostolic See was made in the document, and because a council had been so confidently promised without the consent of the same see being asked. But to the first objection it was answered, that the express mention of the Apostolic See had been avoided, in order to prevent disputes about words, since the tacit statement, "in accordance with the

^h I am indebted to Mendham's Memoirs, p. 129, sq. for this account. He well observes, that this general congregation does not in any way deserve the name of a session.

doctrine of the Fathers," was held sufficient. As to the second, the council had been already agreed upon.ⁱ

But the pontiff felt unwilling to proceed without the advice of Cervini, who had been the chief manager of the conciliar offices, and sent for that prelate to come to Rome, leaving Del Monte in sole charge. "Many, on parting with him, called to mind the injuries which the health of Cervini had sustained under the inclemency of the climate of Trent; his untiring diligence both at the public and private assemblies; his watchings spent in the study of doctrinal points; his skilful investigations on the subject of reform; his ready dexterity in appeasing dissensions; his forethought in devising plans; his earnestness in the defence of what was right; the strength of mind which led him to oppose the will of those more powerful; the equal firmness which made him despise danger,—all these virtues shining forth in one who, though second in position, had been foremost in assembling, sustaining, defending, and ennobling the council, made him as it were the life and soul of its body; and the tears of the fathers of Bologna mourned his departure, as though the very life of their body had been torn from them."^k

CHAPTER XV.

Proceedings of Del Monte at Bologna.

At the joint advice of Cervini and the cardinals, Paul at length, after much consultation, resolved to send a breve, dated December 16th, to Del Monte, which reached him two days after. After a summary of the affairs which had hitherto taken place, the legate was ordered to refer the whole matter to the fathers, who were directed to signify their opinion to the pontiff with all possible haste. Having read the breve, Del Monte proceeded to point out the advantages and dangers attendant upon acceding to the proposed restoration of the council to its former place of session. While, on the one hand, it presented great opportunity of

ⁱ Pallav. x. 6, 4. The whole book is most important; but its contents are far too voluminous and elaborate to be transferred to these pages. Father Paul is more agreeable and animated in his narrative; but his chronological arrangement is inaccurate and indistinct.

^k I have translated this spirited eulogium from Pallav. *ibid.* and 9.

reconciling Germany and obliging the emperor, King Ferdinand, and others, it was of equal consequence to consider what the dignity of the council demanded. He observed that all, whether present or absent, knew under what a pressure of necessity, and with what sincerity, freedom, and authority the council had been transferred; and yet many bishops still remained at Trent, to the contempt of the council, they having resisted both the decree passed in their own presence, and the letters subsequently inviting them to Bologna in the name of the whole assembly. He, therefore, held that, to prevent an evil example being transmitted to posterity, it would be better that the contumacious prelates should be forced to be present at, and acknowledge the authority of, the synod in its present place, than that the synod should be transferred to a place, where the contumacious party persisted in remaining. Moreover, he observed that the Protestants had professed themselves willing to obey a council to be held at Trent, but had said nothing respecting obedience to the decrees already passed; and that a clear statement on this head, especially as regarded matters of faith, dictated by the unerring influence of the Holy Spirit, and, therefore, unfit to be again made subjects of deliberation, was not necessary. Again, the Protestants had promised obedience to a *Christian* synod, but had not stated what they meant by that expression; and that a report was afloat that they wished for a council of laymen, not an assembly consisting of bishops, according to the earliest usage of the Church, and that they must therefore be called upon for a distinct statement of the meaning implied by their promise. In the fourth place, he thought that care should be taken to secure the liberty of the fathers whilst assembled at Trent, and that they should not be compelled either to remain or to go away, individually or collectively. Lastly, in the instructions of the emperor to Madrucci, it was stated that the council should last for a long time; whereas, to secure the necessary freedom of the assembly, he held that it was necessary to leave the power of breaking up the council wholly in the hands of its members. He exhorted them, in considering these matters, to keep in view the honour of God, the salvation of Christians, the dignity of the council, the earnest desire of the pontiff to reconcile Germany, and at the same

time to do all consistently in their power to satisfy the emperor.

After a document to this effect had been drawn up by the secretary Massarelli, it was, after some slight discussion, forwarded to Rome, December 24th. The pontiff communicated its contents to a special congregation held on the feast of St. Stephen, and to a similar meeting on the following day,¹ at which Don Diego was present. He declared the acquiescence of himself and the college of cardinals in the five points proposed in the document sent from Bologna, made strong professions of goodwill towards the German nation, and expressed an earnest desire for the settlement of all disagreements.^m

CHAPTER XVI.

Protestations against the Demands of the Council.

Brevity compels me to omit or to touch but slightly on the details of the protestationsⁿ against the demands made by the Council of Bologna, and its transference from Trent, first, by the procurators of the imperial court, on the 16th of January, 1548, who were answered by the legate Del Monte. Cervini returned to Bologna two days after; and, on being consulted by Paul by letter, advised him to suspend the council. On the 23rd, Don Diego delivered a long oration in the Consistory, setting forth the same protest, in which he

¹ The festival of St. John. Pallav. x. 10.

^m Ibid. Here follows a letter written in answer to the prelates lately assembled at Augsburg, in which the pope animadverts on their non-attendance at the council, alleges that its transfer took place without his cognizance, but still insists on the legality of that translation, and on the suitableness of Bologna. He then apologizes for his delay in answering, stating that the despatches brought by Madrucci from the emperor, and his communications with Don Diego, were the cause; and at the same time sending a copy of his own answer, in order to show what doubtful points had yet to be decided before the return to Trent could be settled. He concludes with an earnest protest against the formation of councils independent of the papal see. The correspondence on both sides will be found in *Le Plat*, v. iii. p. 653, sqq. and 673, sqq.

ⁿ The whole examinations will be found detailed at great length in Pallav. x. 12, sqq. and *Le Plat*, p. 684, sqq. The notes of Courayer on Sarpi, iii. 16, point out some inaccuracies in the reports of that historian, who is often, as usual, incorrect in his dates.

indulged in a praise of the emperor's zeal for the promotion of the council, considerably at the expense of the pontiff, whom he freely accused of vacillation and negligence. A reply was drawn up by Cardinal Pole, concluding with the following proposal : That whereas, in the protestation many reasons have been alleged to prove that the transference of the council had been without right or reason, the pontiff, with the view of preserving the unity of the Church, or reuniting its members with Jesus Christ, their head, proposed to take the arbitration of the cause upon himself, and to refer the question of the lawfulness of the transference to four cardinals, chosen from various nations. He named Bellai, bishop of Paris, Di Burgos, Crescenio, and Pole ; at the same time inhibiting any proceedings till such matter should be settled. A few vain efforts were made to reconcile Don Diego, and he left Rome on Ash-Wednesday, February 15th.

The pontiff, who had contrived to use a happy neutrality throughout his latter dealings with the ambassador, now addressed a breve to the legates at Bologna, prohibiting them from proceeding with any conciliar measures, and requiring them to send a legal report of the transference of the council, together with three bishops at the least, to represent the assembly, and render an account of the whole affair. He had thought of sending for the legates ; but, reflecting on the imperfect and ill-organized condition of the synod, he feared that it might be dangerous to deprive it of their controlling influence. He at the same time despatched another breve to Trent, pointing out the pain which the dissension (he might well have said schism) of the bishops had occasioned him, and complaining of their conduct in not following the rest, or, at least, in not sending him a statement of their reasons for renouncing their obligations to, and denying the legality of, the transference. He concluded by stating that, although he had hitherto held that the transference had been on lawful grounds, now that it was called in question, he would take upon himself the duties of an upright judge, and give ear to their objections or reasons. He also requested them to send three bishops to lay before him the reasons of their opposition.

CHAPTER XVII.

Conduct of the Prelates.

The policy of the pontiff was far from displeasing to the emperor ;^o and, as far as the fathers at Bologna were concerned, matters seemed likely to be in favour of the measure proposed by Paul. But the bishop of Fiesole wished to agree to the restoration of the council to Trent ; and some others, and amongst them the bishop of Armagh, questioned the propriety of acknowledging the right of a superior tribunal to arbitrate a matter already decided by the council. Five others, who were more vehement in their protestations against the pope's assumption of the right of canvassing their decisions, were intimidated into silence. Three absented themselves in consequence from the next meeting, and the other two explained away what they had said. Such was the liberty of this free and general council—a mere tool in the hands of the pope—a toy for which the imperial and the pontifical courts were contending, and which, whilst incapable of even asserting its independence, was to speak forth the bidding of the Spirit of God, and make laws to bind the souls and consciences of men !

But the bishops who remained at Trent were still more refractory, and their reply, although couched in terms of the utmost mildness, showed an evident determination not to leave Trent except by the emperor's permission. Nor did they send the bishops whom the pontiff had required.

The cardinals who had been appointed to investigate the matter were completely taken aback, and knew not how to proceed. “To pronounce the translation lawful, in the absence of the contradictors, was to make a schism, having no means to enforce them to receive the sentence ; and they saw still less means to force them to assist in the cause. The pope was much troubled, seeing no way to compose the difficulty without form of judgment.”^p

^o See some acute remarks in Pallav. x. 14, § 3.

^p Brent's Sarpi, p. 269, sq.

CHAPTER XVIII.

State of Affairs between the Pope and the Emperor.

Meanwhile, the death of Pietro Luigi, the pope's son, and the occupation of Piacenza by the imperial troops, had not been passed over in silence by the pontiff. To obtain the restitution of Piacenza and Parma, he had hoped to make use of the mediation of the emperor's daughter, wife to Ottavio, son of the deceased. But she had all along disliked the Farnese family, cared little for her husband, and declared that "she would rather cut off her child's head than make any request to her father that might be displeasing to him."^a But the emperor, who wished to join Piacenza to the duchy of Milan, and to make other compensation to his son-in-law, made various excuses and delays, hoping that the declining years of the pontiff, and his increasing vexations and ill health, would shortly remove him from the world, and end the controversy. Enraged at being thus foiled, and harassed by the determination of the prelates to remain at Trent, Paul began to have recourse to threats. He reminded the emperor "that the usurpers of Piacenza, a town belonging to the Church, had incurred the censures, to the declaration of which he would proceed, fulminating also more of them, if, within a certain time prefixed, it were not restored to him."^r The emperor retorted, declaring that Piacenza was a member of the duchy of Milan, many years unjustly usurped by the popes; but that, if they could prove a title to it, he would not fail to do justice. Finding spiritual terrors of little avail, Paul sought to form with France, Switzerland, and Venice, a league at first defensive, but of which he himself says, that it was "the door to an offensive league."^s But although he made many preparations, and constantly discussed the bearings of a scheme which his advanced age rendered almost impossible, he never completed the contemplated league, never took one step which was likely to prove decisive. "For the council," continues Father Paul, "he was most resolute not to let it be out of his own territories, and

^a Ranke, p. 68.^r Brent's Sarpi, p. 270.^s See Ranke, p. 68.

besides other urgent reasons, that of his own and the pope's reputation was added, that the emperor should not compel him. But he knew not how to induce him and Germany to give consent. To let it vanish, sometimes seemed good unto him, and sometimes not ; and he often discoursed thereof with the cardinal, both in consistory and privately."

CHAPTER XIX.

The Interim.

The emperor, while he avoided any measures of direct hostility, was much too powerful to be in any fear of the pope. He had solemnly protested against the sittings of the assembly at Bologna ; and now, finding that no progress was made towards re-establishing good-feeling in Germany, he followed the example of Henry VIII., and resolved to constitute himself judge of the points at issue, and to take some measures for the settlement of religious disorders. Julius Flug, bishop of Naumberg, Michael Sidonius, both papists, and John Agricola, of Eisleben, a heretic, were appointed to draw up a series of propositions relative to doctrine ; and, after undergoing considerable alteration, it was published under the title of *Interim*. The heads of it were as follows : —I. Of the state of man in innocency. II. Of the state of man after sin. III. Of the redemption by Christ. IV. Of justification. V. Of the fruits thereof. VI. Of the manner how it is received. VII. Of charity and good works. VIII. Of belief of the remission of sins. IX. Of the Church. X. Of the signs of the true Church. XI. Of the authority thereof. XII. Of the ministers of the Church. XIII. Of the pope and bishops. XIV. Of the sacraments. XV. Of baptism. XVI. Of confirmation. XVII. Of penance. XVIII. Of the eucharist. XIX. Of extreme unction. XX. Of orders. XXI. Of marriage. XXII. Of the sacrifice of the mass. XXIII. Of the memory, intercession, and invocation of saints. XXIV. Of the communion. XXV. Of the ceremonies. XXVI. Of the use of the sacraments.^t

^t The compromising character of the *Interim* has been sharply attacked by Mendham, p. 134, sq. It will be found in Le Plat, b. iv. pp. 32–69, and in Goldast's *Constitutiones Imperiales*, v. i. p. 518, sqq. Soames, on Mosheim, v. iii. p. 153, gives the following abstract of the

A copy of this dishonest and unavailing compromise was sent to Rome, where it excited much surprise, that a secular prince should have ventured to prescribe a rule of faith; while Cardinal Farnese declared that he could point out seven or eight heresies in the articles it propounded.^u Others alleged various objections, both to its doctrines and to the obvious interference with the council; which would be rendered of no effect if the opinions of a prince were to be passed into a law,—a prince, moreover, “whose cunning was more to be suspected than ever, seeing that he made so earnest a request that the council should return to Trent, and did, at the same time, take away all authority from whatsoever was constituted by it.”^x There was no doubt, that whilst a convenient ambiguity had been observed, with the view of conciliating or deceiving the reformers, much of Roman belief was tacitly obliterated, or asserted in qualifying and doubtful terms. For instance, “in the article of the Church, that it hath not derived unity from the visible head, which is essential; and, which is worse, hath made a church invisible by charity, and then made the same visible. That it is a secret artifice to destroy the hierarchy, and establish the Lutheran opinion. That to have made notes of the Church’s soundness of doctrine, and the lawful use of the sacraments, hath given a way to all sects to hold obstinately themselves to be the Church, concealing the true mark, which is obedience to the Pope of Rome.” All the court were unanimous in denouncing a measure calculated to sap

points at issue, which it modified or substantiated:—“Its twenty-six articles were drawn up with great care, and in a very conciliatory spirit. On most doctrinal points, such as man’s primitive rectitude, apostasy, original sin, redemption by Christ, necessity of divine grace, human merit, &c., it adopted very much scriptural views and language, and might have been assented to by the Protestants, without sacrificing, perhaps, any fundamental truths. But it retained the mass, all the seven sacraments, the hierarchy, the traditions, the ceremonies, in short the whole exterior of the Catholic establishment and worship, with the sole exceptions of tolerating the marriage of the clergy, and communion in both kinds. Yet it limited the authority of the pontiff, and so examined the grounds and uses of the Romish rites, as to make them the least offensive possible.”

^u Mendoça, in Ranke, p. 69.

^x Sarpi, p. 272. I shall henceforth confine my references to Brent’s translation, except when the reverse is stated.

the foundations of Romanism, and to make the Apostolic See little else than a tributary to, and dependent upon, the will of a prince, who had shown himself more than a match for all the difficulties which dissension at home, and intrigue on the opposite side, could oppose to his rapidly progressing success.

“But the old pope,” as Father Paul cleverly observes, “with the acuteness of his judgment, saw more than them all, and judged that the enterprise would be good for him, and pernicious for the emperor. He marvelled much at the wisdom and counsel of so great a prince, that by one victory, he should think he was made judge of all mankind, and presuppose he was able to contest with both parties. That a prince adhering to one might suppress another, but to contend with both was too much boldness of vanity. He foresaw that the doctrine would generally more displease the Catholics than the court, and the Protestants most of all, and that it would be impugned by all, and defended by none: wherein there was no need of his pains, because his enemies would work for him more than himself could do; and that it was better to permit the publication of it than to hinder it; and rather being in this state in which it is than when it is reformed, that it may more easily fail.”

But he was at the same time unwilling to let the emperor perceive the real state of the case, and desirous to put him upon the business as soon as possible, and to do the Protestants some injury. To effect the first object, he resolved to make some trifling opposition to the tenets of the *Interim*; as to the second, he resolved to set on foot the interests of the German prelates; and for the third, “to make it cunningly appear that this doctrine was collected, not to unite both parties, but only to curb the Protestants. By which means a great point was gained, that is, that a secular prince did not make articles of faith for the faithful, but for those that erred.”

“He therefore sent instructions to Cardinal Sfondrato to make some opposition; and when the doctrine should be published (that he might not be present), to take leave and be gone. The cardinal, according to his commission, declared in the pope’s name, that the permission to continue the receiving of the cup in the holy communion, though he that

receiveth it is not to be reprehended (the custom of receiving the sacrament under both kinds being abrogated long since), was a thing reserved to the pope ; as also the granting of marriage to the priests ; and the rather, because it hath never been used in the Church ; and the Greeks and Eastern people, who do not bind them to a single life, do grant that married men may receive orders, and keeping their wives, may exercise the ministry, but do not, nor ever did, permit them to marry who were in orders before. He added, that without doubt, if his majesty would grant these things to be lawful, he should grievously offend the majesty of God ; but holding them unlawful, he might permit them to the heretics as a lesser evil. It is tolerable, and belongeth to the wisdom of a prince, where all evils cannot be removed, to suffer the least, that the greater may be rooted out. That his holiness, perusing the book, saw it was only a permission to the Lutherans, that they may not without end pass from one error to another ; and that it is not granted to the Catholics to believe or to do anything but according to the prescript of the holy Apostolic See, which only, as mistress of the faithful, may make decrees in point of religion. And being assured that this was his majesty's purpose, he told him it would be necessary to make an express declaration thereof, and not to give the reins so much to the Lutherans, especially in the power of changing ceremonies ; considering that in the last point, he seemed to give them too much liberty, where he granteth that the ceremonies which may give cause to superstition, should be taken away. He added, that the Lutherans would hold it lawful to retain the ecclesiastical goods, and jurisdiction usurped, if they were not commanded to make restitution : wherein a council was not to be expected, but execution presently made, and that the spoils being notoriously known, he need not observe the nice points of law, but proceed summarily, and with his princely power."^y

After much debating and disputing, the *Interim* obtained the sanction and acceptance of the diet, but with little satisfaction to either party. If it answered any purpose what-

^y P. 273. It is fair to state that the whole of this statement of Sarpi's is more or less impugned by Pallavicino, ch. xviii. ; but the defence of Courayer, p. 539, seems satisfactory.

ever, it was perhaps in showing more distinctly the broad line of demarcation between Catholicism and the reformed religion, and in proving the impossibility of a union without involving ruin to the most vital principles of popery. Although the Interim speedily became a dead letter, it was nevertheless translated into several languages, and extensively circulated.

CHAPTER XX.

The Emperor puts forward Propositions of Reformation.

On the 14th of June the emperor published a series of articles touching religious reform, as follows:—1. Of ordination and election of ministers. 2. Of the office of the ecclesiastical orders. 3. Of the office of deans and canons. 4. Of canonical hours. 5. Of monasteries. 6. Of schools and universities. 7. Of hospitals. 8. Of the office of a preacher. 9. Of the administration of the sacraments. 10. Of the orders of baptism. 11. Of the orders of confirmation. 12. Of ceremonies. 13. Of the mass. 14. Of the administration of penance. 15. Of the administration of extreme unction. 16. Of the orders of matrimony. 17. Of ecclesiastical ceremonies. 18. Of the discipline of the clergy and people. 19. Of plurality of benefices. 20. Of the discipline of the people. 21. Of visitations. 22. Of councils. 23. Of excommunications. Sarpi speaks in high terms of the equity and reasonableness of the precepts contained in these articles, as well as their freedom from the cavils which were likely to embarrass or deceive the unlearned. He adds: "If it had been made by the prelates only, it would not have displeased at Rome, except in two points; namely, where it giveth authority to the Council of Basle, and in some other places, where it meddleth with dispensations and exemptions, and other things reserved to the pope. But being made by the emperor's authority, it seemed more unsupportable than the *Interim*. For it is a fundamental maxim of the court of Rome, that the seculars, of what degree or honesty soever, cannot give a law to the clergy, although to a good end. But, because they could not choose, they supported the tyranny (for so they said) which they were not then able to resist."^z

^z P. 274, sq.

Nevertheless, these articles of reform shared the fate and the oblivion which befell the *Interim*, and the Diet of Augsburg closed on the last day of June. The Recess was published, in which the emperor promised to secure the continuance of the council at Trent, and that with all possible speed; at the same time promising a safe-conduct to all the ecclesiastics then present, as well as to those advocating the Confession of Augsburg. But the attempted compromise proved an utter failure, and the further its documents were circulated, the stronger became the dissatisfaction both of Catholics and Protestants. The elector of Saxony took a middle ground between the views of both, and held several consultations with the learned on the subject of the doctrines of the *Interim*. But Melancthon, "whom the other theologians followed, partly from fear of the emperor, and partly from condescension to his sovereign, decided that the whole instrument called the *Interim* could by no means be admitted; but that there was no impediment to receiving and approving it so far as it concerned things not essential in religion, or things *indifferent*."^a

CHAPTER XXI.

Refusal of the Emperor to yield up Piacenza. Last Efforts of the Pope in favour of the Assembly at Bologna.

The question of the surrender of Piacenza was at length set at rest by the positive refusal of the emperor. In vain did Paul appeal to the treaty of 1521, in which Piacenza had been guaranteed to the Roman See; "the emperor pointed to the word 'investiture,' by which the empire had asserted its own right of sovereignty. The pope rejoined, that the word was here employed otherwise than in the feudal sense: the emperor carried the discussion no further, but declared that his conscience forbade him to give back Piacenza."^b

And now the pontiff would gladly have availed himself of his interest with France, and have made use of his numerous partisans, but he dreaded the fast-growing influence of the

^a Mosheim, *l. c.* p. 154. Hence arose the subsequent controversy in the Lutheran church *περὶ τῶν ἀδιαφόρων*, on things indifferent.

^b Ranke, p. 69.

emperor, even in ecclesiastical matters. Recent events, in which those of his own family had borne a sad and tragical part, were sufficient to make him tremble for the security of his pontificate, if not to dread attempts against his personal safety.

Driven to despair by the vexations which were rising on all sides, and impeded in proceeding either way by the pertinacity with which the emperor still put forth the *Interim*, and opposed the assembly at Bologna, Paul resolved to try what could be done by calling a select committee of members from the prelates assembled both at Trent and at Bologna, to take measures for the promotion of ecclesiastical reform. Accordingly, Cardinal Pacheco ; Pietro Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo ; Francesco Navarra, bishop of Bada-joz ; and Giambernardo Diaz, of Calaorra, were summoned from Trent : Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal ; Sebastian Leccavela, of Naxos ; Giovanni Hangeste, archbishop of Noyon ; and Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester. But here again he was foiled. The Tridentine bishops, after waiting twenty-one days for the emperor's commands, returned a polite, but most unmistakably firm refusal to quit the original seat of the council.^c

CHAPTER XXII.

Suspension of the Council.

The difficulties of the Roman court had attained their culminating point, and the best counsellors of the pope scarcely knew what to advise. Del Monte dreaded the suspension of the council, while the emperor's party still persisted in remaining at Trent, and the legitimacy of the transfer was as yet undetermined. The pope was hindered by the threats of Don Diego from declaring the legitimacy of that transaction, and the scheme of a select council at Rome had proved a total failure. But nature was giving way rapidly, and a violent attack of dysentery rendered the pontiff so enfeebled in mind and body, that his advisers became unanimous in favour of what many of them had dreaded.^d The fear that impelled them to this step was,

^c Pallav. xi. 4.

^d Ibid. xi. 5, 1.

lest, in the event of Paul's decease, the two adverse parties might each lay claim to the privilege of electing a successor—a state of things which might have once more revived the disgraceful spectacle of two popes anathematizing each other, and have strengthened a schism which was already too apparent. The following severe, but unfortunately correct remarks of Mendham deserve a place in these pages:—

“The schismatic council, which was convoked for the purpose of healing both heresy and schism, protracted its being in Bologna in a very ambiguous manner. It was a council and no council,—the head of the two factions into which it was divided, without being able to control the inferior and refractory one. Germany and its emperor, which it was principally called to benefit, were neglected and foiled, and of consequence dissatisfied. It was time, therefore, that so useless an assembly should in some way expire. The pontiff himself accordingly inflicted upon it somewhat of an honourable death: he sealed its formal suspension. In fact, he had intended to take the matter of his own reformation into his own hands; and he could not do so without casting contempt on an *existing* council. He therefore commanded the president to dismiss the bishops. This was done by a letter of Cardinal Farnese to Del Monte, dated the 13th of September, 1549, and the order was executed on the 17th: it was signified at the same time, that it was the intention of the pontiff that the council should be continued, but that decrees for restoring discipline should be enacted at Rome.”^e

CHAPTER XXIII.

Death of Paul III.

The death of great men is, in too many instances, only the consummation of a long series of disappointments and vexations; and their last reflections are embittered by the consciousness of parting from cherished schemes, which, like

^e “This is the representation of Pallavicino, who idly triumphs over Sarpi for saying that the council slept on for two years. The fact of the suspension is supported by the Acts and Diaries of the council. His own testimony is satisfactory (xi. 4, 4). It may be added, that the suspension is expressly recognised in the Bull of Resumption.”—Mendham, *note*, p. 136.

themselves, may pass into the oblivion of after-ages. The death-beds of those, whose political career has had the greatest influence upon the condition of their own times seldom present scenes upon which the eye can gaze with satisfaction: their sphere of action has been too large to allow of perfect maturity, and the uncertain results of a life of intrigue present a blank in the accounts of human life, which painfully declares to how little effect it has been spent. Even if the bitter consciousness of often-sacrificed honesty, of violated faith, and of interest, basely assuming the name of religion, does not cross the brow, and rouse the ebbing powers of thought with a goad that pricks most acutely in the fields of death, disappointment, and hope deferred, but now taken from us for ever, must embitter the last thoughts of those who have lived for the glory of the world.

But, as though greatness were born with its own outward punishments likewise—as though it were destined to be taught its own unworthiness beforehand, and, by suffering, itself to become a warning to those who bask in its shine, while they envy its beams—it seldom happens that the greatest players at the game of nations pass from this world without suffering the outward harassments to which even their best deeds seem to have exposed them. Still less do we find, that the evil consequences of deeds, in which compunction—transactions, in which principle—have borne no share, fail to bring punishment often through those who have benefited them, or that the receiver of a benefit unrighteously bestowed does not become the scourge of his benefactor. This moral is painfully illustrated in the last days of Pope Paul III.

I have already, I trust, sufficiently explained the position in which the pope's nepotism in respect to the duchy of Piacenza had placed him with other powers. So ripened was the hatred between the pope and the emperor, so violent the contentions between the Italian parties, that the very life of the pope seemed placed in danger. Finding the necessity of doing something, Paul at length resolved, "since not only his house's title to Piacenza, but even that of the Church was disputed, to give back that dukedom to the latter." But, as Ranke^f well observes, "this was the first time

he had ever done anything contrary to the interests of his grandchildren. He thought he possessed unlimited authority over them ; he had always lauded them, and deemed himself fortunate in their faultless obedience. But the difference was, that till now he had always striven for their manifest advantage ; now, on the contrary, he proposed a measure at variance therewith."

At first they made use of indirect means to divert the pope from his intention. They represented that the day appointed for holding a consistory was inauspicious, being St. Roque's, and that the contemplated exchange of Camerino for Piacenza would be disadvantageous rather than beneficial to the Church. All their arguments were in vain ; and Paul gave orders to Camillo Orsino, governor of Parma, to keep possession of that city in the name of the Church, and to give it up to no one on any pretext whatsoever.

But the Farnese were too eagerly bent on the acquisition of a power, which placed them on a level with the independent princes of Italy ; and Ottavio made an attempt (unsuccessful it is true, but no less harrowing to the mind of his grandfather) to get possession of Parma ; and although foiled by the foresight and determination of Camillo, he had struck a deadly blow against the happiness of the old man, "for whom, at the close of his days, it was destined to see his grandsons, to whom he had manifested so much affectionate partiality, for whose advantage he had heaped on himself the reproaches of the world,"[§] now rebelling against him."

I cannot pursue this history better than in the words of the admirable biographer of these times, Ranke, whose just appreciation of the more amiable traits of Paul's character gives an additional value to his clear and spirited view of the intrigues that sullied a life, in which dignified firmness had been the fairest jewel—a gem, however, to which the character of times and circumstances denied its proper setting.

"Even the failure of his attempts did not deter Ottavio from his purpose. He wrote to the pope, telling him flatly, that if Parma was not restored to him by fair means, he

[§] Ranke's remarks are well borne out by Pallavicino's observation, who, in summing up the character of this pontiff, says : "Con l'affetto superchio verso la sua discendenza mostròssi huomo : per tutto il resto meritò nella chiesa il nome d'Eroe."—xi. 6, p. 914.

would make peace with Ferrante Gonzaga, and endeavour to possess himself of it with the help of the imperial arms. And in fact his negotiations with that mortal enemy of his house were already far advanced ; a courier had been despatched to the emperor with the definitive proposal. The pope complained loudly that he was betrayed by his own kindred ; their conduct was such as must bring him to the grave. What wounded him most deeply was, that the rumour arose he had himself been privy to Ottavio's proceedings, and had taken a part in them belying his open professions. He told Cardinal Este that never in his life had anything caused him such anguish, not even Pietro Luigi's death, nor the seizure of Piacenza. But he would not leave the world in any doubt as to his real sentiments. His only consolation was, that at least Alessandro Farnese, the cardinal, was innocent and devoted to him. He gradually became convinced that the latter too, in whom he trusted wholly, and to whose hands were committed the entire management of public affairs, was but too well aware of the matter, and had been a consenting party to it. This discovery broke his heart. On the day of All Souls (Nov. 2, 1549), he communicated it to the Venetian ambassador in bitter anguish of soul. The day following, he went to seek if possible some relief of mind to his vigna on Monte Cavallo. But he found no repose. He sent for Cardinal Alessandro ; one word brought on another ; the pope burst into the most violent paroxysm of anger, snatched his nephew's cap out of his hand, and dashed it on the ground. The court already anticipated a change : it was generally supposed the pope would remove the cardinal from the administration. But it did not come to that. This violent agitation of mind, at the advanced age of eighty-three, was fatal to the old man. He was immediately taken sick, and died a few days afterwards, on the 10th of Nov. 1549. All ranks flocked to kiss his foot. He was as much beloved as his grandsons were hated : that he had met with his death through their means, on whom he had bestowed most kindness, moved every one to pity."^h

Such was the end of Paul III., a man who, had he fallen

^h Ranke, p. 70.

amidst less temptations than those of the papal see, must have commanded the unqualified admiration of posterity. But he had been the victim of the allurements of wealth and aggrandizement, before which human nature is ever prone to fall ; he had ennobled those, who were destined to embitter his last days, and his gray hairs were robbed of their kindest honour—the peaceful death-bed of one surrounded by the faces of those whose happiness he has created, but to whose meaner interests he has never sacrificed his integrity. Bitter must have been the reflection that his selfish and crafty antagonist still remained in the field, and that the glory of papal independence, for which he had fought so stoutly and so long, was now to be forced to yield to the interests of a temporal opponent, who had ever availed himself of the power of popery against others ; had ever proved an unfaithful adherent, when no motive of personal advantage called for his interference. And this very enemy, who had counterplotted his best attempts at offence or resistance, had been abetted and aided by those, whom the ties of blood had linked, and whom a thousand obligations ought to have bound to himself ! A more genuine Italian episode can scarcely be found than the circumstances immediately preceding the death of this pontiff. A stronger and more vividly-painted representation of human nature, developed in a variety of contending parties, sacrificing each other alternately on the altar of selfishness, and becoming alternately the dupe and the duped, the deceiver and the victim, cannot be found in the pages of history.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Cardinal Del Monte appointed Successor to Paul III.

Various had been the opinions as to the choice of a successor. The Imperialist party had looked upon Cardinal Pole as the fittest personage, and while the French inclined to Salviati, the Farnese, who held the casting vote between the two other parties, preferred Pole. At the instigation, however, of Cardinal Theatine, who accused him of a tendency to Lutheranism, the Farnese and French parties combined in favour of Giammaria del Monte.ⁱ He was elected

ⁱ Sarpi, p. 28, sq. Courayer, p. 553.

Feb. 7th, 1550, and, in memory of Julius II., whose chamberlain he had been, he took the pontifical name of Julius III.

Although, as will hereafter be shown, the subsequent behaviour of this man evinces a careless levity strangely inconsistent with the responsibilities he was now called upon to discharge, while his impetuous and irascible temper were previously well known, and weighed against his chance of success,^k all parties felt satisfied with his election. Even the Imperialists were reconciled to it, "because Cosmo, duke of Florence, made them believe that he favoured the French no more than his gratitude to the pope had constrained him ; so that, this cause being removed, he would carry himself uprightly." Ranke well observes : " It was part and parcel of the pre-eminence of fortune and power, at which the emperor then found himself arrived, that at last a pope, on whose devotedness he could reckon, ascended the papal chair. He still regarded it as of extreme importance, that the council should again be established in Trent ; he still hoped to compel the Protestants to attend to it, and to submit to its authority. The new pope received the proposition with cordiality. If he did set forth the difficulties inherent in the matter, his only anxiety was, lest he should be thought to put them forward as excuses : he was never tired of protesting that this was not so ; he had acted all his days without subterfuge or pretence, and would ever maintain the same conduct. He did actually appoint the renewal of the council for the spring of 1551, declaring that he did so without pact or condition."¹

CHAPTER XXV.

Translation of the Council.

But this measure was not realized at once. Much altercation took place before an answer could be returned to the earnest requests of the emperor for the restoration of the council to its former seat. The old difficulties, arising from the fear of prejudicing the pontifical power, were revived, and the dread of displaying anything like fear^m served to

^k Ranke, p. 71.

¹ Ibid.

^m Sarpi, p. 284, sq. The speeches on both sides with which this historian presents us are highly interesting.

temper the concessions which the new pope seemed willing to make to the emperor. Besides, it was thought that the council could only be held at Trent, considering that the decision of the question touching the lawfulness of its transference to Bologna had been taken in hand by the late pontiff, and that it would first be necessary for that cause to be decided by the present one, who, as legate, had been the prime mover and supporter of the transference to Bologna. Again, setting other reasons apart, and considering the matter of fact only, the French themselves confessed that an œcumenical synod would never be able to assemble in a place, from which the emperor, with his present great power, was averse; and he himself was bitterly opposed to making choice of any other city more likely to please the Germans.ⁿ He therefore determined to recall the assembly to Trent.

Two matters were still necessary to be considered; one, the consent of Henry II. of France; the other, the arrangement of some settled principle by which the proceedings of the session should be regulated, with the view of preventing unnecessary delays and troubles. Cardinal de Guise was intrusted with the first, and was directed to make known the determination of the pontiff to take no steps without consulting the French king; for the second, the secretary Massarelli was deputed to draw up a list of such matters as had been proposed, but not yet settled, in the council—a labour in which Cervini, Pole, and Morone were afterwards associated. Frequent meetings were held on this subject, as well as on the framing of a bull for the holding of the council, a matter for which the emperor, being on the point of setting out for Spain, was most anxious,^o and who had received assurances from the pontiff that all possible promptness should be used in its promotion.

In the diet held at Augsburg, July 26th, the emperor propounded the prosecution of the council, and the observation of the *Interim* in the mean while. "This," as Sleidan^p observes, "was also an armed diet, though the state of affairs was somewhat more peaceable now." The electors of Mentz and

ⁿ Pallav. xi. 8, 5.

^o Pallav. xi. 8, § 6, 11, § 1. The injunctions given to the nuncios will be found in 9, § 1, sqq.

^p Bk. xxii. p. 489, Bohun's translation, fol. Lond. 1689.

Treves were present, the duke of Bavaria, and, after some time, the duke of Brunswick; but the rest were represented by ambassadors. The representative of Duke Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, alleged that "he in nowise approved of the council; next, that all matters should be reviewed, and handled anew from the very beginning; that the divines of the Augustan confession should not only be heard, but also have deliberative and decisive voices;^a that the pope should submit to the council, and not preside^r therein, and release the bishops from their oaths, that they might speak with greater freedom."^s The ambassador wished his speech to be entered on the minutes of the assembly; but this request was refused by the archbishop of Mentz, who, as chancellor of the empire, had the sole power of preventing it being reported. It is unnecessary to add, that the request itself was unhesitatingly refused.

About the end of this month, Granvell, who had for twenty years been the chief minister of state, and who had gained the most secret confidence of Charles V. by his unvarying attention and wary policy, died, and was succeeded by his son Antonio, bishop of Arras, who had been early imbued with a taste for, and a skill in, public affairs.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Bull for the Resumption of the Council.

The pope well perceived, that if further time were spent in the dispute as to whether the decrees already made should be received, the progress of the council would be hopelessly retarded; and to insist upon this point with the emperor, might only give him a distaste to the whole proceedings, and, by exciting renewed vexation on account of the transactions at Bologna, bring on greater difficulties than at present presented themselves. Naturally idle and pleasure-loving, the new pope doubtless had a better love for the emoluments,

^a The same wish was subsequently expressed by the judicious Vargas, as will be seen hereafter.

^r The claims of the pope to be head of such councils are briefly, but clearly, disproved by Geddes, "The Council of Trent plainly discovered not to have been a Free Assembly," 8vo. Lond. 1714, *sub init.*

^s Sleidan, *ibid.*

than the duties, of his office ; yet, possessed of an amount of activity strangely inconsistent with the dissolute and abandoned amusements^t of his leisure hours, enjoying an experience which his quickness of mind had enabled him to glean amidst his many ill-spent days—and, moreover, roused to determination by a sense of the dangerous situation in which he had found the pontificate,—Julius III. determined to take the acceptance of previous decrees for granted. But while he was bold thus far, he cared not to run the risk of disobliging the emperor. Having framed, dated,^u and sealed the bull, he sent it to the emperor for his approbation. In this bull the council was indicted to be resumed at Trent, on the 1st of May of the following year, 1551.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Different Opinions thereon.

They who examine the tenor of this bull, will perceive that its wording retains all the phraseology which had so often irritated the Protestant party. Not one iota is detracted from papal assumption, and the tone of conciliation adopted is simply formal and unmeaning. If we may believe the statements of Sarpi, the emperor's ambassador entreated the pope to modify some of the expressions, and to adopt phrases more likely to promote the reconciliation, which was avowedly the purpose of the council ; arguing, "that, as wild beasts, taken in a snare, must be drawn gently, making show to yield unto them, nor must be showed the fire, or arms, for fear of provoking them, and putting them in despair, which will increase their forces ; so must the Protestants be used, who with gentleness, and by instructing and hearing them, must be brought to the council, where being arrived, it will be a fit time to show them the truth." The pope replied, "that he would not fight with a cat shut up,^x but would have

^t See Bayle's Dictionary, article Julius III. It is doubtful whether this pontiff was not, nevertheless, a much more respectable character than many of his predecessors. But he had no conspicuous traits of greatness.

^u It was dated November 14th, 1550. See Decrees and Canons, p. 66, sqq.

^x A remark quite in character with this pontiff's taste for low wit, of which Bayle has given several examples.

it at liberty, that it might fly ; that to bring the Protestants with fair words to the council, where the deeds would not be answerable, was to put them in despair, and make them take some rash resolution ; and, therefore, what was to be done, was to be told them plainly." The other rejoined : " That it was true in things necessary or fit to be spoken ; but he saw not how it was then fit to say, that it belongeth unto him to direct councils ; that these things are most true ; but that truth hath not the privilege to be spoken at all times, and in all places ; and that it is good to conceal it, when the uttering of it doth produce a bad effect ; that he should remember, that by the hot speeches of Leo X. and his legate Caietan, the fire was kindled which now burneth, but which, with a gentle word, might have been put out ; that the popes following, especially Clement and Paul, wise princes, did often complain of it. If Germany may now be gained with dexterous usage, why should it be more separated with bitterness ?" ^y

Further discussion ensued ; but the pope was inflexible, and eventually published a breve confirming the bull already prepared. Much dissatisfaction was expressed ; but the emperor succeeded in pacifying both the Romish and Protestant parties. With the view of further accommodating the feelings of the Protestants, perhaps, also, of taking credit to himself for the transfer of the council, and showing his persevering independence of the Roman see, Charles, at the end of the diet of Augsburg, February 13th, 1551, published a decree, which, while it practically confirmed the one set forth by the pope, still seemed to take too great a responsibility upon himself, and to derogate from the dignity and self-satisfaction of the pontiff.^z In fact, " the world thought it, as it was, a just counterpoise of the pope's bull, in all parts. The one will direct councils, the other will take care that all be done in order, and juridically ; the one will preside, and the other will have the decision according to the Scripture and the Fathers ; the one will continue it, and the other will have power given to every one to propose according to his conscience. In brief, the court could not digest this affront, and complained that it was another convocation of the council. But the pope, according to his usual pleasant-

^y Sarpi, p. 289.

^z Sleidan, p. 512, gives it at length.

ness, said, 'The emperor hath been even with me, for the publication of the bull, made without him.'"^a

The good-natured complaisance or the policy of Julius swallowed this affront, and he began to choose fitting assistants in the undertaking which had devolved upon him. In a consistory held on March the 4th, 1551, he chose Cardinal Marcello Crescenzio sole legate, with two nuncios of equal authority, Sebastiano Pighini, archbishop of Manfredoni, and Luigi Sepponiani, bishop of Modena.^b Massarelli was ordered to hasten to Trent, and, in the consistory held on the 24th of April, the bishops, eighty-four of whom were then at Rome, were commanded to join him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Disputes about Parma.

I must now briefly allude to certain events, which, although they had not absolutely prevented the business of the council from proceeding, had nevertheless interfered with its prosperity, and eventually led to its suspension. Ottavio Farnese, by the influence of Julius, had recovered possession of Parma,^c and that without opposition from the emperor. But the latter had no thoughts of giving up Piacenza as well, and he still retained many places in the vicinity of Parma, which Gonzaga had seized. "There was no possibility of any real confidence between the two, after so many reciprocal offences. It is true, the death of Paul III. had deprived his grandsons of a great support, but it had also set their hands free. They had now no need to give any further consideration to the general interests, or to those of the Church, but could adopt measures with an exclusive view to their own. We still find Ottavio possessed with feelings of bitter hatred. His enemies, he said, were endeavouring to wrest Parma from him, and even to put him-

^a Sarpi, p. 291.

^b Pallav. xi. 13, 1. All three, however, went by the name of legates. —Mendham, p. 139.

^c As my account must necessarily be brief, I refer my reader to Pallav. xi. 10 and 12. My own sketch is chiefly abridged from Sleidan, Sarpi, and Ranke.

self out of the way ; but they should succeed in neither the one nor the other.”^d

Dreading the power of the emperor, and mistrustful of his own capabilities of resistance, Ottavio sought the aid of the pontiff. The pope, in a characteristically careless manner, replied, “ that he must do as well as he could for himself.”^e Light words are but too often the forerunners, if not the cause, of serious consequences. Ottavio Farnese sought aid in another quarter, and a garrison of French soldiers shortly appeared within the city of Parma.

The rage of the emperor knew no bounds, and the pontiff was willing to aid him in the means of venting it upon the offender. On the 8th of April, 1551, he issued a bull, in which, after setting forth the obligations he had conferred upon Ottavio Farnese, and the promises made by him not to put a foreign garrison into Parma without the pope’s consent, he commanded him, “ within thirty days to make his personal appearance at Rome, to answer the accusations made against him, and to give sufficient security for his good behaviour in time to come ; wherein if he should fail,” he was declared “ now as then, and then as now, guilty of high treason, perjury, and other most heinous crimes and offences,” and was threatened “ that all his lands, goods, and chattels, should be confiscated to the public.”^f How much effect this document produced, will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile, we must return to the council.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Eleventh Session.

On the 29th of April, Crescenzo reached Trent, and was met, two miles from the city, by Cardinal Madrucci, and about thirteen other archbishops and bishops, almost all of the Imperial party. Having put on their pontifical robes, they were met by Don Francisco Vargas, the fiscal of the emperor, who, having exhibited his credentials from Charles, delivered a polite speech respecting the favourable intentions of the emperor towards the council. They then entered the

^d Ranke, p. 71.

^e The authenticity of this reply is well defended by Courayer, p. 572.

^f Sleidan, p. 513.

city two and two, on horseback; first, the legate and Madrucci, then the two other assistant prelates, and then the rest. After various ceremonies and rejoicings, the customary indulgence was published in the cathedral church, and the cortège withdrew to their own dwellings. On the same day Francisco de Toledo arrived as ambassador from Charles. A dispute next arose about etiquette; but it was at length resolved, that the two assistant prelates should be treated on a par with the first legate, and that Madrucci should give place to them, at the same time being honourably distinguished from the rest of the bishops.^g

The council had been resumed in haste, and its proceedings were proportionately unsatisfactory. A few meaningless ceremonies were a poor compensation for its scanty attendance and practical inactivity. On the last day of April a congregation was held, and it was proposed that the present synod should be opened the following day, as agreed upon, but that all business should be postponed till the 1st of September. All approved of the commencement of the synod, and likewise of its prorogation, generally speaking;^h but many complained that too long a delay had been proposed, and wished, with Giovanni Fonseca, that the prorogation might be indefinite, with the view of its being soon anticipated.

After some unimportant disputes on this subject, mass was celebrated by the legate on the 1st of May, the sermon being preached by Fra Sigismodo Fedrio, a Franciscan. Masarelli then read the two pontifical documents respecting the resumption of the council at Trent, and the election of the presidents; and the archbishop of Sassari proposed the decrees for the opening and prorogation of the council, which were received with unanimous assent by the small audience assembled.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Twelfth Session.

Fresh prelates arrived daily, but no congregations were held. Towards the end of August, the electors of Mentz and Treves also arrived, and preparations were made for the

^g Pallav. *l. c.* 14, 2 and 3.

^h In hope that the Germans might arrive, says Pallavicino. It will be seen that this was the real wish of but few members of the council.

reception of the elector of Cologne, who was shortly expected. Two other ambassadors from the emperor, Ugo, Count de Montfort, and, soon after the twelfth session was over, William of Poitiers, as representative of Flanders, also came, Don Francisco de Toledo acting as Spanish representative.

The business of this session was as unimportant as that of the preceding one. On the 31st of August it was determined that the session should be held the following day, but that the council should be again prorogued till the 11th of October, the synod "conceiving a hope that many other prelates, both of Germany itself, whose interests it principally concerns, and of other nations, will, moved by the requirement of their office and by this example, arrive in a few days."ⁱ Fra Baldassar Eredia, archbishop of Cagliari, celebrated mass, but, in place of a sermon, an exhortation touching the fitting behaviour to be observed during the council, was read by Massarelli, in the name of the presidents. The archbishop of Cagliari then read the decree of prorogation, in which the treatment of the eucharist, and of the remaining hinderance to episcopal residence, were proposed to be treated of: it met with unanimous approval.^k

CHAPTER XXXI.

Further Bad Feeling between the Pope and Henry II.

I have already mentioned the coalition of Ottavio Farnese and the king of France, and have hinted at the influence that it was destined hereafter to have upon the working of the council. A few details of what had transpired up to the present moment must now receive our attention.

So far from being terrified into submission by the pope's citation, Ottavio Farnese set it at open defiance, and, strengthened by the support of the French king, determined to hold out against the emperor. On the 13th of May, the emperor uttered a proclamation to this effect: "Forasmuch as, in compliance with the duty and goodwill we bear to the pope and Church of Rome, we are desirous to perform those things we ought, and to take care, lest, upon this occasion, greater stirrs arise in Italy, and afterwards in other places

also : again, when we consider upon how just grounds the pope is offended, and how he hath omitted nothing that was fit to keep Ottavio in his duty, we have commissioned and appointed Ferrande Gonzaga in our name, to aid and assist his holiness, because we cannot do it in person. Wherefore we command all our subjects within the duchy of Milan, that, during the war, they pay him the same obedience as they would ourself in person, and endeavour to do the enemy all the hurt and damage that possibly they can do."¹ Gonzaga began the war, and laid siege to Parma, while the pope attacked Mirandola, the prince of which state inclined to the French side.

But the bearing of this political association was now further developed in a circumstance which took place on the day of the last-mentioned session. James Amyot, abbot of Bellozane, who had arrived in Trent two days previously, came to the presidents, after the ceremonies of the synod were over, and presented a letter from the king of France, addressed to themselves and all the other fathers assembled on account of the council. The legate Crescenzo, on reading it to himself, remarked to his colleagues that it was evidently not the French king's intention to set the council at nought. But when it was read aloud by Massarelli, great dissatisfaction was expressed at its being addressed to the "Tridentine Convention."^m Amyot asserted that the phrase was the sole act of the royal secretary, and that the words "convention," "council," and "consession" (*consessio*), were indifferently employed to denote the same thing.

However true this explanation might be, it was not received without considerable deliberation ; and, if we consider the general state of affairs, it seems likely both that a covert affront was intended, and that the synod too well knew their own position to dare to resent it. It was at length

¹ Sleidan, p. 514. The 16th chapter of Pallavicino's 11th book is very important in reference to the present political juncture.

^m Pallav. ch. 17. Cf. Mendham, p. 142 ; also p. 142 of the following work, to which I here take the opportunity of referring those anxious for an older historical synopsis of the present history : "*Examen Concilii Tridentini, in quo demonstratur, in multis articulis hoc concilium antiquis conciliis et canonibus, regiæque authoritati contrarium esse. Distinctum in V. libros, Regi Navarræo dicatum, Innocentio Gentilletto, Jurisconsulto Delphinensi, Authore.*" Genève, MDLXXXVI.

resolved that the letters should be read. A polite, but utterly evasive, apology for the non-attendance of the French bishops, and some general and by no means remarkably distinct professions of regard for, and adherence to, the Church of Rome, formed the gist of the communication. Nor was the secretary in possession of information that could give him the slightest clue how to act, or even authority to proceed, all mention of his name being omitted in the despatches.

It is almost impossible not to see, that the making the war about Parma a pretext for the non-attendance of the prelates at Trent was adding insult to injury, and making one offence an excuse for the other. In fact, the king of France was now taking up the weapons which his old and now declining rival, the emperor, had employed with such masterly skill against the papal see. He cared nothing about the pope or the council, but could not withstand the delight of offering a covert insult to the pride of the Roman pontiff. This was fully proved by the conduct of Amyot, who, having been directed to appear at the ensuing session to receive an answer, did not do so, but, on the 3rd of December, by the direction of the king, published a document at Fontainebleau to much the same effect as the one he had already delivered.ⁿ

But although Henry II. had quarrelled with the pope, he felt bound, for his own security, not to offer more aggression to the papal see than suited his interests; and, "fearing that, by his dissension with the pope, those who desired change of religion, would make some innovation, which might prove serious, or that he himself might come into the bad opinion of his people, as if his mind were averse from the Catholic faith, and perhaps to open a way for reconciliation with Rome,"^o he imitated the conduct of his predecessor Philip, and published a severe edict against the Protestants, holding out greater temptations to those who should inform against them, and enforcing heavier penalties.

ⁿ A good summary of the protest is given in Sarpi, p. 301.

^o Sarpi, p. 303. Cf. Courayer, p. 592.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Preparations for the Thirteenth Session.

On the 2nd of September, 1551, the day following the previous session, a general congregation was held, and the fathers proceeded to draw up the articles touching the eucharist, which were to be examined, as well as the passages found in the writings of the followers of Zwinglius and Luther. The following ten propositions were selected :—

1. That in the eucharist the body, blood, and also the divinity of Christ, are not really and truly present, but only as in a sign, as wine is said to be in the sign of an inn.

2. That Christ is not given to be eaten sacramentally, but spiritually, and by faith.

3. That in the eucharist there is the body and blood of Christ, but together with the substance of the bread and wine ; so that there is no transubstantiation, but an hypostatical union of the humanity of Christ and of the substances of the bread and wine ; so that it may be truly said, “this bread is my body, and this wine is my blood.”

4. That the eucharist was substituted only for the remission of sins.

5. That Christ in the eucharist ought not to be adored, nor worshipped with festivals, nor carried in processions, nor brought to the sick, and that the worshippers thereof are truly idolaters.

6. That the eucharist is not to be reserved in the sacrarium, but spent and distributed immediately among those present ; and that he who doth not so, doth abuse this sacrament ; and that it is not lawful for any one to communicate himself.

7. That in the host, or consecrated particle which remains after the communion, the body of our Lord remaineth not, but only while it is received, and neither before nor after it is received.

8. That it is of divine right for the eucharist to be administered under both kinds to the laity, and even to children, and that they sin, who compel them to receive it under one kind only.

9. That as much is not contained under one as under both,

neither doth he receive as much, who communicates under one kind, as he who doth so under both.

10. That faith alone is a sufficient preparation for receiving the eucharist ; that confession is not necessary, but free, especially to the learned ; and that persons are not bound to communicate at Easter.

It has well been observed by a writer of the present day, "that we should be inclined to infer from the language of some contemporaries, that the council might have proceeded further with more advantage than danger to their Church by complying with the earnest and repeated solicitations of the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, and even the court of France, that the sacramental cup should be restored to the laity, and that the clergy should not be restrained from marriage. Upon this, however, it is not now for us to dilate. The policy of such concessions, but especially of the latter, was always questionable, and has not been demonstrated by the event. In its determinations of doctrine, the council was generally cautious to avoid extremes, and left in many momentous questions of the controversy, such as the invocation of saints, no small latitude for private opinion. It has been thought by some, that they lost sight of this prudence in defining transubstantiation so rigidly as they did in 1551, and thus opposed an obstacle to the conversion of those who would have acquiesced in a more equivocal form of words. But in truth, no alternative was left upon this point. Transubstantiation had been asserted by a prior council, the fourth Lateran, in 1215, so positively, that to recede would have surrendered the main principle of the Catholic Church."^p

But although these observations are correct in one point of view, they scarcely hold good of the definitions given in the decrees of this session. While the fundamental error of Rome, transubstantiation, was asserted with sufficient force to exclude and anathematize all reformers, due allowance was made for what Rome herself did not understand, and the schoolmen were still left free to dispute upon the manner in which the real presence takes place. The framers of these decrees full well knew how much danger there was in seek-

^p Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, v. ii. p. 98.

ing to put an end to a war of words, especially when they felt incapable of explaining their own meaning without the certainty of giving offence.

Without entering into minute details respecting the disputes and arguments which ensued, it will be well briefly to state the principal doubts excited respecting certain of these propositions.^a

The first, third, fifth, sixth (with one exception), seventh, and eighth were condemned unanimously, and the second was omitted as being virtually contained in the first, and therefore equally to be rejected.

The fourth, it was said, would be Catholic in doctrine, if the word *solely* or *alone* were omitted, but others wished it to be condemned; retaining, in such condemnation, the word *alone* or *principally*.

As to the sixth article, declaring it unlawful for any one to communicate himself, they condemned it, adding, however, the words, "under no circumstances, on no plea of necessity, not even for the priest administering it;" for some one observed that theologians had maintained that it was not lawful for a layman to communicate himself under any circumstance, and that, if pressed by urgent necessity, it were better for him to receive the sacrament in will only.

The first part of the ninth, asserting that as much is not contained under the one species as under both, was unanimously condemned; but some held that the second part, denying that as much is received under one, as both, was not heretical; inasmuch as it was to be understood of grace, which they held to be *not equally* received under one kind, as under both. Others wished that no mention should be made of grace, in order to avoid disputes. Two Franciscans absolutely attempted to show that priests had a greater right than the laity to the participation of the sacrament under both kinds, because entitled to a twofold share of grace by virtue of their office and dignity.

The first and third parts of the tenth article were unanimously condemned; but some held that the obligation to communicate at Easter was of ecclesiastical, not a divine

^a Our authority is Pallavicino, xii. 2. Dr. Waterworth has also drawn from the same source.

authority, and the elector of Treves looked upon it as a schismatical, rather than an heretical objection. As to the second clause, denying the necessity (where there is a consciousness of deadly sin) of confession previous to the fitting reception of the eucharist, some held that contrition, with the intention of confessing in due time, was sufficient. Others said that confession was absolutely necessary, and therefore condemned that clause as heretical. A third party thought it should be condemned as erroneous, causing scandal, leading to the evident destruction of souls, and opening a way to an unworthy manner of receiving the eucharist—a fact of which there were daily proofs.^r

A digest of these opinions was laid before the fathers on the 17th of September; and on the 21st, in a general congregation, they began to give their decisions thereupon. The legate gave some advice, to the effect that they should leave scholastic questions open, and, as touching the tenth article, he recommended enforcing the necessity of confession.

The result of all these discussions will best be seen by a reference to the canons^s set forth by this session, which, with a few exceptions,^t present the opinions laid down in the previous congregations. Several other questions relating to the eucharist were, for the present, postponed.

The decrees touching reformation were neither numerous nor important, a fact to which we shall presently make further allusion.^u

On the 11th of October, 1551, the thirteenth session was opened with greater solemnity than any previous one. It occupied eight hours, and the oration preached on the holy eucharist by the archbishop of Sassari is mentioned in high terms of praise by Don Vargas. The decrees both on faith and discipline met with unanimous approval, and the session itself presented an obvious increase, there being present, besides the presidents, one cardinal, three archbishop-electors, six archbishops, forty-four bishops, three abbots, and the general of the Augustinian order.

^r Compare Sarpi, p. 304, sqq. Some useful remarks will also be found in Mendham's review of this session. ^s P. 77 of my edition.

^t These will be found in Pallav. ch. 12, § 10, sqq. and very ably summed up by Waterworth, p. cxxxvi. sq.

^u See Vargas's letter, below, p. 221, sqq.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Remarks on the Previous Session. Epistles of Vargas.

It is far from my wish to enter into the discussion of the sad consequences of this session to so large a portion of the Christian world ; far from me to canvass anew the long-exploded fallacies of those arguments which made truth hide her head, and gave force and authenticity to the monster-birth of transubstantiation. Too many able hands have asserted the cause of religion over superstition, and too many clear heads have pointed out the dangerous influences of this invention of Rome, to require any additional proofs at my hands. That the council were now doing definite mischief, cannot be doubted ; let us now see in what manner they did their work.

Bitterly has Calvin stigmatized this assembly as “a packed troop of papal hirelings, in which the pope alone was pre-eminent ;”^x and, even setting aside the known learning and integrity of many of its members, especially of the Spanish party, we cannot but feel that, as a whole, it was little else than a court of Rome appointed to plead her own interests, and condemn all that opposed them. So far from being an independent council, the assembly was almost solely at the mercy of the legates, who, in turn, were equally dependent on the pope.

It may be said that these are the assertions of a member of the reformed Church of England. They are so ; but the conviction with which they are uttered derives its strongest assurances from the language of a Roman Catholic, a man, however, of no ordinary clearness and liberality of thought. Let the following quotations from an epistle written during the congregations which preceded the session, bear out what I have stated. They are from a letter of Don Francisco Vargas to the bishop of Arras.

“Your lordship may be satisfied of what I know to be true, and have writ formerly, which is, that there is nothing in the world the pope and his ministers abhor and dread so

^x “*Tametsi enim concilium quod daret, sciebat nihil fore aliud quam conductitiam turbam suorum assecularum, in qua ipse solus emineret.*”—*Calvini Antidoton Conc. Trid.* p. 32, ed. 1548.

much, as the coming of the Protestants to the council ; for we can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business, when they are brought to touch on that point. This is the true reason of their making so much haste, and of their having been so unwilling to grant what is above mentioned ;^y being in a continual dread lest something should rise from under their feet to disturb them, and of people coming hither, who may, to their great mortification, deliver their minds freely against abuses, and some other things.

“So that in truth it is their whole business to abuse the world by pretending that they do hope and wish that the Protestants would come, when at the same time they are contriving all the ways they can think of to shut the door against them. This, so far as I can understand, was the reason of their precipitating the doctrine of justification, as they did : and whereas they cannot tell but that the Protestants may come hither, so, were they but certain that they would never come, I cannot tell what they might do.”^z

“As to your lordship wondering at the electors not having observed this, and at their having suffered things to go so far ; to speak the truth, it is what I have likewise wondered at, and the more, since I was told, that the ambassadors of the king of the Romans had voted the communicating under both species to be of divine right, and that the cardinal of Trent gave a great many reasons why the Protestants ought to be dispensed with therein. As to the elector of Mentz, to whom he of Triers is entirely resigned, he was of another mind, having declared that it would be of no advantage to

^y *I. e.* “that the article *sub utraque*, with all its dependencies, should be suspended until the second session after this that is now to be celebrated ; the first being to be held after forty days, and the second on the 25th of January (1552)” (p. 1). Vargas further observes that, at this request, made with a view to considering the Protestants, “the legate was like a distracted man, and being transported beyond all the bounds of negotiating, among other things he threatened to be gone immediately, not being able to endure to see the council thus affronted, by having matters, after they were handled and ready to be determined, suspended thus.”

^z Mendham, p. 145, observes: “The fiscal (*i. e.* Don Francisco Vargas) was no friend to the Protestants, but he understood what was fair play.” Geddes, *Introd.* p. 68, seems to have a higher opinion of the Protestant tendencies of Vargas.

grant that to them; for which he is highly extolled by the pope's ministers and others, as he of Trent is strangely run down for what he said, by several reports they have spread abroad of him.

"For among the other non-liberties of this council, this is one; that whoever offers anything that is not grateful to the legate, or that does not suit exactly with some people's propositions, he is reported to have spoken ill, and to think worse, and to have taken what he said out of I do not know whom. And thus most things are handled here with great prejudices. Mentz follows the legate in everything almost, which is much for his honour; and for Triers, he votes always as Mentz does.

* * * * *

"Should the Protestants come hither, they will expect, I suppose, to be heard as to the matters which are already determined, no less than to those that are not, as indeed it is but reasonable they should; and the rather, that we may thereby encourage them to come. Now as they will choose some to speak in their name, so it will be convenient, in my mind, that the Catholics should appoint some to answer them; and that they may satisfy them without wrangling, let them have their several days allotted, but so that the Protestants may still continue plaintiffs.

"I take notice of this, because there are some here, who are obstinately of opinion, that none but the Protestants are to be suffered to speak to matters which are already decided, and that they are only to be heard. Now if this course is taken, as it will give but little satisfaction, so it will not be much for the honour of the synod; for there is the same reason for answering them, as there is for hearing them; and does not their saying that the Protestants shall be heard in matters which are already determined, only in order to their being instructed, and their disputing here about things as if the Protestants were present, demonstrate that this course ought to be taken? For since most of the things have been determined by former councils, were it not on such an occasion as this, it would not be lawful for Catholics to dispute about them; so that if this course is not taken, the Protestants will come hither to little purpose; neither can

they properly be said to come to a council, but to be brought before a court.”^a

We shall soon have occasion again to refer to these important documents, but must meanwhile proceed with the direct history.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Concluding Measures of the Thirteenth Session.

We have already stated that certain articles connected with the eucharist had been postponed,^b ostensibly with the view of giving the Protestants an opportunity of arriving in time to be present at their discussion. A safe-conduct was at the same time made out.^c

Before the council broke up, it was deemed expedient to read the reply prepared to the protest made by Amyot on behalf of the French king, to the following effect: “That the synod during the last session had experienced great joy both from the increased number of bishops and princes who had arrived; from the complimentary messages of the emperor and Ferdinand, in the name of their respective kingdom, Bohemia and Hungary; and because similar messages were in preparation from Portugal and Poland.” After complimenting Henry II. on his zeal in the cause of the Catholic religion, they set forth their regret and anxiety at the tenor of the king’s letters, not charging them with evincing irreverence towards the council, but lamenting that a difficulty should have arisen in a quarter to which they had reason to look for support. As to the affairs of Parma, they doubted not that the pontiff would be able and willing to give an account of his own conduct; but they observed, that the council had nothing to do with affairs of war, and that the passage to the council, and the liberty of speaking

^a Letters of Vargas, published by Geddes, at the end of his tract entitled “The Council of Trent plainly discovered not to have been a Free Assembly,” date Oct. 7th, 1551, to the bishop of Arras. The authenticity of these letters is satisfactorily proved in Mendham, p. 144. “Alvare-Gomez dit, dans la vie du Cardinal Ximenes, que Vargas était un homme d’une grande intégrité, d’une érudition extraordinaire, et d’une expérience consommée.”—Biograph. Universelle, t. 47, p. 503. See Vargas’s directions concerning the government of a council, and the office of an ambassador, in Geddes, p. 127.

^b Decrees and Canons, p. 84.

^c Ibid. p. 85.

freely therein, were as much open to the French bishops as to any others. In conclusion, they exhorted him to continue steadfast in his adherence to the Catholic religion, and admonished the French bishops to obey the summons of the pontiff, and hasten to the synod at once.^d

Amyot, as has been observed, had absented himself, and this reply was framed upon the same principle as the document against which it was directed. Henry had not meditated to send a message to the council, so much as to publish an apologetic declaration to the world at large. In like manner, the council framed their reply for the hearing of all, endeavouring therein to unite the contrary language of respect and freedom, kindness and reproof.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Safe-Conduct.

Little satisfaction was expressed by the Protestants at the proceedings of the last session, and the terms of the safe-conduct were anything but satisfactory. When it was said that "the sacred and holy general Synod of Trent granted, as far as regards the holy synod itself,"^e the safe-conduct in question, they "doubted not but that the aim of the synod was to leave a gate open for the pope, that he might with his own and the council's honour, do what he thought serviceable for them both. Besides, the treating to depute judges for things heretical committed, or to be committed, seemed to them a kind of net, to catch those that were unwary; and even the very pedants did laugh at it, that the principal verb was more than a hundred and fifty words from the beginning. The Protestants did uniformly agree not to be content with it, or trust to it, but to desire another, like that which was given by the Council of Basle to the Bohemians; which, if it were granted, they did obtain one great point, that is, that the controversies should be

^d Pallav. xii. 9.

^e "The sentence *quantum ad ipsam sanctam synodum spectat*, I have translated and placed so as to make its meaning as ambiguous as the original. The closing sentence, too, would admit an interpretation, when, if necessary, reduced to practice, not very favourable to the heretic."—Mendham.

decided by the holy Scriptures; and if it were not granted, they might excuse themselves with the emperor.”^f

The attacks made by Pallavicino upon this passage of Sarpi are more distinguished for quibbling than veracity. And here again we are fortunate in possessing the words of a contemporary witness, who, whilst asserting the credibility of the Venetian historian beyond the reach of doubt, gives us the liveliest picture of the struggle which, even among Roman Catholics, existed between the bigoted and selfish dependants of the Roman court, and the enlightened and liberal men of business, who were capable of contemplating affairs in more than one light.

The following is an extract from a letter of Don Francisco Vargas to the bishop of Arras, dated November 28th, 1551.^g

“The safe-conduct having been thus ordered, was sent by Don Francisco to the legate; who, as your lordship will see, has changed the whole form thereof, having reduced it to a very small compass; which cannot but give great offence to the Protestants, who therein have no promise made them, not to be punished for the offences of their religion, which for the removal of scruples ought to have been done; and the rather, because they are not allowed the exercise of their worship; it seems likewise to give the judges, that are appointed over them, a power to take cognizance of all crimes they have committed or shall commit, even savouring of heresy: neither is it said that the judges shall be appointed from among themselves, but only in general, *quod possint deligere judices sibi benevolos*; which may very well raise such scruples in them, as may hinder them from ever coming hither; since they will never consent that they shall be liable to punishments by any judges purely on account of their religion; neither will they fail to say, that this was done with a design.

“The clause likewise, *quantum ad ipsam sanctam synodum spectat*, may very well make them jealous; since the synod ought to promise for the pope, the emperor, and all other princes and prelates, that they shall enjoy an entire security, as was done by the synod of Basle, and especially since they

^f Sarpi, p. 324.

^g These letters have not escaped the notice of the acute and diligent Courayer, v. i. p. 633, *note*.

have promised his majesty so to do : they ought likewise to suspend the decrees of the Council of Constance, made in its 9th session ; and that of Sienna, as was done in the safe-conduct granted to the Bohemians ; that being a thing the Protestants have much in their thoughts, and who, by their insisting thereon, have much retarded his majesty : and the truth is, the synod in a case of this importance ought not to grudge them words ; but it ought, without descending to niceties, or to what is enough, or not enough, to grant them an entire security : all which things ought, in my judgment, to be remedied ; and so they shall, if the legate will, as he ought to do, let me see the safe-conduct before it is pronounced. But, as I have formerly written to your lordship, considering that he grants this with a very ill will, I do not at all wonder at his acting therein as he does, and at his contriving a thousand ways to hinder those people ever coming to the council.

“ As to the prelates, there is no need of taking any notice of them, they being no ways concerned in that matter, the legate having never so much as acquainted them with it, all things appearing well to them at first sight, and who, knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, pass them without any more ado.

* * * * *

“ The second thing wherewith I am displeased, is in the answer that was given to the protestation beginning at *Quod vero testatus* ; in which the pope, for his own ends, has made the council a party in the authorizing of his affairs, and in defending of his pretensions against all the pragmatics, which have been, or may be made in France concerning benefices, and other such matters. This the council ought by no means to have been brought to have done it being neither convenient nor just that the synod, which knows nothing of these affairs, having never examined them nor brought them into judgment, should, hand-over-head, pronounce anything about them.”

After this candid exposure of the miserable truckling and trifling with which this *free* assembly was amused, we are scarcely surprised to meet with the following observations as to the character of the work they were employed in.

"As to the canons of reformation, I have nothing to say of them, but only that they are of so trivial a nature, that several were ashamed to hear them ; and had they not been wrapped up in good language, they would have appeared to the whole world to be what they are ; and if God does not prevent it, I do not see but that all things will be carried here at the same rate."^h

The conclusion of the letter is almost ominous.

"I am extremely glad to hear that his majesty is coming nigher to us ; for, besides that it will be no small satisfaction to me to have your lordship so near, his majesty's presence may give some life to affairs here."ⁱ

The best evidence of the truth of Sarpi's strictures on the safe-conduct, is, that the legate, despite his obstinate prejudice against the Protestant party, was compelled eventually to augment and remodel the decree ; fully proving that the objections which Vargas had foreseen, had had their due weight.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Congregations respecting the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction.
Condemned Articles.*

On the 12th of October, a general congregation was held, in which the following heretical articles, touching the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, were proposed to the fathers for deliberation.

1. That penance is not properly a sacrament, instituted by Christ for a reconciliation unto those who have fallen away after baptism ; neither is it rightly called by the fathers "a second plank after shipwreck : " but that baptism is in truth itself the sacrament of penance.

2. That the parts of penance are not three in number,—contrition, confession, and satisfaction ; but two only, to wit, the terrors with which the conscience is stricken when sin is recognised ; and faith conceived by the Gospel, or by abso-

^h Vargas, second epistle to the bishop of Arras. In a letter of the 28th of November, he again expresses his dissatisfaction "that a great many things of a very high nature are handled here so slightly, and after such a manner as gives great discontent." He cannot see how Catholics or heretics can be satisfied.—P. 22, sq.

ⁱ The emperor shortly appeared at Inspruck.—Sarpi, p. 334.

lution, whereby any one believeth that his sins are remitted him through Christ.

3. That contrition, which is obtained by the consideration, collecting together, and detestation of one's sins, does not prepare men for the grace of God, nor remit sins ; but that it rather doth render a man a hypocrite and a greater sinner ; and that such contrition is a forced, and not a free sorrow.

4. That secret sacramental confession is not of divine right ; and that there is no mention made thereof in the ancient fathers before the Council of Lateran, but only of public penance.

5. That the enumeration of sins in confession is not necessary for their remission, but is a matter of choice ; that in this age it is only useful for the instruction and consolation of the penitent ; that anciently it was only imposed as a canonical satisfaction ; that it is not necessary to confess all deadly sins, such, for instance, as secret ones, and such as are directed against the two last precepts of the Decalogue ; that neither need all the circumstances of sin, which idle men have devised, be specified ; and that to wish that all should be confessed, is to leave nothing to the divine mercy : and as to venial sins, that it is not even lawful to confess them.

6. That the confession of all sins, required by the Church, is an impossibility, and a mere human tradition to be abolished by the pious ; and that confession need not be made in time of Lent.

7. That the absolution pronounced by the priest is not a judicial act, but the simple office of pronouncing and declaring that sins are remitted unto him that doth confess, provided only he believe that he is absolved ; and this, even though he be not contrite, or the priest absolve not in earnest, but in joke ; nay, that the priest may even absolve the sinner without confession.

8. That the priests have not the power of binding and loosing, except they be endued with the grace and charity of the Holy Ghost. And that they are not the only ministers of absolution ; but that to all and every Christian it is said, " whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven ;" by virtue of which words, [all] can ab-

solve from sins ; from public ones by correction, if the person corrected shall assent thereunto ; from secret ones, by absolution.

9. That the minister of absolution, even if he absolve contrary to the prohibition of his superior, doth nevertheless really absolve from sin, and that in the sight of God ; so that the reservation of cases does not hinder absolution ; nor have bishops the right to reserve such cases to themselves, except as far as outward government is concerned.

10. That the whole pain (or penalty) and guilt are simultaneously remitted by God ; and that the satisfaction performed by penitents is no other than the faith whereby they apprehend that Christ hath made satisfaction for them ; and that, therefore, the canonical satisfactions were instituted by the fathers, and begun at the Council of Nice, for the sake of example, or discipline, or to make trial of the faithful, but not for the remission of punishment.

11. That the best penance is a new life ; and that, by the temporal pains inflicted on us by God, we by no means make satisfaction ; as neither do we by such as are voluntarily undertaken by us ; such as are fastings, prayers, almsgivings, and other good works not enjoined by God, which are called works of supererogation.

12. That satisfactions are not a worship offered to God, but traditions of man ; which observe the doctrine of grace and the true worship of God, and the very benefit itself of Christ's death ; that it is a mere idle tale, that, by the power of the keys, eternal punishments are commuted to temporal penalties, since the office [of the keys] is not to impose punishments, but to absolve from them.

The four following articles are respecting the sacrament of extreme unction :—

1. That extreme unction is not a sacrament of the new law instituted by Christ, but only a rite received from the fathers, or a mere human invention.

2. That extreme unction neither confers grace nor the remission of sins ; neither does it relieve the infirm, who were cured of old by the gift of healing ; and that, therefore, it ceased with the primitive Church, as did the gift of healing.

3. That the rite and usage of extreme unction are not

observed by the Church of Rome according to the intention of the blessed apostle St. James ; and that they may therefore be changed, and despised by Christians, without sin.

4. That a priest is not the only minister of extreme unction ; and that the "elders" whom the blessed apostle St. James exhorted us to bring to anoint the sick, are not priests ordained by a bishop, but elders by age in any community.^j

Pallavicino takes notice of a few points in the chapters and canons on the subject of penance, which derive some illustration from the debates in the congregations, and seem to deserve a place here.^k

Diego Lainez, condemning the latter portion of the second article, asserted that to the sacrament penitence, fear, love, contrition, and absolution, were necessary. Love was also enumerated as necessary by Jacopo Ferrusio, bishop of Segova, who alleged the insufficiency of terror, quoting the saying, "her sins are forgiven her, because she loved much."

Melchior Alvarez de Vosmediano, bishop of Guadix, said that we first grieve through fear of punishment, and afterwards on account of God, and that we then confess our sins. Bernardo Colloredo, a Dominican, held that fear, a detestation of former sins, and faith, whence hope, and then love arise, are necessary. In fact, according to Pallavicino's opinion, the acts of the council show an evident determination to condemn the error of heretics in disapproving of the fear of punishment, as being an unworthy motive, but not to pronounce sentence upon minute scholastic distinctions.

But the most important point we have to notice, is the subject of attrition, or that imperfect kind of contrition, which, accompanied by the act of penance, was supposed to be sufficient for salvation. The part of the fourth chapter^l to which we refer, originally stood as follows : "With regard

^j My authority is Pallav. xii. 10. Cf. Decrees and Canons, p. 86, sqq. These propositions are differently divided in Sarpi, p. 327, sq. Some spirited remarks on the manner in which texts of Scripture were tortured to make them suit the meanings attached to them by the synod, will be found in the same author, p. 325.

^k I have not room for the more copious remarks of Sarpi, p. 328, sqq. all of which are impugned by Pallavicino.

^l P. 90 of my edition.

to that contrition which theologians call attrition, because it is imperfect, and conceived solely from the turpitude of sin, or from the fear of hell or punishment, which fear is called servile, the council ordains and declares, that if it exclude the disposition to sin, and express some sort of sorrow for sins committed, it not only does not render a man a hypocrite (as some do not hesitate to blasphemously assert), but is sufficient to constitute this sacrament, and is a gift of God, and a most genuine impulse of the Holy Ghost, not indeed as already dwelling in, but moving: with which the penitent being assisted, seeing that this can scarcely be without some motion of love towards God, he maketh his way unto righteousness, and thereby disposes himself to obtain the grace of God more easily." The bishop of Tuy observed, that it was incorrect to say that this kind of sorrow could not exist without love; and that as to attrition being sufficient to constitute the sacrament, in so much that the sins of a man feeling attrition are blotted out by virtue of the absolution pronounced, the opinions of authors were various, and that the clause in question had better be removed. The desired alteration was made.

The doctrine of attrition is too important to be passed over without some further notice. Surely the attempt to say *how little* a man may do to earn his salvation, is to leave to man's worst and most self-deceiving impulses a matter far too important to be thus loosely treated. We cannot but feel the force of the following remarks on this doctrine, as settled by the Council of Trent. "We think it strikes at the root of all religion and virtue, and is a reversing of the design for which sacraments were instituted, which was, to raise our minds to a high pitch of piety, and to exalt and purify our acts. We think the sacraments are profaned when we do not raise our thoughts as high as we can in them; to teach men how low they may go, and how small a measure will serve their turn, especially when the great and chief commandment, the consideration of the love of God, is left out, seems to be one of the greatest corruptions in practice, of which any church can be guilty: its slackness in doctrine, especially in so great a point as this, in which human nature is under so fatal a bias, will always bring with it a much greater corruption in practice. This will

indeed make many run to the sacrament, and raise its value ; but it will rise upon the ruins of true piety and holiness."^m

The following passages from a writer,ⁿ who has minutely

^m Burnet on the Articles, p. 280. Cf. Hooker, p. 379 (folio ed.) :—

"When once private and secret confession had taken place with the Latins, it continued as a profitable ordinance, till the Lateran Council had decreed that all men, once in a year at the least, should confess themselves to the priest.

"So that, being a thing thus made both general and also necessary, the next degree of estimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and lifted up to the nature of a sacrament ; that as Christ did institute baptism to give life, and the eucharist to nourish life, so penitence might be thought a sacrament ordained to recover life, and confession a part of the sacrament.

"They define, therefore, their private penitency to be a sacrament of remitting sins after baptism ; the virtue of repentance, a detestation of wickedness with full purpose to amend the same, and with hope to obtain pardon at God's hands.

"Wheresoever the prophets cry repent, and in the gospel Saint Peter maketh the same exhortation to the Jews as yet unbaptized, they would have the virtue of repentance only to be understood ; the sacrament, where he adviseth Simon Magus to repent, because the sin of Simon Magus was after baptism.

"Now although they have only external repentance for a sacrament, internal for a virtue, yet make they sacramental repentance nevertheless to be composed of three parts—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—which is absurd ; because contrition being an inward thing, belonging to the virtue, and not to the sacrament of repentance, which must consist of external parts if the nature thereof be external. Besides, which is more absurd, they leave out absolution ; whereas some of their school divines, handling penance in the nature of sacrament, and being not able to espy the least resemblance of a sacrament save only in absolution (for a sacrament by their doctrine must both signify and also confer or bestow some special divine grace), resolved themselves, that the duties of the penitent could be but mere preparations to the sacrament, and that the sacrament itself consisted wholly in absolution. And, albeit Thomas with his followers have thought it safer to maintain as well the services of the penitent, as the words of the minister, necessary unto the essence of their sacrament ; the services of the penitent as a cause material ; the words of absolution as a formal ; for that by them all things else are perfected to the taking away of sin ; which opinion now reigneth in all their schools, since the time that the Council of Trent gave its solemn approbation, seeing they all make absolution, if not the whole essence, yet the very form whereunto they ascribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their sacrament ; surely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath small congruity with reason."

ⁿ Allix, Discourse concerning Penance, pp. 8, 11, and 17, ed. 4to. This subject is somewhat sharply handled by Mendham, p. 156. Compare, also, Bishop Marsh, *Comparative View*, ch. ix. p. 216, sqq.

examined the writings of schoolmen upon the subject, are most important as a commentary upon the canons of this session, and as showing both the real belief of Rome on the subject of penance, and the modifications and alterations that belief had undergone :—

“ Contrition, according to the sentiment of the Church of Rome, imports a sorrow for our having offended God, not only because he can damn sinners, but also because he is infinitely worthy of our obedience and love. Contrition, therefore, supposeth not only the fear of hell, but also the love of God, which retakes its place in the sinner’s soul, and which leads him again to the obedience of so good a God, whom he hath been so unhappy as to offend. Attrition, on the contrary, according to their opinion, doth not import anything of the love of God in the prime, but only a fear of hell, which makes him condemn his sin ; it is the fruit only of a slavish fear, arising from the prospect of the punishments designed for sinners. This being so, I desire the reader to judge, whether the Church of Rome have not taken away the essential parts of repentance, in receiving for one of her maxims, that attrition in conjunction with the sacrament is sufficient to reinstate man in the grace and favour of God. And what though she exhorts sinners to contrition, is it not evident that the greatest part of sinners, finding great trouble in doing that which they declare sufficient, will find much more difficulty to do what their confessors judge not to be necessary, though without doubt it be the better and surer way ?

“ Since the Council of Trent, we find few divines that defend the ancient opinion of the necessity of contrition, the contrary opinion having gained so much ground as well speculatively as practically, that nothing is more believed and taught. Benedicti, in his *Summa de Peccat.* lib. 5, c. 1, p. 842, makes the difference between repentance considered as a virtue and as a sacrament to be this : that all those of old, that died before the ascension of Christ, without perfect contrition, are lost ; the case not being so with us, who may be saved by attrition alone, by means of the sacrament of penance, which confers grace and remission of sins, *ex opere operato*, which the virtue of penance cannot do.”

“ The whole Church during the first twelve centuries, con-

stantly believed these two things :—1. That contrition and charity were absolutely necessary in order to reconciliation with God. 2. That the absolution of the sinner was granted to him at the moment of his contrition ; the absolution he received of the priest not effecting pardon of sin, but only procuring an entrance into the Church, from whence he was banished for the offence he had given.”

On the subject of extreme unction, little discussion ensued, and the doctrine thereupon, comprised in three chapters and four canons, presents little room for comment. But Bishop Marsh^o well observes, that “something like the doctrines to be proved, or some supposed *obscure intimation* of it, is sought in the words of *Scripture*. And then, through the light of *tradition*, this obscure intimation becomes at once a clear and comprehensive account of the doctrine to be proved. Thus, in favour of *extreme unction* appeal is made to the fifth chapter of the epistle of St. James, where *something* being said about anointing with oil in the name of the Lord, the decree says, of the words used by St. James, ‘quibus verbis (ut ex apostolica traditione per manus acceptâ, ecclesia didicit), docet, *materiam, formam proprium ministrum et effectum* hujus salutaris sacramenti.’ Hence, the oil is explained, as oil blessed by a bishop ; the form to be used is explained to be ‘per istam unctionem,’ etc. Now of this commentary thus imposed by *tradition*, there is not a trace in the text : and we here see in what manner the text of *Scripture* is put to the torture, and made to *speak* whatever it may appear good that *tradition* should *make* it speak.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Decrees on Reformation. Letters of Vargas. The Fourteenth Session held.

The thirteen chapters, containing the decrees on reformation,^p furnish many useful and salutary precepts regarding the correction of misdemeanors on the part of the clergy, and the restriction of ecclesiastics to their own districts. Many previous decrees, which were open to the ingenious cavils of those, who had an interest in mistaking their meaning, are

^o Marsh, Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, ch. ii. p. 33, sq.

^p P. 104, sqq.

cleared up and confirmed. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, they were of too feeble a nature to suit the exigencies of the times, or to have any weight towards satisfying the just discontent which the court of Rome had excited. The conduct of Crescenzo had abated nothing of its haughtiness and violence; and the inefficiency of the reformation measures passed at this session will be well understood, if we consider the following passages from the Epistles of Vargas, written just previous to the day of meeting.

"I am not at all satisfied with what has been done in reference to a reformation, neither do I hope to see much more done therein; for I can plainly perceive that the legate has the very same aims and resolutions that the present pope had, who, both when he was legate here, and since he was pope, presuming on his majesty's friendship, has done things without fear, that were really astonishing, never doubting of his being able to carry what he has a mind to do. I do observe that the present prelate discovers this infinitely more than the former ever did; he having given us to understand, that the reformation is not a thing to be dwelt on; and that all that is to be done therein, will be concluded in this session, the remaining time being to be wholly employed about doctrines."

* * * * *

"I am fearful lest the legate should, under a pretence of friendship, impose on Don Francisco, the legate being immovably determined as to everything that he will do; neither are his intentions in this affair the same with his professions; all that he driveth at in this matter, being only to have wherewith to stop the mouths of the prelates, to keep them from speaking about other things; the bringing of the prelates to speak to the impediments of episcopal residence, having been this artifice from the beginning."^q

"Notwithstanding we have but three days^r to the session, a reform is no more talked of here than if it were a thing never to be mentioned again. And as for the legate, he goes on still in his old road, consuming time to the last hour in disputations and congregations concerning doctrines, and

^q Oct. 28th, 1551.

^r This letter is dated Nov. 12th, in Geddes's edition. There seems to be some mistake, as the session was held on the 25th.

will at last produce something in a hurry, in false colours, that looks plausible; by which means they have no time to read, and much less to understand what they are about: so that it is not to be expected that anything that is done here should produce ought but scorn and confusion.

“Words and persuasion do signify but little in this place, and I suppose they are not of much greater force at Rome, those people having shut their eyes, with a resolution, notwithstanding all things should go to rack, not to understand anything that does not suit with their interests.”

Soon after, we have an attack upon the Protestants, which, while it proves Vargas's attachment to Catholicism, makes his evidence against the council of tenfold value:—

“As to the Protestants coming hither, I do not know what to say to it; only, if other methods are not taken here, their coming will be to no purpose, and they will return worse than they came; and especially if they should be such persons as your lordship is informed they are. God may, nevertheless, notwithstanding all their rebellions and determinations, bring them hither, to enlighten both themselves and others as to their duties; for which reason, as there are several that do wish they were here, so there are others who cannot endure to hear of their coming, and much less to see it.

“The two Protestants that are here already, do pretend to have no other cause but to provide lodgings for the rest, though I rather think they are sent before as spies It is reported that Melancthon and the rest of them appeared obstinate and resolute in their errors at the Assembly of Wittemberg; if that is true, there is but little hope of reducing them; neither will I ever believe they will come, before I see them here.”

Again, in a letter of the 26th of November:^s—

“Your lordship may be satisfied that there are not words to express the pride, disrespect, and shamelessness, wherewith he proceeds in this affair; for being persuaded that we act timorously, and that his majesty will be cautious how he does anything that may minister occasion to any alteration, or that may disgust the pope, he says and does things that astonish the world, treating the prelates that are here as so

^s P. 39, sqq.

many slaves, protesting and swearing when he is displeased, that he will be gone immediately ; by which means he carries whatever he has a mind to."

On the 25th of November, 1551, being the festival of St. Catherine, the fourteenth session was held. Maurique, bishop of Orenze, celebrated mass, and the bishop of San Marco preached the sermon. The decrees, which had been prepared in the previous congregations, seem to have passed without opposition. The next session was appointed to be held on the 25th of January, 1552, the subjects being the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of holy orders.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Arrival of the Ambassadors from Wittemberg.

While these matters were in progress, John Theodore Plenninger and John Ecklin, ambassadors sent by the duke of Wittemberg, arrived at Trent, bringing a confession of their doctrines, and declaring that some theologians should be sent to explain it at large, if security and a safe-conduct were insured them, according to the form of the Council of Basle. On the errand being communicated to the legate by the count de Montfort, he said that it was their duty to communicate first with the president of the council. But the ambassadors replied, "that it was one of the points required in Germany, that the pope should not preside ; which not being willing to contradict without an order from the prince, they would write, and expect an answer."^t

In this dilemma, the legate immediately sent to Rome for instructions.^u

At the beginning of November, the emperor, who had evidently been expected, appeared at Inspruck, a place distant only three days' journey from Trent. The pope felt somewhat uneasy, especially as the previous character of the emperor rendered his fidelity to his promises doubtful. But he took courage, "considering, that, if there were war in Germany, no account would be held of the council,

^t Sarpi, p. 334, Brent. Cf. Sleidan, p. 528.

^u It is scarcely necessary to observe that these must be the two Protestants referred to in the letter of Vargas just quoted.

and during peace all the German ecclesiastics would be on his side, as also the Italian prelates—that the legate being resolute, and hoping himself to be pope, would labour as for himself.”^x As to the directions given to his legate, it is sufficient to say that they fully carry out the principles of papal conservatism set forth in the letters of Vargas.

The ambassadors at Wittemberg, being exhorted to proceed, entreated Madrucci to mediate between themselves and the council, and procure the presentation of their letters. As it was still held necessary, however, to acquaint the legate with the subjects on which they would treat, they replied that their object was to obtain a safe-conduct, on the footing of the one given to the Bohemians at the Council of Basle, and to propound their doctrines; that, it being examined by the fathers, they might be ready to confer with their divines, when they came. The legate, acting upon the instructions he had received from the pope, answered, “that it was not to be endured, that either they or any other Protestants should present their doctrine, much less be admitted to defend it, in regard there would be no end of contentions; that it was the office of the fathers, which was observed until then, and ought to be continued, to examine their doctrine, taken out of their books, and condemn that which deserved it. If the Protestants had any difficulty, and did propose it humbly, and show themselves willing to receive instruction, it should be given by advice of the council. Therefore, he refused absolutely to assemble the fathers, and to receive their doctrine, and said, he could not change this opinion, though it should cost him his life. As for altering the safe-conduct, he said it was an exorbitant indignity to the council, that they should mistrust that which was granted; and that to treat thereof was an unsupportable injury, and deserved that all the faithful should spend their lives in opposing it.”^y

Madrucci, however, softened the harshness of this reply; and the emperor’s ambassador made another attempt to procure them a hearing, but in vain. Under these circumstances, knowing that the legate’s refusal contradicted the promise made by the emperor, that all should have a hearing, he made various excuses for delay, and avoided giving a direct answer.

^x Sarpi, p. 335.

^y Ibid. p. 338.

About the same time, John Sleidan arrived as ambassador from Strasburg, and deputies also came from five other cities. William de Poitiers, the emperor's third ambassador, was intrusted with the presentation of the doctrine ; but he, unwilling to fall into the same difficulty as his colleague, persuaded them to wait a few days, until he should hear from the emperor. Charles, wishing to provide against the disgrace of a broken promise, and expecting the ambassadors of the elector of Saxony, ordered the rest to be entertained until their arrival, promising that they should then receive a fair hearing.

Some hope was entertained that the determinate resistance of the Protestants would be softened by the mediation of Maximilian, king of Bohemia, who chanced to pass near Trent, on his way to Germany, with his newly-married wife, the daughter of Charles V. He entered the city between Crescenzo and Madrucci, accompanied by a splendid cortege, and was received in the most distinguished manner. He stayed but three days at Trent ; but the ambassadors of the emperor succeeded in persuading those from Wittemberg and Saxony, to give an account of their embassy in a general congregation, to be held on the 24th of January, 1552.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Congregations on the Sacrament of Orders.

Meanwhile, the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of orders^z were receiving the attention of the congregations. The following propositions, extracted, according to custom, from the writings of the reformers, were submitted to the attention of the prelates.^a

^z I use the plural "orders," because most intelligible to Protestant readers ; but the technical word in Roman Catholic theology is "order."

^a Nevertheless, the pope was far from feeling really interested in the council under existing circumstances.

In a letter of the 29th of December, 1551, Vargas mentions the earnest desire of the pope for the suspension of the council. For this he alleges the following reasons :—Although dreading that, if the council be suspended, they may be obliged to consent to such a reform as is really necessary, or, by giving over the pretence that it belongs to the pope to reduce Germany and reform the Church—by which they will justify princes in applying proper remedies to their own kingdoms—still,

1. That the mass is not a sacrifice or oblation for sins, but merely a commemoration of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross ; and that it is called a sacrifice by the fathers in a metaphorical sense,^b but is not really and properly such, but is only a witness and promise of the remission of sins.

2. That the mass was not [derived] from the Gospel, nor instituted by Christ, but was invented by men ; and that it is not a good or meritorious work, but that rather therein is committed a manifest and manifold idolatry.

3. That blasphemy is brought upon the most holy sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the cross, if any one believe that the Son of God is again offered unto God the Father by the priests in the mass ; and that, [to say] that Christ is mystically immolated and offered up for us, is nothing else than that he is given unto us to eat. And that Christ in those words, "Do this in remembrance of me," did not enjoin that the apostles should offer his body and blood in the sacrifice of the mass.

4. That as the canon of the mass abounds in errors and deceits, it should be withdrawn, and ought to be shunned even as the vilest abomination.

5. That the mass availeth neither the living nor the dead as a sacrifice, and that it is impious to apply it for sins, for satisfactions, and other necessities.

6. As no one communicates or is absolved in the place of another, so neither can the priest offer sacrifice for another in the mass.

7. That private masses, in which, to wit, the priest only doth communicate, and not others, did not exist before Gregory the Great ; and that they are unlawful and ought

by suspending the council, the pope may hope to gratify the king of France so far as to obtain, at all events, an advantageous peace, while the king will bear the blame of the suspension. Again, by suspending the council, they will hinder the Protestants from coming to it. Besides, the king of France may die, if they can gain delay ; and lastly, danger is to be feared should any accident again render the papal chair vacant.

Vargas himself is heartily opposed to the proposed suspension, and, as much "because it is desired by the pope and his ministers, which," in his opinion, "if there were nothing else, is reason enough for his majesty's being against it." On the 1st Jan. 1552, the electors of Mentz and Treves talked of departing from Trent.

^b Translatio nomine.

to be withdrawn ; and that they are at variance with the institution of Christ, and rather represent excommunication, than the communion which was instituted by Christ.

8. That wine is not the matter of this sacrifice ; and that it is contrary to the institution of Christ to mix water with wine in the cup.

9. That the rite of the Roman Church, whereby the words of consecration are uttered in a secret and low tone of voice, is to be condemned ; and that the mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, which all can understand ; and that it is an imposition to attribute certain masses to certain saints.

10. That, in the celebration of masses, all ceremonies, vestments, and outward signs, are rather incitements to impiety, than offices of piety ; and as the mass of Christ was most simple, so, the nearer and more like a mass be unto that mass which was first of all, so much the more Christian it is.

Of the sacrament of order.

1. That order is not a sacrament, but a certain rite of choosing and constituting ministers of the word and the sacraments ; and that [to call] order a sacrament, is a human invention, devised by men unskilled in matters of the Church.

2. That order is not one sacrament, and that the lowest and middling orders tend, like steps, to the order of the priesthood.

3. That there is no ecclesiastical hierarchy ; but that all Christians alike are priests, and that to the use or execution [of their office,] there is need of the calling of the magistrate, and the consent of the people ; and that he, who is once a priest, can again become a layman.

4. That there is not in the New Testament a visible and outward priesthood, nor any spiritual power, whether to consecrate the body and blood of our Lord, or to offer it up, or to absolve from sins before God ; but only the office and ministry of preaching the Gospel ; and that they who do not preach, cannot be priests.

5. That unction is not required in the delivering down of orders ; but that it is pernicious, and to be despised, and in like manner are all other ceremonies ; and that by ordination

the Holy Ghost is not conferred, and that bishops do impertinently say, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," when they ordain.

6. That bishops were not instituted of divine right, nor are superior to priests; and that they have not the right of ordaining; or, if they have, that it is common to priests with them; and that ordinations made by them without the consent of the people, are null.^c

Although there is reason to believe that a set of canons were drawn up relative to both these subjects, they did not transpire until the reign of Pius IV., when some modifications were introduced.^d

CHAPTER XL.

The Protestant Ambassadors heard in Congregation.

On the 7th of January, 1552, Wolf Coler and Leonard Badehorn, ambassadors from Maurice, elector of Saxony, arrived at Trent, to the great joy of the electors and the German prelates. Their object was the same as that of the other ambassadors, namely, to obtain a safe-conduct, and liberty to declare their doctrines in the public assemblies of the council, excluding all right of the pope to preside at the council. Little seemed likely to result from their visit, as they even declined visiting the presidents of the council, fearing that such an act might be construed into a recognition of the papal authority.

On the 24th of January, 1552, it was resolved, after much dissension and ill-will, that the ambassadors should be allowed to declare their protestation before a general congregation. But before they were admitted, a protestation, to the following effect, was read:—"That the holy synod, not to hinder the progress of the council, by the disputes which would arise, when it should be duly examined, what sort of persons should appear in the synod, and what sort of mandates and writings be presented, and in what places men should sit, doth declare, that if any be admitted for himself, or as a deputy, which ought not to be received by the dispo-

^c I have followed Le Plat, v. iv. p. 334, sqq. Cf. Sarpi, ed. Courayer, iv. §§ 30 and 34, with the notes.

^d Sarpi, p. 340.

sitions of the law, or use of the councils, or sit not in his right place; or if mandates, instruments, protestations, or other writings, which do, or may offend the honour, authority, or power of the council, be presented, it shall be understood, that the present or future general councils shall not be prejudiced; it being the synod's meaning to restore peace and concord unto the Church by any means, so that they be lawful and convenient."^e

The ambassadors from Wittemberg, as having arrived first, were admitted in the morning; and having placed their form of confession^f in the hands of Massarelli, required, that in the controversies respecting religion impartial judges should be chosen; since it was impossible for the pope and his adherents to be judges in their own cause.

The ambassadors of Maurice were introduced in the evening, and urged much the same demands, but at a greater length. They alleged, first, that the constitutions of the Council of Constance^g maintained, that towards heretics and those sus-

^e Brent's Sarpi, p. 345, sq. Cf. Le Plat, v. iv. p. 417, sq.

^f The Wittemberg confession will be found in Le Plat, p. 421, sqq. The complaints respecting the safe-conduct, &c. p. 460, sqq. I must observe, that Sarpi reverses the order in which the two embassies were received, in which mistake he is followed by Mendham, p. 160.

^g The decree of the Council of Constance to this effect will be found in vol. xxvii. p. 799, of the collection published at Venice, in fol., 1784. "*Præsens sancta synodus et quovis salvoconductu per imperatorem, reges, et alios seculi principes, hæreticos, vel de hæresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic a suis erroribus revocare, quocunque vinculo se adstrinxerint, concessio, nullum fidei Catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari, vel impedimentum præstari posse, seu debere, declarat, quominus, dicto salvoconducto non obstante, liceat judici competenti et ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eos debite procedere, eosdemque punire, quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint, etiam si de salvoconductu confisi, ad locum venerint judicii, alias non venturi: nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatu.*" Compare the extract from another MS. justifying the execution of John Huss, *ibid.* p. 791. In vol. xxix. p. 27, will be found the safe-conduct granted to the Bohemians by the Council of Basle. The following passage is important:—"Salvum conductum concedimus atque damus ac in loco vel in locis hospitiorum suorum divina officia sine impedimento nostrorum peragere permittimus; sic etiam, ut propter illorum præsentiam neque in itinere, neque in alio [qr. aliquo?] itineris, in eundo, manendo, aut redeundo, neque in ipsa civitate Basileensi, a divinis officiis cessetur quovis modo per modum interdicti." It goes on to grant that, when in the council,

pected of heresy no public faith, and no safe-conduct, ought to be observed, whether given by an emperor, by kings, or by other parties, and under what pledge soever; and that persons, who, relying on such a safe-conduct, may have ventured to come, they are not free from the power of the ecclesiastical law. Unless this were repealed, as in the case of the synod of Basle, they would not be able to send their prelates to the council.^h

I may briefly advert to a fact that Pallavicino mentions; namely, that the fathers assembled objected to the safe-conduct granted to the Bohemians by the Council of Basle, because that council had then separated itself from the pontiff, and had become schismatical. This is important, as showing how wholly dependent the so-called general council really was upon the verdict of the Roman pontiff.ⁱ

“*Articulos quatuor, pro quorum claritate instant, ore tenus aut in scriptis libere poterunt offerre, aut propalari, et si opus fuerit, etiam ad objecta concilii generalis respondere, aut cum aliquo vel aliquibus de concilio super eisdem disputare, aut caritative absque omni impedimento conferre, opprobrio, convicio, aut contumelia procul motis*” Again, should any shameful offences be committed, whether on the journey or when at Basle, “*Volumus etiam, ac admittimus, et concedimus, ut talis vel tales in facinore hujusmodi deprehensi vel deprehensus, ab ipsis duntaxat et non ab aliis, condigna animadversione cum emenda sufficienti, per partem nostram merito approbanda et laudanda, mox puniatur aut puniantur, illorum assecurationis forma, conditionibus et modis omnino manentibus illibatis.*” It concludes with observing: “*Insuper promittentes sine fraude et quolibet dolo, quod nolumus, neque debemus, occulte vel manifeste, quacumque occasione prætensa, uti aliqua auctoritate, vel potentia, jure, statuto, vel privilegio legum vel canonum, et quorumcumque conciliorum, specialiter Constantiensis et Senensis quacumque forma verborum expressa, in aliquod præjudicium salvoconductui, seu assecurationi, ac publicæ audientiæ, ipsis per nos concessæ vel concessæ.*”

^h Pallavicino has endeavoured to gloss over this reference to previous councils, but with indifferent success.

The following remarks of Dr. Geddes are very descriptive of the general submissiveness of this council:—“An assembly so fettered by the popes under whom it sat, that from first to last nothing that looked like liberty or authority ever appeared in it, the pope that first called it having strictly charged his legates, who were its presidents, not to suffer any point of his authority to be disputed therein, nor to publish any decree in a session before they had sent a copy thereof to him, and to a congregation he had erected at Rome, on purpose to direct what was fit to be done at Trent, whose resolutions being despatched to the presidents, were punctually observed by them. These presidents, besides

The second demand was, that the decision respecting the matters now before the council should be postponed until the arrival of the Protestant divines, who could not come until the safe-conduct was granted in the terms already stated.

Thirdly, that such decrees as had already been passed at Trent, which were contrary to the tenor of the Augsburg Confession, should again be made subject of discussion, especially those respecting justification. They at the same time complained of the paucity of the assembly which had taken upon itself to decide matters so important, denying that their resolutions could be regarded as those of a general council.

Fourthly, they required that the decrees of the Councils of Basle and Constance, declaring the pope inferior and subject to a general council, should be enforced ; that the bishops should be absolved from their oaths to the pontiff, and that the council should be enabled to act independently of the papal authority.

The effect of this protest might easily be conjectured. But it cannot be dissembled, that the Protestant party, who had set the Council of Constance at nought when it took upon itself to condemn Luther, was now somewhat inconsistent in appealing to its decrees for their own protection.^k

Both embassies were promised an answer in due time. Upon their departure, it was determined that the canons respecting the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of order should be put off for the present. It was at the same time enjoined, that preparations should be made for considering the sacrament of matrimony. Furthermore, a safe-conduct was drawn out, differing considerably from the previous one,^l and worded nearly in the terms of the Synod of Basle.

their having assumed a new authority of *proposing* all that was to be offered to the council, and their having by a band of pensioners secured the major vote to themselves, if any prelate had the honesty and courage to oppose any of the papal designs, they did brow-beat and silence him in the roughest manner ; and in case the synod should on any occasion prove refractory, they had a bull always ready in their pocket, empowering them to translate or prorogue it, as they did twice upon frivolous pretences" (p. 64, sq.).

^k Pallav. xii. 15, 13.

^l P. 113, sqq. of my edition.

The following day, January 25th, the fifteenth session was held, mass being celebrated by Niccolo Maria Caraccioli, bishop of Catanea, and the sermon preached by Giambattista Campeggio, bishop of Majorca. Nothing, however, was done, except the promulgation of two decrees, one proroguing the council till the 19th of March, 1552, the other granting the safe-conduct. It will be observed, that the safe-conduct now granted did not go to the extent of giving license to the Protestants to follow their own form of worship, which had been permitted them by the Synod of Basle.

CHAPTER XLI.

New Difficulties. Defeat of the Emperor. Suspension of the Council.

We are now approaching a fresh narrative of Tridentine difficulties. While the history of the period which intervened between the last session and the resumption of the council under Pope Pius IV., is fraught with events of the most varied and engrossing interest, we must still content ourselves with a brief sketch of the state of the papal and imperial relations, which led to a *dénoûment*, in many respects such as few could have expected.

Even in its present modified state, the safe-conduct was scarcely satisfactory^m to the Protestants, although deputies from Wittemberg and Strasburg came to Trent with the view of entering upon the questions proposed for discussion. Thirty-three articles on the subject of matrimony had been laid before the prelates for their consideration; but the emperor was induced by the Protestants to interfere, and procure the suspension of the disputations until the arrival of the Protestant theologians. The pope, although the suspension had actually taken place without waiting for his consent, refused to sanction any such proceeding, and ordered business to go on as usual.ⁿ

^m Sarpi, p. 350.

ⁿ "In a MS. collection of letters of various pontiffs which I have consulted, occurs one of Julius III. to Crescenzio, in which, speaking of the proposals of the Spanish prelates, he says, 'that however well suited they might be for Spain, they would create confusion in the rest of Christianity.' His holiness proceeds to declare, that he does not wish to decline reformation, nor, with his predecessor, postpone it by proposing that the secular princes should reform themselves at the same

About the end of February, the Saxon ambassadors received orders to continue their negotiations with the council; and the elector of Saxony informed the assembly that he would shortly bring matters to a satisfactory issue, by a conference with the emperor. But the intelligence that the Protestants had leagued themselves with the king of France speedily dissipated any such expectations. The electors of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne left Trent, and on the first of April, the elector of Saxony laid siege to Augsburg, which surrendered on the third day. The whole Tyrol was speedily in arms, and the emperor and the pope were taken completely by surprise. "War broke out by land and sea, and on every frontier where met the territories of the emperor and of the king of France. When the Protestants at last allied themselves to the French, they cast into the scale a weight very different from that of the Italians. The most determined attack Charles had ever sustained ensued, and the veteran conqueror, after taking up his position on the mountain-land between Italy and Germany, to keep them both in obedience, saw himself perilled, vanquished, and almost a prisoner."^o

But before the emperor's flight from Inspruck,^p the rumours of the war had given so much alarm, that the prelates were rapidly leaving Trent. Moreover, the legate Del Monte was seriously ill, and, finding him unfit to proceed with public business, the nuncios sent to Rome, and received a bull in which permission was given to suspend the council.

The first of May had been appointed for the next session; but so great was the alarm at Trent, that it was held two days sooner,—on the 28th of April.^q A decree, suspending

time; but, adds he, 'We desire to begin from ourselves without delay, and that every abuse may be removed, but without taking away the power which we have immediately received from God.' The letter is dated January 16, 1552. This is the pontiff's *own testimony* concerning himself."—Mendham, p. 162, *note*.

^o Ranke, p. 71.

^p "Before he departed from Inspruck, he set John Frederick, duke of Saxony, at liberty, to take the glory of his delivery from Maurice, which pleased that prince very much, whom it concerned more to be favoured by an enemy his superior than by an enemy his equal, and emulous."—Sarpi, p. 355.

^q They, however, chiefly on account of the opposition of the Spanish

the council conditionally for two years, and exhorting all Christian princes and prelates to observe and enforce everything hitherto enacted and decreed in the council, was carried, with some opposition.^r But the sudden flight of the emperor soon determined their course, and they followed the example of the rest. Even the legate, who was in the last stage of ill health, caused himself to be conveyed by the Adige to Verona, where he expired three days after his arrival. "His arbitrary and irritable disposition, upon which the perplexities and vexations of such an assembly as that of Trent would operate with frightful effect, were doubtless the immediate cause of his premature disorder."^s

The latter part of the decree, in which obedience to the decrees of the council was recommended, gave great dissatisfaction, the nuncios being blamed for taking upon themselves what belonged to the authority of the Apostolic See : another satisfactory proof of the dependent character of this council.

The emperor was reduced to great difficulties by the unforeseen issue of the war, and the pope looked upon it as a visitation from God.^t Nevertheless, there is little doubt that, in some respects, the papal interests were benefited by the suspension of a council, which had become a source of no small uneasiness. "Since the appearance of the German delegates, to whom promises of reformation had been made, the proceedings took a bolder course. Already, in 1522, the pope complained that attempts were made to despoil him of his authority ; that the intention of the Spanish bishops was on the one hand servilely to submit to the chapters, on the other to withdraw from the Holy See the patronage of all benefices : he would not, however, suffer that, under the title of abuses, he should be robbed of that which was not an abuse, but an essential attribute. It could not, therefore, have been wholly displeasing to him, that the attack of the

prelates, had avoided promulgating the document when they first received it. But the pontiff sent fresh instructions for the suspension of the council.

^r A form of protest against the suspension will be found in *Le Plat*, v. iv. p. 545, sq., signed by twelve prelates.

^s *Mendham*, p. 164.

^t "Never could we have believed that God would so visit us."—*Ep. al Crescentio*, 13th April, 1552, in *Ranke*, *l. c. note*.

Protestants broke up the council: he hastened to decree its suspension. He was thereby rid of innumerable pretensions and disputes."^u

Meanwhile, the unmeaning compromise published under the title of the *Interim* died a natural death, and the Confession of Augsburg was restored to its former authority. Although the peace of Passau, in August, 1552, put an end to the war between the French king and the emperor, it did nothing to accelerate the resumption of the council.

CHAPTER XLII.

Concluding Events in the Life of Julius III.

Whatever may have been the professions made by Julius III. in favour of reforms—professions, the real value of which the reader perhaps by this time can fairly estimate—the latter end of his reign presented a lamentable falling off from anything like conscientious exertion on their behalf. Sarpi quaintly remarks, that "the reformation was handled in the beginning with great heat; afterwards it went on, for the space of many months, very coldly; and, at the last, was

^u Ranke, p. 72. The following note of Mendham is important and interesting:—"It should not be omitted, that at this time it was meditated by Cranmer, our primate and reformer, to convoke a synod in England, for the purpose of counteracting the antichristian proceedings at Trent. This is directly asserted in a letter of Cranmer to Bullinger, first printed from Mr. Solomon Hess's copy of the manuscript at Zurich by Mr. Jenkyns, in his very valuable *Remains of Cranmer*, i. 344, dated Lambeth, March 20, 1552. His words are, after telling Bullinger that it needed not be suggested to him to advise his majesty not to send an ambassador to Trent, which he never thought of, 'sed potius consilium dandum esse duxi, ut quemadmodum adversarii nostri nunc Tridenti habent sua concilia, ad errores confirmandos; ita ejus pietas auxilium suum præbere dignaretur, ut in Anglia, aut alibi, doctissimorum et optimorum virorum synodus convocaretur, in qua de puritate ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ et præcipue de consensu controversiæ sacramentariæ tractaretur.' He had written to Melancthon and Calvin to this purpose; and, indeed, there is extant, in Calvin's collected works, a letter of the same date, in which the archbishop repeats the suggestion. Calvin excuses himself from lending his personal assistance, although he wishes every success to the project. The project, however, in the extent contemplated, was abandoned, and for the future confined to national efforts."—Supplement to "Memoirs," p. 25, sq.

buried in silence. And the suspension of the council, instead of two years, did continue ten ; verifying the maxim of the philosophers, that the causes ceasing, the effects do cease also. The causes of the council were, first, the great instances of Germany, and the hope, conceived by the world, that it would cure all the diseases of Christendom.^x But the effects that were seen under Paul III. did extinguish the hope, and show to Germany that it was impossible to have such a council as they desired." Furthermore, as the same historian observes, Charles's interests had been enlisted rather in his own favour than in favour of the Church. He had made the pretext of religion a medium for temporal aggrandizement, but had never made the smallest sacrifice of his own power or advantage in favour of the Roman see. Too powerful an enemy to be acknowledged hostile, it had been the policy of the Roman court to keep on terms with Charles, often at the expense of papal honour, always with a feeling of mortification, for which his doubtful support ill compensated. The contrasts presented in the conclusion of the lives of Pope Julius III. and of the Emperor Charles V., is a curious study, upon which the psychologist and the historian may dwell with equally engrossed attention.

Although circumstances tempt me to do so, I will not re-iterate the sad history of that most English of women, Lady Jane Gray, nor will I awaken the remembrance of her unhappy successor, Queen Mary. King Edward had recently died, and events, too painful to tempt me to dwell upon them,

^x Compare the following remarks of Calvin:—"When the Church was found to abound in corruptions, when severe contentions had sprung up respecting the doctrines of religion, a council was long and earnestly prayed for by many, who hoped that thereby there would be an end put to all existing evils. But their judgment was unsound in this respect, seeing that, in the present state of things, even those of moderate foresight will perceive that no alleviation of evils can be hoped for from those who have the power both of assembling and holding the council. But because no better means presented themselves, many good men, who wished well to the Church, hoped that some advantage would result therefrom. Thus what was at first desired by many, at last was demanded by the common voice of Christendom."—Calvini Antidoton, p. 32, ed. 1548. This work was severely attacked in "*Joannis Calvini in Acta Synodi Tridentini Censura et ejusdem brevis Confutatio, circa duas præsertim calumnias*," per Joann. Cochläum, M.D.XLVIII.

had placed Mary on the throne. Over her sad and profitless reign I gladly draw the veil which should screen those objects which are too revolting to be even useful as examples.

Suffice it only to say, that the as yet unsettled state of religion in England gave way before the influence of a system which had a Bonner for its advocate; and that the now trivial and debauched mind of Julius III. found a pleasing consolation, in our backslidings, for the manly and determined resistance with which Germany had met his efforts against the Reformation.

But the political life of this pope was at an end. He had been a pope and a politician from circumstances, and his natural readiness had adapted the man of pleasure to the easy treatment of duties and responsibilities, for the fitting execution of which he lacked both moral integrity and firmness. His character presents favourable and disagreeable points almost simultaneously. The lively *bonhomie* of his domestic life, his free and easy wit, and sparkling conversation, are too much defiled with coarse buffoonery^y and flippancy, to charm the most enthusiastic lover of Italian *naïveté*. The exquisite taste which planned and adorned the villa at the entrance of the Porta del Popolo,^z is only forgotten in the consciousness that it was a refuge from the bitter vexations of a disappointed and doubtfully-spent life. Too much fondness for the pleasures of the table contributed to accelerate the conclusion of his declining years, and he died of fever, on the 23rd of March, 1555, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

^y Bayle's article on Pope Julius III. will supply ample and authentic details, more witty and amusing than creditable to papal morality. The following is a brief, somewhat favourable, but generally just, estimate of his character, setting aside his intrigues respecting the council: "Fuit Julius procero corpore, proluxa barba, acribus oculis, grandiore naso, subagresti vultu; animo tamen benigno et integro, mirificus justitiæ et æquitatis cultor, moribus suavis, ad iram facilis, sed, ea effervescente, mitissimus. Erat præterea doctus sermone, scientia eruditus, aditu non difficilis, ad liberalitatem propensus, ac tandem publicæ pacis et domesticæ quietis studiosissimus."—Ciacc. Vitæ Pontif. t. iii. p. 746.

^z See Ranke, p. 72.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Pope Marcellus II.

The Protestant party had meanwhile retained their ascendancy; the rupture between the two great Catholic powers was becoming wider and more dangerous; and the prospects of the Romish church were at once doubtful and unprosperous. A different order of men was wanted to sustain the degraded chair of St. Peter in its ancient grandeur. The laxity of previous pontiffs had made the court of Rome a by-word for everything that ought to have been least associated with the mention of religion; and the council, which had been looked to as a panacea for every mischief of the times, had already dragged out a lengthy existence, tedious even to those most immediately concerned in its interests, and fraught with little decided benefit to the world at large.

Marcello Cervini, the faithful colleague and second legate of the previous pope, assumed the honours and anxieties of the papacy on the 11th of April, 1555. From some private reasons, he preferred retaining his own name, to following the usual custom of the pontiffs, and taking another.

Great hopes were entertained from the election of a man, whose "whole life had been earnest and irreproachable, and who, in his own person, had exhibited that reformation of the Church, of which others but talked. 'I had prayed,' says a contemporary, 'that there might come a pope, who should know how to redeem the fair words,—church, council, and reform, from the contempt into which they had fallen: through this election, I deemed my hope fulfilled; my wish appeared to have become a fact.' 'The opinion,' says another, 'entertained of this pope's worth and incomparable wisdom, filled the world with hope: now, if ever, it was thought, will it be possible for the Church to extinguish heresy, to reform abuses and corruption of manners, to become whole and sound again, and once more united.' Marcellus began entirely in this spirit. He did not suffer his relations to come to Rome: he made a multitude of retrenchments in the expenditure of the court: he is said to have drawn up a catalogue of the principal reforms requisite in the ecclesiastical institutions: he immediately endeavoured to restore its

genuine solemnity to divine worship : all his thoughts turned on a council on reform."^a

The moderate, yet firm disposition of this pontiff, would doubtless have worked an important change in the existing state of the Church ; but life was denied him. Various plans of reformation, tempered, however, with counter-measures for the safety of the papal authority, were agitated during his brief pontificate ; but a fit of apoplexy terminated his life, after a reign of twenty-two days.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Macaulay's Remarks on the Change of the Papal Character. Pope Paul IV.

The characters of the lives of the pontiffs, almost up to the present time, had been, with but few exceptions, a scandal to the Christian name. Even the more respectable members of the court of Rome have been well described by the greatest essayist of the day, as utterly unfit to be ministers of religion. "They were," says Macaulay, "men who, with the Latinity of the Augustan age, had acquired its atheistical and scoffing spirit. They regarded those Christian mysteries, of which they were stewards, just as the augur Cicero and the high pontiff Cæsar regarded the Sibylline books and the pecking of the sacred chickens. Among themselves, they spoke of the incarnation, the eucharist, and the Trinity, in the same tone in which Cotta and Velleius talked of the oracle of Delphi in the voice of Faunus in the mountains. Their years glided by in a soft dream of sensual and intellectual voluptuousness. Choice cookery, delicious wines, lovely women, hounds, falcons, horses, newly-discovered manuscripts of the classics, sonnets and burlesque romances in the sweetest Tuscan, just as licentious as a fine sense of the graceful would permit ; plate from the hand of Benvenuto, designs for palaces by Michael Angelo, frescoes by Raphael, busts, mosaics, and gems just dug up from among the ruins of ancient temples and villas ; these things were the delight and even the serious business of their lives. Letters and the fine arts undoubtedly owe much to their not inelegant sloth.

^a Ranke, p. 72, sq.

"But," continues this elegant historian, "when the great stirring of the mind of Europe began, when doctrine after doctrine were assailed, when nation after nation withdrew from communion with the successors of St. Peter, it was felt that the Church could not be safely confided to chiefs whose highest praise was that they were good judges of Latin compositions, of paintings, and of statues; whose severest studies had a pagan character, and who were suspected of laughing in secret at the sacraments which they administered, and of believing no more of the Gospel than of the *Morgante Maggiore*.

"Men of a different class now rose to the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, men whose spirit resembled that of Dunstan and of Becket. The Roman pontiffs exhibited in their own persons all the austerity of the early anchorites of Syria."^b

It is in the life of Paul IV. that the truth of these remarks begins to be exemplified; but our limits preclude our entering into any details of his career, except such as in any way relate to the council. The masterly biography of Ranke prevents my having any regret in being unable to attempt what he has already done so well.

Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV., was elected on the 23rd of May, 1555, very much against the will of the emperor.^c Moreover, the rigid austerity of his manners was sufficient to alarm many of those upon whom the consequences of reform would operate most actively.

In the bull published at the commencement of his pontificate, this disposition was manifested very clearly. "We promise and vow," says the pope, "to make it in truth our care, that the reform of the Universal Church, and the Roman court, shall be set on foot." Even the day of his coronation was marked by a movement in favour of reformation. Two monks were sent from Mount Cassino into Spain, to restore the decayed discipline of the convents. A congregation of cardinals, prelates, and theologians, was appointed to discuss questions relating to the collation to benefices; and there seemed now a probability that the dormant idleness of

^b Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes, p. 23, sq. in Longman's Traveller's Library.

^c Sarpi, p. 366.

the court of Rome would be roused into something like a conscientious activity.

The diet held at Augsburg, meanwhile, came to an agreement on the 25th of September, to the following effect : that, in the absence of a general national council to settle the points at issue connected with religion, the emperor Charles, Ferdinand, and the Catholic princes and states, should not force those of the Augsburg Confession to forsake the religion and ceremonies they at present followed, or should hereafter follow, and should not show any contempt thereunto ; provided the other party observed a similar conduct towards the Catholics. Furthermore, if any ecclesiastic should abandon the old religion, he was only to be punished by the loss of benefices held under its authority ; but the benefices already annexed by Protestants to schools and ministries of their own establishments, were to remain in the same state.

The free and liberal tenor of this recess gave great offence to the new pontiff, and he bitterly reprehended Ferdinand for daring to approve of a religious treaty without the consent of the Apostolic See, and threatened to make the emperor repent the offence he had offered, and exhorted them to revoke it, by revoking and annulling the privileges granted, lest he should be compelled to proceed, not only against the Lutherans, but also against the princes who had thus abetted them. He even volunteered the assistance of his authority and arms. In vain the ambassadors alleged the strength of the Protestants, the failure of the emperor at Inspruck, and the oaths which had "been plighted." For the oaths, he answered, that he freed and absolved them, yea, commanded not to observe them. To the rest, he said, that in God's cause, we must not proceed according to human respects. That the emperor was in danger, by God's permission, because he did not what he could and ought to do to reduce Germany to the obedience of the apostolical see : that this is but a token of God's anger, and that he must expect greater punishment, if he take not warning by it ; but carrying himself as a soldier of Christ undauntedly, and without worldly respects, he shall obtain all manner of victory, as the examples of the times past do demonstrate.^d

^d Sarpi, p. 370.

If any pope ever knew how to assert the papal rights to temporal power, it was Paul IV. To deliver the popedom from the Spanish yoke became the dearest object of his life ; and the increasing misfortunes of the emperor seemed to present the most tempting opportunity for achieving it. The house of Caraffa had long been a faithful adherent of the French party ; and the emperor, who had long known and suspected Paul as a cardinal, was now involved in perpetual disputes with him in his more dangerous dignity. Such cardinals and other vassals of the pope as were inclined to the emperor's cause, were imprisoned, or forced to take flight, and lose their possessions. He entered openly into the alliance with the French king, observing that "the emperor only thought to put an end to him by a kind of mental fever ; but he would come to an open conflict ; and with the help of the king of France, he would seek to free poor Italy from the tyranny of the Spaniards : he hoped yet to see two French sovereigns in Milan and Naples."^e

Briefly to sum up his proceedings—all ideas of reformation were abandoned in favour of the emancipation of the popedom ; the ascetic priest was lost in the warrior ; and, while the emperor, in his last days, was seeking the humble consolations of religious retirement, the aged pope was casting aside his long-nurtured piety, and planning the destruction of the enemies, who had dared to dispute his authority. He raised to the rank of cardinal his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had led the dissolute life of a soldier, and of whom even Paul IV. had said, "that his arm was dyed in gore to the elbow."^f The hypocrisy, however, of Carlo, and still further, his detestation of the emperor, who had treated him with ingratitude, served to silence all doubts ; and the pontiff's previous dislike to nepotism was soon lost in his anxiety to gain creatures, whose recklessness of principle, while it rendered them dangerous enemies, made them unscrupulous agents in the cause of the Roman see. When his other nephews contrived to forget their adherence to the emperor, they fared equally well. Wealth, titles, and honours, were rained upon their heads with a profusion, that seemed to justify any ambition, how aspiring soever might be its pretensions.

^e Ranke, p. 74.

^f Ibid. p. 75.

I must pass over the details of the war which broke out between the pope and the duke of Alva, and the course of battles, skirmishes, riot, and bloodshed, into which this "vicar of God" succeeded in involving Rome. Suffice it to say, that a peace, bought by the total failure of all his prospects, was the sole result; although the zeal of the Spaniards for Catholicism rendered them superstitious enemies, and submissive conquerors.^g

Nor can I enter into the sad story, too common in Italian history, how those, for whom the aged pope had sacrificed justice and honour, turned against him; and, by the baseness of their lives, forced him to cast from him those nephews whom he had raised to affluence and glory. He was not the first pope, whose last years were embittered by the evil deeds of those, whose prosperity he had purchased by his own sin; for whose worldly ends he had staked his own soul.

Foiled in his struggles to vindicate the power of the papacy by war, Paul IV. now betook himself to the work of reformation, civil and political.

"He introduced a stricter discipline into the churches; he forbade all begging, even the collections of the clergy for masses. He removed all offensive pictures. A medal was struck representing him under the type of Christ clearing the temple. He banished from his city and territories the fugitive monks. He compelled the court regularly to observe the fasts, and to solemnize Easter by receiving the Lord's Supper. Nay, the cardinals were obliged to preach occasionally. The pope himself set the example. He endeavoured to suppress many profitable abuses. He would hear no more of marriage dispensations or their produce. A host of places, that had hitherto been sold, including those of the *chiericati di camera*, he determined should be disposed of according to merit. He insisted still more strongly on

^g "Peace was concluded by the Spaniards in the same spirit as they had carried on the war. They gave him back all the castles and cities belonging to the Church; and they even promised the Caraffas a compensation for Palliano, which they had lost. Alva went to Rome, and kissed with profound reverence the foot of him he had vanquished, of the sworn foe of his nation and his king. He has been known to say, that he never feared the face of man as he did the pope's."—Ranke, p. 77.

the worth and clerical habits of those on whom ecclesiastical offices were bestowed. He no longer tolerated the compacts so long and so generally in vogue, in consequence of which one man performed the duties of an office, and another enjoyed the best part of its revenues. He also entertained the design of restoring to the bishops many of the rights of which they had been despoiled, and highly disapproved of the rapacity with which everything had been absorbed into Rome.

"His reforms were not merely negative, they were not confined to undoing. He sought to surround public worship with a greater pomp. The decoration of the Sixtine chapel, and the representation of the holy sepulchre, are to be ascribed to him. There is an ideal of the modern Catholic worship full of dignity, devotion, and splendour, and this conception it was that floated before his mind too.

"It was his boast that he let no day pass without promulgating some order towards the restoration of the Church to its original purity. In many of his decrees we trace the outlines of those ordinances, to which the Council of Trent shortly afterwards gave its sanction."^h

But although there is no doubt that a practical reform was working in many directions, and with considerable spirit, it was not such a reform as would be likely to compose the dissensions with which Christendom was rent, still less to conciliate the Protestant party. He received with furious rage the news that the duke of Bavaria had permitted the use of the cup to the laity; and he gave an impatient and haughty refusal to the requests made by the Polish ambassadors for the like permission, for the marriage of priests, and for the celebration of mass in the vernacular tongue. The Spaniards, who had shown an obvious desire to conciliate the reformed party, he execrated as schismatics, heretics, and infidels, and could only console himself with the text, "Thou shalt walk upon serpents, thou shalt tread upon lions and dragons."ⁱ For popularity he cared little, and the softer virtues of mercy and forbearance found no place in his stern and hardened breast.

For the council he had little care. Although he had once thought of convoking such an assembly in the Lateran

^h Ranke, p. 79.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 74.

church, his proud opinion of papal infallibility stood in the way of any such design, and the *ipse dixit* of a bull was more congenial to his hatred of all control. The proposal for a council he once resisted with great indignation, saying that "he had no need of a council, himself being above all." When it was further alleged "that a council was necessary, not to add authority to the pope, but to find a means for execution, which cannot be uniform in all places, he concluded, that, if a council were necessary, it should be held in Rome, and that it were not needful to go elsewhere; that he had never consented that the council should be held in Trent, as was known to all, because it was in the midst of the Lutherans; that the council should consist of bishops only, and that none but Catholics should be admitted, even for consultation."^k Such were the notions of a man, who, while we must pay a tribute of admiration to his inflexible firmness, excites our deepest horror by his bigoted cruelty, and his blasphemous presumption. Had not many a strong antagonistic force presented itself, Paul IV. might have ruled the world.

The Inquisition was his darling toy. He would oftentimes let pass the days appointed for a consistory, but never omitted the Thursday on which the inquisitors assembled in his presence. He increased the rigours of its proceedings, and his name stands blackened with memory of the foul tortures, that an aged sinner gave the iniquitous privilege to inflict. No respect for rank, ability, or private virtue could stand against the orthodox *mania*; even cardinals, whom he had employed in the criticism of religious treatises, were thrown into prison upon the suspicion of unsound doctrine; and the saintly inquisitor Dominic was held up to the admiration of the bigoted, and the everlasting contempt of the thinking part of mankind, by an annual festival in his honour.

At last, after a career of conscientious cruelty, Pope Paul IV. breathed his last, on the 18th of August, 1559, commending his soul to the prayers, and the Inquisition to the care, of his cardinals. Christian mercy bids us hope that the former might be more successful than the latter has

^k Sarpi, p. 374.

proved. Grievous and grovelling must the persecutor appear before the face of Him, who pronounced that "the merciful are blessed." But, in their earthly lives, as Ranke well observes, "these men of decided and passionate temperament are happier than weaker natures, in that their prejudices dazzle them, but at the same time steel them, and make them intrinsically invincible."¹

To "kick the dead lion" is one of the most common and most despicable acts of the mob. During his lifetime the people of Italy had crouched beneath the glance of the haughty pontiff; now he was dead, the remembrance of the war in which he had embroiled Rome, and of a thousand acts of sternness and severity, sprang up in fearful distinctness. Some destroyed his monuments, others pillaged and destroyed the buildings of the Inquisition. The statue that had been erected in honour of the pontiff, was torn down from its pedestal, broken to pieces, and the head with the triple crown dragged by the infuriate populace through the dust and confusion of the streets of Rome.^m

Great were the losses which Catholicism had sustained. Scandinavia and Britain had revolted; Germany was almost entirely in favour of the reformed creed; Poland and Hungary were in a state of confusion and disaffection; Geneva was the rallying-point of the Latin nations and the West, exactly as Wittemberg was the central station for the German nations and the East. Even in France and the Netherlands, Protestantism had her stanch converts and supporters.

"But one last hope," as Ranke observes, "remained to the Catholic faith. In Spain and Italy the symptoms of dissent had been quelled, and a strict spirit of ecclesiastical restoration had arisen. However disadvantageous was the secular policy of Paul IV. in other respects, he had yet achieved the supremacy of that spirit in the court and the palace. The

¹ Ranke, p. 79. "Sentendosi vicino al morire, chiamò a se i cardinali, e con voce di moribondo, ma con facondia più che di moribondo, gli confortò alla concordia, ed a non avere nella elezione del nuovo pontefici altro rispetto, che quello del servizio di Dio. Nè a ciò contento, raccomandò loro in quell'estremo punto la sua prediletta inquisizione, la quale egli stimava potissimo propugnacolo contro le eresie."—Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, v. ii. p. 404, from Pallav. xiv. 9, 4.

^m See Mocenigo in Ranke, p. 80, *note*; and Ciaccon. Vitt. Pontt. v. iii. p. 813.

question was, whether it would continue to maintain itself there, or whether it would once more be enabled to pervade and unite the Catholic world."

CHAPTER XLV.

Election of Pope Pius IV.

Persecution was raging in France, and the vilest means were employed in furthering the views of the odious tribunals of the Inquisition. In England, the death of wretched Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, had wrought a change, with the benefits of which we are, happily, too well acquainted, to need further information in the present volume. I therefore proceed at once to the election of Pope Pius IV., who may fairly be regarded as the successful finisher of the Council of Trent, a work which, had he begun, might have been, in many respects, more satisfactory and fraught with less error. Appearing, as he did, as the defender and finisher of a foregone scheme, he had disadvantages to contend with, previous errors to maintain, which nipped the fairer work of reformation, and utterly destroyed all hope of conciliation with those who had cast off their allegiance to Rome.

After an unusually long interval, and after various intrigues and dissensions, Giovanni Angelo, cardinal de Medici, was chosen pope, and took the name of Pius IV. He was of humble origin; but his father Bernardino was a man of excellent character and unwearied perseverance, and had accumulated a small fortune by government contracts. His elder son, Giangiacomo, took to the military profession, succeeded in possessing himself of the castle of Mus, on the Lake of Como, and, after a long career of unscrupulous violence and marauding warfare, established himself as an independent prince, and subsequently commanded the imperial army in the successful siege of Sienna. His brother's success had been simultaneous with his own, but was of a totally different character. Having acquired considerable fame as a professor of civil law, he had succeeded in gaining the confidence of Paul III., and on the marriage of his brother with an Orsina, sister to the wife of Pietro Luigi, he was created cardinal. His whole early career had been marked by a praiseworthy struggle against difficulties; and although his

circumstances were at first so straitened, that Pasqua, his physician, accommodated him with the use of a servant, and furnished him with various necessities," his perseverance never flagged, and he gradually became the confidential associate of the heads of the Church, and, eventually, supreme pontiff.

The stern and unflinching disposition of the previous pontiff was ill suited to the open and good-humoured character of the cardinal de Medici, and, on one occasion, his dislike had manifested itself so visibly, that the latter thought it safest to withdraw from Rome. Living a life divided alternately between the delights of literature and the most liberal charity towards the poor, he resided sometimes at the baths of Pisa, sometimes at those of Milan.

The admirable biographer of papal Rome has so well summed up the features, which formed so marked a contrast between the characters of Paul IV. and Pius IV., that I make no apology for transferring his words to my own pages :—

“ Paul IV. was a Neapolitan of high birth, of the anti-Austrian faction, a zealot, a monk, and an inquisitor. Pius IV. a Milanese parvenu, closely connected through his brother and some German relations with the house of Austria, a jurist, of a jovial and worldly disposition. Paul IV. had stood aloof and inaccessible ; in his least actions he aimed at displaying dignity and majesty ; Pius was all goodness and condescension. He was daily seen on foot or on horseback in the streets, almost without attendants ; he talked affably with everybody. The Venetian despatches make us fully acquainted with him. The ambassadors come upon him as he writes or transacts business in a cool hall : he rises and walks up and down with them ; or they meet him as he is proposing to visit the Belvedere : he seats himself without laying down his stick, hears what they have to say without further ceremony, and then sets off on his excursion in their company. Whilst he treats them in this familiar way, he looks too for courteous address and deference on their parts. The clever sallies with which the Venetians sometimes accost him, delight him, and elicit his smile and plaudits. Staunch partisan of Austria as he is, he is disgusted at the unbending

ⁿ Soranzo, in Ranke, p. 82, *note*.

and imperious manners of the Spanish ambassador Vargas. He dislikes to be encumbered with details, which soon fatigue him ; but those who confine themselves with him to general important matters, always find him good-humoured and easy to deal with. On such occasions he pours out a thousand cordial protestations, how heartily he hates the bad, how by nature he loves justice, and desires to molest no man's freedom, but to evince good feeling and friendliness to every one : but especially his thoughts are bent on labouring with all his might for the Church, and hopes to God he will be able to effect something for its good. We may easily picture him to ourselves ; a hale burly old man, still active enough to reach his country house before sunrise, with a cheerful face and lively eye ; fond of conversation, good cheer, and merriment. Recovered from an illness that had been deemed alarming, he throws himself on his horse, rides off to the dwelling he had occupied when a cardinal, runs nimbly up and down the stairs, and cries, ' No ! no ! we are not going to die yet.'"^o

As might be expected from his general character, Pius IV. had little sympathy with the Inquisition. He disliked the monkish harshness of its proceedings, and seldom attended its meetings : but, on the other hand, he was either too fearful of interfering with any engine calculated to support the papal authority, or too indolent to involve himself in theological disputes. In this respect he was passively a bigot ; and the Inquisition lost none of the disgraceful and dangerous influence which it had acquired under the fostering care of his predecessor.

But, with all his faults, it cannot be denied that to Pius IV. belongs the merit of having been the most practical pope that ever sat on the papal throne. His temperate and easy disposition was admirably calculated to meet the difficulties with which the extreme principles of his predecessor had surrounded the Vatican ; and his consequent popularity was likely to have its full weight in bringing to terms many, whom the uncompromising sternness of Paul IV. could only irritate and render still more disaffected.

Before, however, he bestowed any attention upon the

^o Ranke, p. 82.

council, which had so long lain dormant, he resolved upon punishing the nephews of his predecessor. A process was instituted against them, in which scarcely a single human crime did not find its place; while a more immediate charge was found in their perpetual deceptions practised upon the late pontiff, of whose age they had taken every possible advantage. Vain were their protestations of innocence; sentence of death was pronounced by Pius upon the cardinal, the duke of Palliano, and the counts Cioffe and Leonardo di Cardino, and thus perished these ungrateful favourites of nepotism.^p

Having thus punished the delinquents,^q Pius IV. now determined to apply himself to the business of the council. Among the many features of contrast presented by the dispositions of this pontiff and his predecessor, by no means the smallest, is the unquestionable desire of Pius to see the council brought to a satisfactory issue. That many delays and disappointments still retarded it, will be seen as we proceed; but the general justice of the following remarks of Ranke will, I think, remain unquestioned.

"It is certain that Pius IV. could not, without the greatest difficulty, have resisted the call for a council. He could no longer make war a pretext for refusal, as his predecessors had done, for at last all Europe was at peace. The measure was even of urgent necessity, on his own account, since the French were threatening to assemble a national council, which might very possibly have led to a schism. But in truth, I find that, apart from all this, he was very well inclined that way. Let us hear himself. 'We desire the council,' he says, 'we desire it assuredly, and we desire

^p Before his death, the duke of Palliano sent the following religious and touching letter to his little son, Diomede, at Naples:—

"Desidero, che voi un animo grande in questo successo della mia morte far dobbiate, e che non ni governiate da putto, ma da uomo savio, e non guardiate a quello, che la carne vi detta, o la tenerezza di vostro padre, ovvero le altre ciance del mondo; gli vassali, amategli, onorateli, e accarezzategli, nè gli toccate mai nell' onor delle donne, e siate casto e continente, quanto potete, chè è una gran virtù, e cosa grata a Dio. Ma il tempo manca, e me ne vo alla morte."—Botta, ii. p. 411.

^q The quaintness of Botta is amusing:—"Pio IV. provveduto alla propria famiglia, e castigato quella dell' antecessore, applicava l' animo ai negozi, che dabbano stare principalmente a cuore di un pontefice Romano."—P. 412.

it general. Were it not so, we might throw obstacles in the way, and dally with the expectations of the world for years : but we are, on the contrary, much more disposed to remove all hindrances. What needs reform shall be reformed, even in our own person and in our own affairs. If we have any other thought than to do God service, may God chastise us accordingly.' It often appeared to him that he did not meet with sufficient assistance from the several sovereigns towards so great a design. One morning, the Venetian ambassador found him in bed, crippled with the gout, and immersed in thought. ' Our purpose is good,' he exclaimed, ' but we are alone.' ' I was seized with pity,' says the ambassador, ' to see him as he lay in bed, and to hear him say, " We are alone to bear so heavy a burthen." ' Meanwhile, however, he set the work in progress. On the 18th of January, 1562, there were so many bishops and delegates assembled in Trent, that it was possible to resume, for the third time, the twice-interrupted council. The pope had mainly contributed to this. ' Assuredly,' says Girolamo Soranzo, who does not take his part on other occasions, ' his holiness has shown in this matter all the zeal that was to be expected of so great a chief shepherd ; he has neglected nothing that could conduce towards so holy and so necessary a work.' "

But the expectations to be realized by a council were now of a different character. In the words of the same author :—

" The state of the world was entirely altered since the first assembling of this council. The pope had no longer reason to fear that a powerful emperor would avail himself of it to become master of the popedom. Ferdinand I. had no power whatever in Italy ; nor was any serious diversity of opinion on essential dogmas now to be apprehended. These, in the form in which they had been confirmed, though not fully developed, had already become predominant throughout a great part of the Catholic world. A reunion of the Protestants with the Church was no longer seriously to be thought of. They had assumed in Germany a powerful and henceforth unassailable position : in the north their ecclesiastical notions had been incorporated with the state policy, and the same thing was just now taking place in England. When the pope declared that the new council

was but a continuation of the former, and finally silenced the voices raised against this declaration, he virtually abandoned all hope of the kind. How could the free Protestants acquiesce in a council by whose earlier resolutions the most important articles of their faith had been already condemned? In this way the influence of the council was limited beforehand to the exceedingly contracted circle of the Catholic nations. Its purpose could, on the whole, extend only to settling the disputes between the latter and the supreme ecclesiastical authority; to the establishment of dogmas on some points as yet undetermined; and, above all, to the completion of the internal reform already begun, and the issuing of rules of discipline which should be of universal authority."^r

CHAPTER XLVI.

Bull for the Continuation of the Council.

Having sent various despatches to the different courts of Europe, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, Pius IV. having obtained the approbation of the cardinals and chief princes as to the council being continued at Trent, in a consistory held on the 15th of November, 1560, ordered a jubilee to be proclaimed throughout Christendom, and intrusted three cardinals with the task of drawing up a bull of convocation. On the 29th, the bull was published,^s in

^r Ranke, p. 84.

^s It will be found p. 119, sqq. of my translation. Against this bull, and the other proceedings respecting the reassembling of the council, Vergerius, now a convert, wrote a tract under the following title:—"Concilium non modo Tridentinum, sed omne papisticum perpetuo fugiendum esse omnibus piis. Authore Vergerio, anno M.D.LIII." with the following motto:—

MUSCULUS.

In Concilio Tridentino	{	Causa dijudicanda quæ? — <i>Controversia inter Papistas et Lutheranos.</i>
		Judices qui? — <i>Papa cum suis conjuratis Episcopis et Prælati, seductionis a Lutheranis annos supra 30 accusati.</i>
		Accusatores qui? — <i>Iidem qui et judices.</i>
		Rei qui? — <i>Lutherani, Papatus accusatores.</i>
		Dannabuntur qui? — <i>Nec judices nec accusatores Lutheranorum, sed Lutherani, accusatores Papistarum.</i>

LECTORI.

Concilium quo turba erit Romana Tridenti
Vitendum credas omnibus esse piis.

Non

which the following Easter was fixed upon as the day for the resumption of the council, and on the 30th a breve to the same effect was sent to the prelates and bishops of France.^t

This document had been prepared with great care, and great pains had been taken to avoid expressions calculated to give offence. But although no express mention was made of the "continuation" of the council, it was evident that no interference would be attempted with the decrees previously passed, and that little could therefore be hoped for calculated to conciliate the Protestants. Before, however, the bull could reach France, Francis II. died, and was succeeded by Charles IX., then only eleven years old.^u By the advice of his parliament, the young king ordered all the prelates of the kingdom to get ready to set out for Trent.^x

The activity of the pontiff was unsparing in its efforts for

Non est Catholicum, nec Christi mente coactum,
Factio contracta est nomine, papa, tuo.
Quæquam sit pia, quam sit sancta et libera et æqua,
Haud opus est monitis, res enim ipsa docet.

Among other important documents, calculated to show the danger of Protestants visiting the council, Vergerius brings forward the decree of the Council of Constance, Sess. 19 :—"Quod non obstantibus salvis-conductibus imperatoris, regum, etc., possit per judicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri :—"An index of the heretics whose works had been proscribed, the oaths taken by bishops in council," &c.

"In 1556, the same writer puts forth, anonymously, a work of a good deal of force and pungency, under the title, 'Actiones duæ Secretarii Pontificii: quarum altera disputat: An Papa Paulus IV. debeat cogitare de instaurando Concilio Tridentino (magna enim est spes de pace): altera vero, an vi et armis possit deinde imperare Protestantibus ipsius concilii decreta.' Under his fictitious character the author impresses the hopelessness of the renewal of the council for the end in view, and has ably stated the artful and ensnaring variation of the safe-conduct offered to the Protestants from that which they required at Basle. And the hopes from force, in the second action, he proves to be very unfounded."—Mendham, p. 168, *note*. They will be found in Goldasti, *Politica Imperialia*, p. 1232, sqq. together with several other useful documents connected with the history of the time. See also a letter of Vergerius's, "Al magnifico Signor Nicolo Guizzardo, del Decreto fatto in Trento d' intorno alla comunione." The preface bears date 1562.

^t Pallav. xiv. 17.

^u The appointment of the king of Navarre as guardian to the new king was highly favourable to the cause of the new religion.—Sarpi, p. 355.

^x Mendham, p. 168.

restoring the council to the footing, which alone could render it an efficient barrier against the fast-spreading growth of popular feeling. Gianfrancesco, Commendone, and Delfino were despatched as nuncios, to invite the German princes to appear either in person, or by proxy, and to volunteer a safe-conduct of the most liberal terms that could possibly be granted. But the princes assembled at the diet of Naumberg, although engaged in various dissensions respecting the Augsburg Confession, were stern and resolute in their determination to insist on the word of God as the only test by which the council should be controlled, and in requiring the liberty of free discussion for their own prelates.^y Commendone next intended to go to the king of Denmark; but met with a most ungracious answer from Frederick, who alleged "that neither himself nor his father had ever had anything to do with the pope, and that he had no desire to receive his embassy."^z While he continued his visits to the electors of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Cleves, the archbishop of Cologne, and other prelates and princes, the abbot Martinenghi had been previously sent to the queen of England, but he met with a most discouraging lesson from Elizabeth.

Nevertheless, although the success by no means equalled what might have been expected, the activity of the pontiff was going far to produce a reaction highly unfavourable to Protestants. Writers of the Protestant school are too apt to undervalue the efforts of Pius IV., and to exult too much in the security which the reformed tenets had now obtained. Granting that a large number, even in France, had openly and without qualification denied the papal right to preside at the council, there were still a larger number who would have been satisfied with smaller concessions. Human nature has a certain dread of change under peculiar circumstances, which is oftentimes the safest guardian of existing abuses. Prejudices, handed down from father to son, will outweigh, or at least deaden the force of, conviction; and thus it

^y The particulars of the Naumberg Diet, which are far too long for my limits, will be found in Sarpi, v. 63, sqq. ed. Courayer; Pallav. xv. 2.

^z Sarpi, p. 358 (Latin ed.). "Che ne il padre suo Christiano, ne egli haveva havuto à trattar cosa alcuna col Pont. et pero non si curava di ricever da lui ambasciata" (ed. Lond.) 1619.

is found that, while a few eager and enthusiastic spirits are ever striving to arouse humanity to a consciousness of its wrongs, and sometimes seeking to arouse its worst passions in its own defence, the safe and steady sluggishness, which forms the grand element of conservatism, checks the worldly vehicle in its onward course, and makes it shrink from the very reform for which it would lately have sacrificed life itself.

Again, the strongest unity in a common cause creates dissensions on minor matters in proportion as the question of greater ones is excluded. Romanism has had, and has, its schisms, more or less avowed, but seldom compromising its fundamental principle, the papacy. With Protestantism it was far different at the time in question. Relieved from a mighty weight of traditional observance, the princes of the reformed states were unanimous in their dissent from Rome, but they differed as to the extent of that dissent. Rome might still hope to recall many a wavering disciple, to purchase back many a doubtful alien; while Protestants felt more certain as to where they disagreed with Rome, than where they agreed with one another. But if we consider the manifold varieties of dissent in the present day, it will seem little strange that the German diets should have been insufficient to appease those doubts and fears, which many must have felt in parting from what had hitherto been their mother church, and casting themselves upon the chances of a religious war maintained against dishonest and prejudiced enemies, and with uncertain partisans. Even divines began to be shaken in their convictions; and Delfino, who had been actively engaged in Upper Germany, entertained some hopes of bringing back to the church reformers of no less importance than Sturmius, Zanchius, and Vergerius.^a

CHAPTER XLVII.

Proceedings previous to the Seventeenth Session.

I am forced, for the sake of brevity, to pass over the many interesting negotiations between the court of Rome and almost the whole of Christendom previous to the resumption

^a Pallav. xv. 10. This conduct on the part of Vergerius scarcely seems to tally with the publication of the tracts above mentioned, although it is certainly corroborated by the epistles to Borromeo, quoted by Pallav. p. 223.

of the council, and to hasten back to the direct thread of the internal history of the synod itself.

Ranke's opinions as to the change of character assumed by the latter proceedings of this council have been already stated at length; and it will be seen, that the measures passed at the latter sessions were rather calculated to complete the yet imperfect scheme of Roman Catholic dogmatism, than to relax aught in favour of Protestantism. Had Pius IV. begun the council, there is reason to believe that its results would have been more extended both in their aims and their influence. But as matters really stood, he appeared late in the field, the supporter of defined abuses, and the champion of a mistaken theory, which had rent Christendom asunder. Perhaps the consciousness how insufficient its decrees would be for the reconciliation of the Protestants contributed to increase the desire of the pontiff to bring the council to a termination, especially as, until its views were fully declared upon all points, it would be scarcely possible to use stronger measures for the suppression of the reformed party—till Rome had told her whole story, she could hardly appear sword in hand, as the punisher of those who dared doubt her assertions.

On the 14th of February, 1561, Gescole Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and Cardinal Puteo^b were appointed legates to the council; and on the 10th of March, Seripando, Simonetta, and Stanislaus Hosius were associated with them as assistants. They were empowered to preside, direct, and manage, in the name and on behalf of the pontiff, and were also authorized to grant indulgences to all who should accompany them on their entry into Trent, and offer up prayers for the success of the council.

On the 17th of March the legatine cross was given to Seripando, and he, accompanied by Gonzaga, set out for Trent, and arrived there on the 16th of April. Despite, however, the exertions of the pontiff to rally the scattered forces of the council,^c only nine prelates had as yet assembled.

^b He seems to have been taken ill, and his place supplied by Seripando. Cf. Mendham, p. 170, *note*. But the authority of all five was equal.

^c Compare the following passage of Paleotto:—

“Pontifex nihil omnino prætermittens sibi in animum inducit, ut concilium hoc ejus autoritate celebrandum, magnos et præclaros,

Even the Italian prelates had hung back, either through a wish to obtain the emperor's consent before taking any proceedings, or, as Sarpi thinks, because they doubted the sincerity of the pope's conduct, and believed that he had only chosen the council as the least of the evils at present impending.^d In a short time, however, other bishops began to arrive from Venice and the other Italian states, from Portugal, England, and other places. Hosius reached Trent privately on the 20th of August, and Simonetta at the beginning of December. This great canonist, who had arrived at the rank of cardinal after serving every office in the Roman court, was accompanied by Marco Sitico Altemps, the pope's nephew. Although, when he started, the pontiff had enjoined every possible despatch in bringing the council to an end, he thought fit to retract his orders, and to desire the legate to await further directions. Meanwhile, the number of prelates had increased to ninety-two.

I must briefly remind the reader of two events which occurred about this time; viz. the colloquy of Poissy,^e and the victory gained by the Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont. While I regret my narrow limits, which prevent anything like description or comment, I can but observe that the state of France was daily becoming more troublesome to the pontiff. The desire for national councils was fast sapping the feelings of those, who had once looked upon

quantum in eo erit, progressus faciat. Imprimis, quamplures nuncios, eosdemque præstantes vario ex ordine viros in diversas provincias ac regna distribuit, qui synodum hanc in civitate Tridentina cogendam denuncient. Diplomata in Lusitaniam, Hispaniam, Galliam, Angliam, Germaniam superiorem et inferiorem, Helvetios, Boemiam, Ungheriam, Poloniam, Prussiam et Moscoviam, Dalmatiam, Illiricum, Armeniam, Græciam, per hos mittit; nullumque Europæ aliarumve regionum angulum jubet præteriri, ubi Christiani nominis vestigium aliquod supersit, cui non hæc œcumenica synodus celebranda significetur. Inde legatos quinque cardinales de Latere delegit qui huic concilio nomine Sanctitatis suæ, sint præfuturi; Jacobum tituli S. Mariæ in via puteum Herculem, S. Mariæ novæ Mantuanum, Hyeronimum Sanctæ Susannæ Seripandum, Stanislaum Hosium S. Laurentii in Panisperna Warmiens., Ludovicum S. Ciriaci in Thermus Simonettam, viros præclaros, ac suo quemque vitæ genere atque officio maxime insignes." —*Paleotti Acta*, pp. 15, 16, ed. Mendham.

^d Sarpi, p. 376.

^e This will be found at great length in Sarpi, p. 376, sqq. Other authorities are mentioned by Mendham, p. 169, sqq.

a general synod as the grand remedy for the troubles of Christendom, and the equipoise of the leading factions of Europe, whether political or religious, almost defied the calculations even of so subtle a diplomatist as Pius IV. But he fortunately was a lover of peace, and the quiet and temperate deportment which he adopted in all his transactions, if it failed to conciliate, at least gave little excuse for personal ill-feeling. "It was his conviction, and he declared it openly, that the power of the pope could not subsist without the authority of sovereigns."^f

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Seventeenth Session.

The condition of affairs in France was little favourable to the views of the pope; and, while a large number of the Italian bishops were assembled at Trent, France was still unrepresented, and Poland dissatisfied at the pontiff's refusal to allow votes by proxy.^g A friendly letter, however, from Philip, king of Spain, in which he denounced the conduct of the French, and avowed his determination to aid the pontiff in carrying out his views to the utmost, reassured the feelings of the court of Rome, and the pope determined to allow of no further delay.

The prelates had been engaged in drawing up a list of books to be condemned as heretical, and the legates at first felt inclined to proceed with the prohibition of such writings. Upon second thoughts, however, they saw that such a measure would be impolitic, if not dangerous, as it would be to close with their own hands the doors of the council against the authors.^h With equal good sense, and with a moderation which their predecessors might have advantageously displayed, the legates recommended the pontiff to leave the choice of subjects of discussion to the prelates assembled, feeling persuaded that they would take up the proceedings at the point where they had been left off by the late council, and that such a liberty would remove the supposition that the council was under the almost immediate sway of the pontiff.

^f Ranke, p. 84.

^g Sarpi, p. 376, sq.

^h Waterworth, p. cliii.

It is easy to perceive that this concession, although in reality of little meaning or importance, was at least popular in appearance.

After some childish wrangling about precedence, curiously inconsistent with the conduct of a Christian assembly, a more violent dispute arose respecting the wording of the papal bull. Guerrero, archbishop of Granada,ⁱ and most of the Spanish prelates, objected to the ambiguous phrase "celebration of the council," and demanded that it should be declared to be a "continuation." Philip of Spain had already introduced some of the Tridentine regulations into active working, and to call the council a new one would seem to nullify his own measures. The rest of the prelates held that such a measure would totally prevent the Germans, English, and other doubtful nations from sending their representatives, as they had hitherto looked upon the council as not free; "and if the absentees who might be induced to attend in future were considered as bound by proceedings in which they had no part, inconveniences would result, which could only be obviated by making the council about to be convened, really as well as nominally, a new one."^k

It was answered, that the pope's bull was worded under the certain supposition that they would begin with the measures left undetermined in the reign of Julius III., but that an express declaration to that effect had been avoided as being likely to give unnecessary offence to the Protestants, and defeat the very object proposed. This reply satisfied the Spaniards, but not until they had obtained a promise that the words of the decree about to be promulgated should be free from anything like an express declaration of the indication of a new council.

This war of words having been decided, and both parties having satisfied each other with a quibble,^l a general congregation was held on the 15th of January. As a large number of prelates had now assembled, they held the sit-

ⁱ Paleotto, p. 22.

^k Mendham, p. 174.

^l Cf. the words of the Decree: "That the sacred, œcumenical, and general Council of Trent . . . be, all manner of *suspension* removed, *celebrated* from this day." While the word "*suspension*" presupposes previous sittings, the word "*celebrated*" rather gives the idea of a *new* assembly.

ting in the temple of Santa Maria Maggiore. The seats were arranged in the form of a theatre, to hold about two hundred and fifty persons, with a space left capable of receiving a larger company if required. When the legates appeared, they were preceded by a silver cross, which was placed in the centre, so as to be visible to all. They sat in front, in a place elevated, and richly carpeted and decorated, the cardinal of Mantua in the middle, the other legates on either side, as well as Madrucci. At their right hand, but on less-elevated seats, the ecclesiastical ambassadors were placed, the lay ones on the left. The prelates took their places according to the priority of their presentation—a measure which the frequent bickerings on the subject of precedence had rendered necessary.^m

After the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and a solemn prayer had been pronounced by the cardinal of Mantua, the congregation commenced. To continue in the words of Paleotto—"The plan pursued was to begin generally with matters of faith, and, as had hitherto been the practice, go through the seven sacraments. Certain articles or problems were proposed to the minor theologians, eminent for professional acquirements. Their labours were examined by select fathers, and reduced to the form of a canon or decree, which was submitted to the more mature counsel of a general congregation. Decrees concerning manners or morals were not put into the hands of the theologians, but the legates took them in a great measure into their own, availing themselves of a consultation with certain ambassadors or prelates, to be finally inspected by themselves, with the tacit understanding, that the graver points should first reach the ears of their most holy lord, who would signify by letter what was best to be done ; and the decrees of reformation would be constructed accordingly ; which decrees they submitted to the deliberation of the synod, without any mention of the opinion of the pontiff ; and they were received, or rejected, or modified by the fathers, as they saw fit. In all this," proceeds our author, apologetically, "there was nothing which detracted from the liberty of the fathers, since the subject

^m Paleott. p. 24, sq. His whole account is most valuable and interesting.

underwent various progressive examinations, and was elaborated and polished by such operations, so as to become fit for the adoption of the session ; before which, they did not obtain conciliar force."ⁿ

The chief feature to be noticed in the proceedings of the congregation of the next day, was the dispute respecting the power of the legates. The bishops of Granada, Orenge, Leon, and Almeria, protested against the clause in the decree, "those matters be treated of therein, which, *the legates and presidents proposing*, shall appear fitting and proper." Although the legates had exercised and abused this prerogative throughout the council, so totally subservient had been the character of its proceedings, that few would have ventured to question the right of the legates to do anything. Even a Crescenzo had been tolerated. On the present occasion, it was alleged that the phrase was new ; that it had been never used in any previous council, and was calculated to restrain the liberty of proposing any subject for discussion. Although the prelates had in reality never enjoyed this liberty, they did not like an express denial ; and they lamented the shadow of what they had never possessed in substance.

The bishop of Telesio, as secretary of the council, endeavoured to explain away the phrase, as not being intended to restrain the free discussion of matters relating to the increase of the Catholic faith, and added, that before the decree was read publicly, it was privately shown to the archbishop and others, and that it was now too late to alter it. Guerrero was still dissatisfied, and with reason. In the copy sent to him, the objectionable clause had been omitted, and he had failed to perceive it when it was publicly read in the congregation. The dishonesty of the transaction is too obvious to need any comment.

At an early hour in the morning, the cardinals and prelates assembled at the church of St. Peter, and having put on their pontifical robes, proceeded in great state to the cathedral of St. Vigilius. This ceremony was observed, with the view of giving greater solemnity to the reopening of the council, but on subsequent occasions they went direct to the cathedral. Having taken their seats according to prescribed order, and

ⁿ Mendham, p. 175, sq.

celebrated the customary services with great magnificence, the bishop of Telesio read the bull for the celebration of the council, dated November 29th, 1560. The officiating prelate, the archbishop of Reggio, then received the decrees from the legates kneeling, and then read them from a pulpit, adding : " Most illustrious and reverend lords, and most noble fathers, do these things please you ?"^o

The cardinals having replied in the affirmative, the secretary and notaries proceeded to record the votes of the fathers, as given either orally or in writing, as well as to state the votes of those who were absent through illness, but had been present at the preparation of the decrees. All agreed to the decrees except the four Spanish bishops above mentioned. Those of Granada and Orenze protested against the " proposing " clause ; whilst the bishops of Leon and Almeria agreed to them, provided the legates duly propose such things as the council shall judge worthy to be proposed.

The first legate then declared the decree to be approved of by all, save only by some who would desire some alteration.

The second decree, appointing the 26th of February for the next session, being unanimously passed, was declared " to be approved without any dissent ; for which we render thanks to God."^p

The promoter of the council then denounced the contumacy of the absent prelates ; and requested the protonotaries and notaries then present to draw up a record of the transactions of the session. After this the " Te Deum " was sung, and the assembly broke up with the customary benediction.

Great was the accession gained by the legates in thus obtaining the formal recognition of a right which they had all along exercised, and vain must be any attempt to represent it as a trifling matter. Pius IV. had clenched an advantage which he well knew how to employ ; popery had made one firm step towards retaining the ground it had assumed, and the Council of Trent had lost the formal possession of a liberty which it had never substantially possessed.^q

^o Cf. Decrees and Canons, *l. c.*

^p Paleotto, p. 36.

^q Pallav. xv. 16.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Preliminaries to the Eighteenth Session. The Index Expurgatorius.

Soon after the conclusion of the last session, a general congregation was held, at which the cardinal of Mantua congratulated the assembled prelates on the result of what had already been done, and proposed to proceed gradually to greater things. He then called upon the secretary to read a breve sent by the pope to the following effect : that, as a matter most important to purity of faith, the books written by various authors, since the rise of the recent heresies, should be examined, as also the censures of such books written by Catholics, and that the determination of the synod should be published concerning them ; that, in order to judge rightly of them, all concerned in such books should be invited to the synod, lest they should allege that they were condemned unheard, and that a most ample safe-conduct, and every promise of kindness, should be held out as a means of drawing the Protestants back to the Church.^r

A more interesting question than the liberty of the press^s could hardly be proposed for discussion ; and when we consider the wonderful weight which the printed books of the early reformers carried with them, and how instrumental their writings were to the grand secession from Romanism, we may almost wonder that some restrictions were not made at a much earlier period. But a great step had already been taken in fettering the reader to the Latin Vulgate, and in restricting the writing and publishing of commentaries on Scripture. That measure was a conservative one, and designed for the retention of Romanists within the pale of the Church ; the present one was aggressive, and had reference to the Reformists only.

On the 30th of January, a general congregation was held, in which, after an elegant oration delivered by the first legate, the papal breve was read, and a long discussion

^r Paleotto, p. 38. Mendham has omitted this last particular.

^s See a long dissertation on the gradual prohibition of the reading of certain books, in Sarpi, vi. 5 (ed. Courayer), and Mendham's Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, pp. 39-52, where he has given a most excellent account of the "Index" of Paul IV.

ensued, of which we must content ourselves with a brief abstract.^t

The patriarch of Jerusalem recommended that a new index of works to be prohibited should be undertaken, and his opinion was followed by the coadjutor bishop of Aquileia, who advised that the index of Paul IV. should be revised, corrected, and augmented ; and who wished that those who had written light and voluptuous compositions in their early youth, should not be treated on the same level as those who had filled their pages with impious heresies. The bishop of Braga advised that the work should be intrusted to the universities. The bishop of Ariano thought that, difficult as the work seemed, there was no reason to despair of the probability of successfully accomplishing it, and recommended that those who had drawn up the index above mentioned should be consulted on the subject ; that the pope should be informed of their proceedings, and his assistance solicited ; moreover, he thought that a public safe-conduct ought to be given to the Protestants, but that the term "heretic" should be avoided at present as much as possible, and kind and conciliatory terms adopted.

The bishop of Badajoz thought that the synod itself would perform the work more easily, and proposed that the index should contain five classes of books : 1. Those of heretics, to be burned ; 2. Anonymous publications to be allowed, if of a harmless character ; 3. Of those in which errors are intermingled, to be expurgated ; 4. Of vernacular versions of the Gospel and the common prayers, which, if executed faithfully (*i. e.* according to Catholic views), were to be permitted, if not, interdicted ; 5. Of books on lots, divination, and magic, which were to be condemned.

After a few rather unmeaning harangues from the bishops of Modena, Campagna, and Cremona, in which moderation towards heretics is more than usually conspicuous, the general of the Augustinians delivered a speech, which is interesting, from the historical information conveyed by him, that he was one of the persons concerned in drawing up the index of Paul IV. He states that the books written by

^t Paleotto, who is henceforth our best authority, remarks that the discussion was so lengthy that it was impossible to report all the speeches.

heretics were brought out of the Vatican library, and dispersed among the various religious orders, by whom they were accurately examined; that the similar indexes of other countries were also consulted, and their own drawn up after the comparison. Hence he thought that the labours of the present synod would be considerably lightened, while the confessed deficiency of the preceding index would be amended and supplied.

It would be endless to state the various opinions and modifications of opinion to which this discussion gave rise; but the taste for preserving abuse was vehemently advocated by the bishop of Paphos, who, "with the authority of age, admonished the fathers to take care how they proceeded in an affair of such importance, and weigh the matter well before they superseded and virtually condemned, by their new index, that which had been constructed with so much pains and ability under the preceding pontificate; lest, by their example, they should encourage and justify posterity in treating their authority with as little respect as they had shown towards that of their predecessors."^u

It was also debated whether the authors of the books should be cited to attend, and some wished that even the safe-conduct should be only given to heretics upon condition that they came for the purpose of acknowledging their errors. The Spanish prelates were averse to a general safe-conduct being offered, because they dreaded that it would include those against whom the Inquisition, in their own country, had commenced proceedings.^x Should this take place, they alleged that nothing more dangerous could happen to their king, who had hitherto, by means of that sacred tribunal, kept the whole kingdom in their duty, and in the Catholic faith; that even then there were in the council four persons who had been members of the holy office for several years, and that they affirmed that great danger would accrue to

^u Mendham, p. 183, who adds in a note: "If this good father had read the strictures of P. P. Vergini upon this Index, in the republication of it with annotations by the reputed apostate, he would probably have been, at least he would have had reason to be, more measured in his praise."

^x Our authority is Paleotto, p. 65. The dishonesty of Pallavicino is well shown and censured by Mendham, p. 190.

Catholicism, if this door should be opened, by which any one would be able to evade that most holy tribunal.

The legates were in great difficulty, not only on account of the Inquisition in Spain, but at Rome likewise—the latter having been most earnestly intrusted to their care. Hence much time was spent in attempts to draw up such a document as should give a satisfactory form of security, be compatible with the dignity of the synod, and not detract from the infamous prerogative of the Inquisition.^y

Meanwhile, three ambassadors from the emperor arrived. After some debating as to the form of receiving them, they presented the following articles to the council, on the 13th of February, 1562. In these they alleged that the Protestants were seeking for subterfuges to enable them to shirk attendance at the council, and that it was therefore expedient to avoid the mention of the “continuation” of the council, as that would give them an excuse for their absence. They also recommended that the next session should be prorogued, in order to gain time. But with respect to the index of condemned books, they thought it advisable that the Confession of Augsburg should not be condemned *at first*, as the most dangerous consequences might ensue. They concluded with recommending gentle and conciliatory measures, and advising that the decrees now under discussion should not be allowed to transpire until approved and ratified by the session.

The legates delivered a form of assent to all these articles on the 18th. Mendham well observes: “The wily and instructed authors seize the expression respecting the non-condemnation of the Augsburg Confession *at first*, which they repeat, in order to nail; and in mentioning the safe-conduct, although they do not avoid the expression *most ample*, they artfully exchange that of *such as they desired* with that of *as was formerly sought by and conceded to them*.”^z

The legates had not, however, omitted the question of prohibiting books. With a remarkable complaisance for the papal power, the synod had determined to leave the appoint-

^y Compare Sarpi, p. 386. It seems probable that this question was not raised till one of the following synods; but the position it occupies in Paleotto scarcely justifies me in departing from Father Paul's arrangement. Mendham places it on the 24th.

^z P. 184, from Le Plat, v. 35.

ment of a committee of examiners to the first legate. He accordingly nominated four of the fathers, who elected fourteen more to assist them in the task.^a But before they could even read the books they were to condemn, they were obliged to be furnished by the pope with a license to do so. Such was Tridentine freedom !

CHAPTER L.

Further Congregations. The Eighteenth Session.

On the 17th of February, the decree which had been framed by the select committee was presented to the legates, by whom they were warned not to let it transpire, as the exposure of such a document, in an unfinished state, and as yet destitute of conciliar sanction, might cause inconvenience. So anxious were they on this head, that the secretary was ordered to subjoin this warning, when he read the decree. It was to the following effect :—“ That whereas at this time bad books had increased to a degree which seemed likely to admit no bounds ; and many censures had been published by Catholic writers, especially at Rome, in which the objectionable parts of such books had, like the hurtful tares, been collected and bound in bundles ; but that, whereas their attempts have proved insufficient to remedy the evil, it was now decreed, that a select committee should examine both the books and the censures afore-mentioned, and lay the result before the holy synod ; that assistance in the work of investigation would be thankfully accepted ; and that it was the earnest desire and entreaty of the council that those who had separated from its communion should return.”

Agreeably to an announcement made on the same day, the fathers reassembled on the 20th. The legates, dreading the publicity which would result from the nature of the subject, thought fit to limit the discussion to one day, however late the meeting might be protracted, trusting that the approach of midnight would cut short even the most prosy speakers.

^a The following were the fathers employed : the archbishops of Prague, the patriarch of Venice, the archbishops of Naxos, Ragusa, Sorrente, and Braga ; the bishops of Cava (junior), Modena, Ariano, Sinigagli, Oviedo, Herda, Brescia, Cremona, and Verona ; besides an abbot, and the generals of the orders de Observantia et Augustini.

The experiment succeeded excellently ; many of the lower grade of fathers, foreseeing that they would get no chance of speaking, and who had therefore come indifferently prepared, fell in with the opinions of others ; while another party delivered to the secretary written statements of their opinions ; others contented themselves with the simple form "*placet*."

Following Mendham's example, I shall content myself with an abstract of the three principal speeches reported by Paleotto.

Cardinal Madrucci, while declaring his approbation of the general drawing up of the decree, at the same time freely expressed his objections to some of the expressions used therein, and especially to the phrase *bad* books, for which he recommended *suspected*, as the first epithet had something in it tending to prejudice. He also found fault with the phrase "who hold communion with us," as not being sufficiently precise, and thought that the public faith should be pledged without any conditional limitation respecting a conformity to the decrees of the council.

The archbishop of Granada was more severe in his criticisms, and minutely sifted the wording of the document. He magnified the difficulty of the task, and thought that the council had enough to do already, without taking upon themselves the composition of a fresh index. Nor did he let the old question of the "representing" clause rest. He denied that the words in any way derogated from the authority of the pontiff, and alleged that the objection on the grounds of their omission in other councils, was partly untrue, and partly trivial. He was vehemently opposed by the bishop of Rossano, whose speech gave so much satisfaction, that he was subsequently employed, with the assistance of the auditor of the Rota, to reconstruct or amend the original decree.

As to the remaining speeches, they generally agreed in recommending pacific and temperate measures, and advised that those, who dissented from the Roman communion, should be kindly invited ; and that if they came, showing a detestation of their errors, and a willingness to submit themselves to the council, a full pardon should be offered them. As to the censure of books, the verbal alterations proposed by Madrucci were readily adopted, and it was determined that the invita-

tion of the heretics to the council should precede any measures taken against their writings.

On the morning of February 26th, 1562, the fathers assembled with the customary ceremonies. The patriarch of Jerusalem celebrated mass ; the promoter of the council accused the absent bishops of contumacy, and the proceedings were just commenced, when they were stopped short by an absurd dispute respecting precedence, between the ambassadors of the kings of Portugal and Hungary. At length the malcontents were pacified, and the pontifical breves relative to the index, the customary indulgences, and precedence, were read. The two decrees,^b which had been modified according to the suggestions of Madrucci, were then promulgated. The bishop of Granada again renewed his objection to the omission of the "representing" clause, but the second decree, fixing the next session for the 14th of May, was approved by all, but with considerable qualification ; many wishing that an assurance should be given that the intermediate time would be spent in business calculated to avail the object of the council, and that a clause to that effect should be inserted in the published document.

Mendham, to whose excellent work on the literary policy of the Roman Church I have already referred my readers, acutely points out the tact exhibited by the council in the transactions of this session. "The council," he observes, "as will be seen by the sequel, did nothing in this business ; but overcome, or overawed, by the difficulty, delicacy, and responsibility of the undertaking, cast the whole burden, or bestowed the whole honour, upon the pontiff, whom they authorized to carry their misconceived plan into execution. So far the fathers of the council gave it, when it should come to a birth, their anticipatory sanction and adoption."^c

CHAPTER LI.

Opinions respecting the Decrees. Safe-conduct.

The feeling excited by the publication of these decrees was very various. Some wondered how the synod could invite

^b See p. 123, sq. of my edition.

^c Memoirs, p. 193. His note also contains important and interesting information.

those interested in the transactions of the council, when the subjects to be treated of were unknown. Again, how could any one conjecture what proposals the legates would make in the synod, seeing they themselves knew not, until they had received advice from Rome? Furthermore, how were those most interested in the non-condemnation of a book to know whether any proceedings are being taken against that very book? In fact, the general terms of the citation, and the uncertainty of the cause, might with reason send people to Trent, seeing there was scarcely any one whose interests may not be concerned in its transactions. The general opinion seemed to be, that while the decree avowedly invited the Protestants to the council, its real effect would be to keep them away.^d

At the request of the emperor, the discussion of doctrinal matters had been postponed, and four of the fathers were busily employed in framing the safe-conduct. The task was a delicate and troublesome one. While the interests of the Inquisition and the dignity of the synod had to be supported, care was required lest any unpopular expressions should still further offend the Protestants. Much discussion arose. Thomas Stella, a Dominican, objected to the safe-conduct altogether; alleging that the heretics were crabs, vipers, and foxes,^e of whom it would be well to beware, and whose presence at the council could only do mischief. The archbishop of Granada, on the contrary, while acknowledging the depravity of the heretics, expressed his hope that the council would be to them as a salutary laver, wherein the foxes would wash away their treacheries and the vipers their venoms. He recommended that the safe-conduct should be worded in precisely the same terms as that granted to the Germans in the fifteenth session, with the addition of a clause extending the privilege to other nations.

The archbishop of Prague, one of the imperial ambassadors, was for confining the privilege to a certain number, and that its duration should be understood to extend only to a definite period. This was taken up by a Venetian nobleman, as implying an apprehension that the heretics would come in

^d Sarpi, ii. 165, with Courayer's note.

^e Paleotto, p. 77: "Gli eretici esser, volpi le quali tradiscono, e vipere le quali avvelenano." Pallav. xvi. 1, 2.

herds,^f and possibly cause a disturbance in the council. The archbishop replied, that his words had been misunderstood, and that he only wished the example of the Council of Basle to be followed. The cardinal of Mantua then ordered a copy of the safe-conduct to be furnished to all who desired it, and the meeting broke up.

In a congregation on the 4th of March all subscribed to the form, as identical with what was before prepared, since any variation would excite suspicion.^g An addition, however, was made of the clause extending the safe-conduct to other nations. A doubt being raised as to the identity of the forms, the prelates answered that the first was printed ; an answer which did not perfectly satisfy.

The bishop of Braga feared that the impunity promised might be supposed to include offences both committed and to be committed ; but it was answered, that matters of faith only were meant. The archbishop of Prague said, that he was almost afraid to speak, lest his words should be misconstrued as those of an ambassador. At this, the bishop of Justinopolis was much annoyed, and declared that he had never wished to exclude heretics from coming to the council, but that the safety of the Church required that they should be prevented from disseminating their poisonous influence whilst on their way. The cardinal of Mantua replied, that the safe-conduct was given with a view of enabling the heretics to treat with the council respecting their own affairs, not as a permission for them to preach about the streets. The bishop thought that this ought to be expressed in the decree ; but on being assured somewhat sharply that the synod had no idea of their permission being abused, he withdrew his objection. After some letters^h of the duke of Bavaria, presented by his counsellor, had been answered, the assembly dispersed. The safe-conduct was published at Trent on the 8th of March.

^f "Gregatim." Paleott. p. 78.

^g Mendham, p. 195.

^h They will be found in Paleotto, p. 82, sq.

CHAPTER LII.

Preparation of the Decrees on Reformation. Arrivals at Trent.

The legates now commissioned Seripando, whose enthusiasm in the cause of reformation was well known, to draw up certain heads of reformation, a conduct to which they were urged by the imperial ambassadors. By the assistance of five prelates, whose names he concealed, he prepared a document embodying a scheme of reform. It was signed by nineteen capital letters, as follows : S. M. V. N. N. T. N. P. I. N. N. E. T. N. O. S. N. I. S., which, as Paleotto thinks, served to denote that nineteen persons had been concerned in drawing up the petition.¹

Simonetta, being deeply versed in the canon law, and in the practice of the Roman courts, was intrusted with the examination and remodelling of this draft ; but he felt unwilling to sustain the whole of the responsibility, and associated with him Castagna, Buonocompagno, Paleotto, and Castello, the promoter of the council. During their meetings, Seripando urged that the work of reformation, agreeably to the wish of the pontiff, should begin "with the Roman courts." But this measure was too unpopular to meet with the support it deserved, and he was compelled to restrict reformation, for the present, to such matters as affected the rest of the Christian world, and inflicted no detriment upon the papal courts. After various disputes on minor matters, twelve propositions, in the form of inquiry, were drawn up, in order to furnish free scope for discussion. They were as follows :—

1. Let the fathers consider, what means can be adopted to the end that patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and all those who have the cure of souls, shall reside in their own churches, and shall not be absent from them, except for just, honest, and necessary causes, and such as may be for the benefit of the Catholic Church.

2. It is expedient that no one be ordained to holy orders, except upon an actual title to a benefice, seeing it is well known that many frauds are committed through the fact that most persons are ordained on a patrimonial title.

¹ Paleotto, p. 85, who is now our leading authority.

3. [Is it also expedient] that neither those who ordain, nor their officers and notaries, shall receive anything for the collation of any orders whatsoever?

4. Ought the same [bishops] to be permitted to establish daily distributions in those churches where either there are no distributions, or where they are so slight as to be neglected, out of the prebends to which no actual service is attached?

5. Ought all parishes which, by reason of their great size, require a greater number of priests, also to have a proportionately greater number of titles to be instituted by the ordinary?

6. And such cures which lack an adequate revenue for the maintenance of the priest, ought they to be remodelled in such a manner that out of several titles only one be formed by the ordinary?

7. Whereas there are many parish priests little fit for the office, and who, either by reason of ignorance or evil life, tend rather to destroy than to edify their flocks: and whereas they sometimes have curates worse than themselves, care must be taken that a remedy be provided for this mischief. Is it then expedient to give them a coadjutor, or fitting deputy; a portion of the fruits being assigned at the pleasure of the ordinary?

8. Ought the ordinaries to be permitted to transfer to the mother churches such benefices or chapels as have fallen into ruin through age, and cannot be restored by reason of their poverty?

9. Ought it to be ordained that benefices *in commendam*, even those belonging to regulars, should be visited and corrected by the regulars?

10. Ought clandestine marriages to be declared henceforward null and void?

11. What conditions are to be declared essential, for a marriage not to be considered as clandestine, but as contracted in the face of the Church?

12. Finally, serious consideration must be taken touching the reformation of the great abuses of the questors.

After considerable discussion, the legates dreading the dissensions to which the first article would give rise, and deeming its tenor too broadly worded, resolved to postpone

it, until the meeting of a congregation. The two articles on clandestine marriages were referred to the consideration of the theologians.

On the 11th of March, a congregation was held, in which the legates proposed the postponement of the first question ; but the imperial ambassadors remonstrated with great earnestness, alleging that the remaining questions were too trivial to be worthy of so great a synod, if the first were omitted ; that the whole of the questions had already been communicated to the emperor, who would, if such omission were made, look upon himself as trifled with, and conceive an opinion that the council had no design of interfering with serious abuses, but only with those of little importance. The cardinal of Mantua, in an elegant speech, assented to their wish for its retention, and the secretary then read the twelve propositions above recited, and gave permission to all present to take copies of them.

Proceedings, however, received some hinderance from the arrival of D'Avilos, marquis of Pescara, the Spanish ambassador, on the 15th of March ; of Giovanni Strozzi, from Florence, on the 18th ; and of Melchior Lussi, from the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. The customary squabbles about precedence, and complimentary messages tending to nothing at all, retarded and disturbed the discussions, which, from the magnitude of the abuses, and the conscientious energy of some of the disputants, were becoming really interesting. Moreover, considerable anxiety was felt as to the course likely to be pursued by the king of France, although this doubt was set at rest by the appearance of Lanssac, Du Ferrier, and Pibrac, as ambassadors from France, and, almost at the same time, by the arrival of Bellao, bishop of Paris, who came to Trent on the 14th of April, 1562. John Coloswarin, bishop of Chonad, and Dudiz, bishop of Tiniana, also arrived as representatives of Hungary ; the latter of whom, after congratulating the assembly on the election of Pope Pius IV., and on the resumption of the council, set forth the zeal of the prelates of his own country in the cause of Catholicism, and the piety of the whole people, who had deserved well of all Christendom by their valiant resistance of the Turk, and of the bishops in withstanding the deceits of heretics. He concluded by expressing the regret of the Hungarian prelates at their

inability to be present at the council; but at the same time stated their confidence and acquiescence in the proceedings and decrees of the council.^k

CHAPTER LIII.

Disputes on the Subject of Residence.

Meanwhile, the subject of residence was being discussed with a rancour and violence that nothing could equal. One party held that this matter contained the whole essence of reformation; since, unless severe penalties were enforced against such offenders, nothing would hinder the bishops and other wealthier dignitaries of the Church from flocking to Rome and other large cities, to enjoy their incomes and their leisure. But the archbishop of Granada, supported by many others, maintained that the most effectual remedy was that which had been proposed at the former meetings of the council, viz., the declaration of the divine right of residence. Violent and bitter were the discussions. "The Spaniards maintained the general principle that episcopal authority was not an emanation of the papal, as was alleged in Rome, but that its origin rested directly on divine appointment. This was striking at the very head of the whole system of the Church. The independence of the subordinate clerical authorities, whom the pope so sedulously kept under, would of necessity have followed in the train of this principle."^l

Paleotto, the candid and careful reporter of the proceedings, expatiates in strong terms on the disgraceful display of spite and calumny with which each party strove to resist or terrify the other. Neither the legates, the prelates, nor any one, whose attainments and position gave him any importance, were free from the contagion; so that the very author of evil^m himself seemed to have poured out upon the council the venom of those calumnies, from which he derived his name. Well might Simonetta have dreaded the proposal of a question in which man's worst interests and worst passions were so closely concerned, and in which profit, ease, and indolence had so serious a prerogative at stake!

^k Sarpi, p. 394 (Latin ed.).

^l Ranke, p. 85.

^m "Ita ut videretur aliquando inter eos cacodæmon calumniarum suarum [virus,] unde nomen traxit, effudisse" (p. 96, ed. Mendham).

Simonetta, in this emergency, had sought the advice of the pope, who recommended the legates to avoid the controversy respecting the right of residence, as being a matter of dogma, on which it had been agreed that no present discussion should take place, and advised them to confine themselves to matters of practical reform. Subsequently, however, he was of opinion that, should strong necessity demand it, they should follow what course appeared best.

Things were in this state when the 7th of April arrived, on which they were expected to deliver their opinions on the subject. Many days were spent in the discussion; but a brief abstract of the general arguments must satisfy us for the present.

Paleotto reduces the arguments delivered on both sides to five heads. The first was the inconveniences attendant on non-residence, and the severity of the canons against it. Hereupon, many entered into the question of divine right, and supported their observations by various authorities. Some alleged that the doctrine was unknown before the times of Cardinal Caietan, and that he, after taking that view of the subject, had changed his opinion, having, at an advanced age, received a bishopric, at which he never resided.ⁿ The bishop of Ajazzo, with great good sense and moderation, declared that the dispute was frivolous, and that the question was, not whence the obligation of residence derived its origin, but how that obligation might be best enforced.^o

A second party detailed the impediments to residence, which they reduced to the following thirteen heads:—the poverty of many churches; the oppressions of the lay lords; the inhibitions; the appeals to the Roman court; exemptions, privileges, and conservations granted to various persons; the *mare magnum religiosum*; reservations of fruits and collations, and pensions; provisions; pluralities, by which parishes are deprived of the care they require and are entitled to; the withdrawal of cases from ordinaries upon light suspicion; the pragmatic constitution and concordats; the visitation of dioceses by others upon privilege,

ⁿ Sarpi, p. 396.

^o The dissertations of Sarpi, vi. xii. sq. on the twelve propositions, are replete with curious arguments and interesting facts.

without the consent of the ordinary ; the pilgrimages to the thresholds of the apostles.

The third class contains twelve heads of punishment for non-residence ; the fourth, fifteen heads of reward for those who did their duty ; and the fifth, under thirteen heads, urges that the prelates should be compelled and bound to the fulfilment of their duty, and that this should be sanctioned by the chief pontiff.

Although the state of our own Church renders every word on the non-residence-evil question of the utmost interest, it is impossible to enter into details of the many able and conscientious arguments brought forward^p on both sides. To recognise the divine right of residence would be to prove the exceptions made by the papal authority unscriptural, and to condemn all the concessions and privileges which had been so long cherished by the old system, to fall beneath the swoop of reform which threatened to carry all before it.

So many were the limitations which many of the fathers required, as the conditions of their concurrence in either of the opinions touching the origin of the law of residence, and so varying and uncertain seemed the character of the votes given, that the legates resolved to bring the statement of opinions to a simple "*placet*" or "*non placet*." Madrucci and others resisted this proposal, and few congregations exhibited less confusion than the present one. If we consider how much wavering, quibbling, and mental reservation was spared by this "yes" or "no" system of voting, we must applaud the tact and policy of the legates.

Some answered without hesitation ; but others were so embarrassed by the necessity of taking a decisive side, that it was extremely difficult to collect the votes. Eventually, however, seventy^q were recorded in favour of the divine right of residence, thirty-eight against it, while the remaining thirty-four were for first consulting the pope. As the last two lists, taken together, exceeded the first in numbers, it was resolved to refer the matter to the pontiff. Pius IV. was evidently placed in an awkward position. "For," as Water-

^p The arguments on both sides are summed up with masterly elegance and great fairness by Dr. Waterworth, p. clxv. sqq.

^q See particulars in Waterworth, p. clxix and *note*. A list of the names of the voters will be found in Paleotto, p. 114, sqq.

worth observes, "to decide against the solution of the question, would be open to the reproach of placing an obstacle in the way of that peculiar reform, which was by many proclaimed to be the only efficacious remedy for the evils of the times ; whilst, to recommend that a decision should be come to would not only offend many friends, but would be to urge on the promulgation of an article of faith, in opposition to a minority indeed, but one powerful, numerous, and eminent for learning ; and would also be to deviate from what had hitherto been a fixed rule,—the avoidance of any determination of questions previously held, without reproach, in the schools."^r

Eight prelates were then ordered to draw up a statement respecting the other heads of reformation, omitting the first ; but the two articles on clandestine marriages were to be left till a more fitting occasion. As to the previous disputes, it was recommended that all that had passed should be suppressed, for the credit of all was at stake, and the disclosure of such dissensions would tend little to increase people's confidence in the council. But earnestly as this was urged by the cardinal of Mantua, scarcely was the assembly dismissed, but every place was filled with these rumours, and numberless letters were written to the city and other places, and, for the most part, little respect was paid to veracity. To continue in Paleotto's words :—"It was really wonderful how afflicted almost all were as they left the synod ; and I have seen some even shedding tears over such confusion and disturbance in the synod. Hence various discussions began to occupy the conversation of men. Some censured the legates in unmeasured terms for so imprudently bringing the opinions of the fathers to a scrutiny where so serious a matter was concerned. Others were dissatisfied with the reference to the pope, alleging that it gave the heretics a great hand for representing them as mere creatures of the popes, and as having given their verdicts with a view to gaining favour with him. Others rather lamented that the pope, who had always wished the council to enjoy full liberty, was now, by the imprudence of those who had referred the matter to him, exposed to the blame of what he had all along studiously avoided.

^r P. clxx.

"This was undoubtedly the foundation of the great discords, and the seed-plot of the abuse and calumnies which followed. For the more earnest a man was on one side, so much the more eagerly did those of a contrary opinion persecute him with slander. Even the legates were not spared. They charged the cardinal of Mantua with having suborned some of the prelates to declare in favour of the divine right of residence, and with having made use of intimidation and bribery towards others. So vexed was the legate at these charges, that he demanded an attestation of his innocence and uprightness by a notary ; and Paleotto, amongst others, subscribed it."^s

Seripando shared the same fate, but with less severity ; but Simonetta was, on the other hand, accused of indirect attempts to prevent the discussion of the right of residence, tending to injure the authority of the pontiff, the dignity of the cardinals, and the interests of the Roman court. The general opinion was, that the cardinal of Mantua and Seripando were favourable to the divine right ; whilst Simonetta was equally opposed. Hosius, whose integrity had been but little questioned, took the middle course. "But," adds Paleotto, "although the opinions of the legates were so different on this matter, all the most intelligent of the prelates felt fully persuaded that they had in no instance acted from fraud or ambition, but that each of them had acted conscientiously, and agreeably to what he really believed to be the best course for the advantage of the Church, and the care of Christianity ; although their views had differed as to the means to be pursued."^t

As to the prelates, they fought, gladiator-like, with mutual and clandestine calumnies, with letters, which, setting moderation or decency at defiance, and invading the characters of the most learned and honourable members of the council, they sent to Rome. One party was accused of seeking to live in idleness and luxury ; the other of wishing to detract from the authority of the pope, and give the authority of chief pontiffs to the bishops in their respective dioceses. "The cause of the irritability and indecorous tumult in a body of such a description is indeed very plain. The subject

^s Paleotto, p. 117, sqq.

^t Ib. p. 120.

of the residence of bishops among bishops was a touching one. Every individual had a conscience one way or other, to be moved by it ; some were, and knew that they were, guilty ; and others, in that respect, were, and knew that they were, clear. The latter predicament, however, did not exempt them from jealousy or envy. These circumstances produced a fund of combustible and explosive matter."^u

Just about this time, it was recommended that the synod should endeavour to induce the Christian princes to interpose their authority on behalf of those bishops who were detained in prison by the queen of England. The legates replied, that they were willing to assist them to the utmost of their power, but that they dreaded that such measures might only further excite the hatred and impiety of the queen against them.^x Eventually the idea was abandoned, as the known severity of Elizabeth increased their fears.

The session was rapidly approaching, the meeting was strengthened by the arrival of the Venetian ambassadors, and Paleotto was employed to draw up such a decree as should be befitting the dignity of the synod. He executed the task with considerable ability and eloquence ; but when it came to be discussed, exceptions were made to various points, especially to the supposed implication of a continuation of the council, and it was accordingly abandoned. He then proposed the short one found among the Decrees and Canons.^y

The 14th of May had been fixed for the session ; but Lanssac, the ambassador from the French court, wished it to be postponed until his arrival. But the archbishop of Granada successfully opposed this request, and the session was held as appointed. The patriarch of Venice celebrated the mass, and Beroaldo, bishop of St. Agatha, preached the sermon. The decree proroguing the session till the 4th of June^z was then read, the credentials of the ambassadors from Spain and Florence, and of the bishops of Chorad and Tiniana, from Hungary, were formally received.

^u Mendham p. 203. ^x Paleotto, p. 121. ^y P. 129 of my edition.

^z "The session after the next it was agreed to extend to a greater distance, a week after, because, as Paleotto frankly, and with a kind of apology for the levity of the individuals, relates, there were some who considered the remaining days of the month of May as *ominous*."—Mendham.

Thus closed the proceedings of this session; proceedings which are fraught with instruction even to us at the present time. Pluralities and non-residence (and the two evils are inseparable) are as much the crying mischief of the reformed church as of the erring one for which the assembly at Trent was convoked. Capitular sinecures and nepotism now present as fruitful a field for reformation as the stern, well-defended abuses against which the Spanish prelates protested. It is time for us to act up to a lesson of which we cannot, dare not, profess ignorance. Declamatory protests against popery, heavy controversial discourses, and the supercilious respectability, with which wealth and inactivity too often clothe their clerical votaries, will not support the church in the face of neglected parishes, absence from those who are taxed to support it, and the thousands of souls uncared for, which are the moral victims of those, whose parishes are known as little else than a part of their revenue.

CHAPTER LIV.

Letters from Rome, &c. &c.

As the next session was to be held in a few days, the legates, while waiting for the reply of the pontiff to the reference made to him by the council, had directed eight of the fathers to draw up the decrees of reformation. Among these the first one on residence was introduced. For, although the synod had declared that the subject should be deferred, the legates thought it advisable to bring it forward, at the same time allowing each prelate leave of absence for two months in the year, and the pontiff a wide latitude of dispensation; a privilege which was also to be enjoyed, in case of necessity, by metropolitans in places distant from Rome.^a

But scarcely had this compromising document been completed, and placed for revision in the hands of four eminent professors of the canon law, when letters came from Rome, declaring that the whole court was thrown into disturbance by the dispute concerning residence, which was likely to do signal harm, not only to the Roman court, but likewise to the

^a Waterworth, p. clxxii.

pontiff himself; that the pontiff understood that serious dissensions had broken out between the legates and prelates, and that he had therefore summoned his cardinals on the subject, to the end that the Christian commonwealth might sustain no damage; and that he had even determined to send three fresh legates to Trent.^b

The pontiff also gave his opinion respecting ninety-five articles of reform, which had been sent by Pendasio, as early as the 11th of April. He left all of them to the decision of the council, with the exception of eleven points which immediately concerned his own tribunals, and for which he declared himself determined to provide a remedy by his own authority. As to the obnoxious article of residence, he wished that its discussion should either altogether cease, or be reserved till men's minds had recovered a state of tranquillity more suited to the consideration of such matters.

At Trent, the feeling was one of painful anxiety. The cardinal of Mantua and Seripando, who were known to favour the divine right of residence, but whose high authority and ability made them objects of respect, would be disgraced by the proposed appointment of legates extraordinary; the malevolent would have an excuse to represent the new legation as a contrivance to defeat the application of a remedy to the corrupt state of the Roman court; the prelates who had supported residence would be abused and calumniated in the city, and their opponents treated with high favour. Finally, the greatest dread was that the chief legate would, for his own dignity, be compelled to resign office, a fact which might end in the dissolution of the council.

Amid this mass of difficulties, vexations, and insults, the legates laboured to hush up the question of residence for the present. But the Spanish prelates were resolute in their demands either for an express promise that the matter should be considered in a future session, or for a secret one to the same effect under the seal of the legates. The legates refused to consent to either proposal; but did not refuse to give the subject consideration under the sacrament of Order.

^b Paleotto, p. 130, sq. "This is confirmed by a letter of Visconti to Cardinal Borromeo, of the 6th of June, 1562, from Venice on his way to Trent. But he understood that the resolution was abandoned."—Mendham, p. 205, *note*. Cf. Sarpi, p. 409; Pallav. xiv. 8 and 9.

CHAPTER LV.

Arrival of the French Ambassadors. Further Difficulties. The Twentieth Session.

On the 18th of May, Lanssac, who had recently been at Rome as ambassador extraordinary to the pope ; Arnold du Ferrier, president of the parliament of Paris ; and Guy de Pibrac, chief justice of Toulouse, made their appearance at the council, and delivered an oration, to which an answer was not immediately returned. According to custom, a copy of the oration had been previously sent to the secretary, in order that a suitable answer might be returned. But it was found that the oration spoken on the 16th of May, in a general congregation, was very different from the one delivered in writing, and that it was replete with bitter and sarcastic expressions ; a reply was therefore deferred till the day of session. The language of Lanssac seems to have been bold and uncompromising, and scarcely reverent. "His oration, among other unwelcome suggestions, dwelt upon the danger in which the fathers were, from the temptations of the devil, to pay too much respect to the will of princes ; it intimated rather significantly that the Holy Spirit came only from Heaven ; and required that the present council should be considered as a new one."^c

The Spanish prelates, on the other hand, were equally urgent that it should be declared a continuation of the pre-

Seripando succeeded in justifying himself so effectually at Rome, that the additional legates were not sent, though Visconti was deputed to Trent to maintain a continual and accurate correspondence with the pontiff, on the proceedings of the council.—Waterworth, p. clxxiii.

^c Mendham, p. 207 ; who adds in a note : "Pallavicino, xvi. x. 12, ascribes to Lanssac the well-known, but rather profane, taunt, of the Holy Spirit being sent from Rome in a bag,—'Che non mandasse lo Spirito Santo nelle valigia.' There appears some reference to it in the oration, where it is observed, that the Holy Spirit only came from Heaven." Cramp, the author of the Text Book of Popery, observes, in his brief history of the Council of Trent, p. 113 (Society's edition), that "Lanssac and his companions did not scruple to write or speak of the pope and his measures with the most provoking indifference and freedom ; his power excited no alarm. Even his office was treated with small respect or reverence. It was reported that Lanssac had said to some bishops, whom he had invited to dine with him, that there would come so many prelates from France and Germany that they should drive away the Romish idol."

vious one ; whilst the imperial prelates had received orders from Ferdinand to withdraw from the council, should any such decision be introduced into the decrees.

To add to these complicated embarrassments, the pope had distinctly promised the king of Spain that a declaration ratifying the "continuation" of the council should be passed, and had written to the legates desiring them to act accordingly. Clearly perceiving that to urge this step would be to break up the council, they resolved to act upon their own responsibility, and to abstain, for the present, from any decree beyond the prorogation of the session. In this conduct it will be seen that the pope eventually acquiesced. The Spaniards were put off with the promise that the doctrines should be begun, or rather prosecuted, from the point at which they were interrupted in the council under Julius III. ; so that, from the very series and context of the former council, a conjunction and connection should be evident to all. "After such a representation as this, by an able adherent of the papacy and the council, professedly recording the acts of the latter, how is it possible to wonder that the Protestants should distrust and avoid a religious assembly, or rather tribunal, the managers of which, by an artifice so dishonourable, sought to entrap them into a subjection to decrees made, not only without their cognizance and participation, but to their manifest injury and ruin?"^d

Fresh letters came from the pontiff, directing that the continuation of the council should still be published. Just, however, as the legates were about to despatch Cardinal Altemps to Rome, to explain their reasons for acting at variance with the pope's orders, fresh despatches came, leaving the matter to their own discretion, but desiring that the continuation should be made practically evident.

These letters gave great delight to the legates ; and, in the absence of the cardinal of Mantua, Seripando presided over a general congregation, held on the 3rd of June, in which he exhorted the fathers to the study of concord and piety, and informed them that business would be deferred till a future session. It was then agreed that an answer should be given to the address of the French ambassadors, in which feeling

^d Mendham, p. 208.

should be sacrificed to policy. The decree of the prorogation was then read, and approved by all but the archbishop of Lanciano, who objected to the liberty claimed at the close of it, of anticipating or extending the day of session. About twenty-five or thirty prelates objected to the omission of the article on residence, and a few prelates, from Italy and Spain, urged the retention of the "continuation" clause. Some of the fathers complained that earlier intimation had not been given of the difficulties in which the council was placed; but Seripando vindicated the conduct of the legates with great spirit.

On the following day, June 4th, 1562, the twentieth session was opened. Mass having been preached by the bishop of Salamanca, and the sermon preached by Raggazone, bishop of Nazianzum and elect of Famagosta, the credentials of the Swiss and French ambassadors, and of the proctors of the archbishop of Salzburg, were received, and the discourse of the French ambassador and its reply read. The bishop of Salamanca then read the decree, stating that, in consequence of the difficulties which had ensued, the joint subjects of doctrine and reformation would be postponed till the next session, which was appointed for the 16th of July next. Thirty-six bishops gave in written protests, in which they adhered to the objections made by them in the previous congregations.

There were present, the four legates, one other cardinal, five patriarchs, two archbishops, one hundred and twenty-eight bishops, two abbots, five ambassadors, and four generals of religious orders.^e

CHAPTER LVI.

Touching the Communion under both kinds. Demands of the Bavarian Ambassadors.

On the 6th of June, the legates proposed the following articles respecting the eucharist, which had been postponed under Julius:—

1. Whether, by the divine ordinance, all and each of the

^e So Servantio. Le Plat says, two patriarchs, seventeen archbishops, one hundred and thirty-eight bishops, four ambassadors.

faithful in Christ are bound, for the sake of salvation, to receive the most holy sacrament of the eucharist ?

2. Are the reasons by which the holy Catholic Church has been induced to communicate the laity, and the priests, when not celebrating, under the species of bread only, to be held so strictly, as that the use of the cup be under no circumstances allowed to any [of the above-mentioned persons] ?

3. Whether, if, for reasons becoming and agreeable to Christian charity, it should be thought fit to permit the use of the chalice to any nation or kingdom, is this to be granted under certain conditions, and what should these conditions be ?

4. Does he who partakes of this sacrament under one kind receive less than he who [has received it] under both ?

5. Is it necessary, by the divine law, to administer this most august sacrament to children, before they have arrived at the years of discretion ?^f

All were satisfied with the proposal of these articles, except the archbishop of Granada, who maintained that the first had been settled by the Council of Constance, and did not therefore demand re-discussion, and that the other heads were so closely connected with it, as to require only a cursory notice ; that it would be far better to proceed at once to the sacrament of Orders, and the vexatious question of residence. This roused the spirit of the bishop of Rossano, whose views were of a totally opposite character, and a dispute ensued, the violence of which compelled the first legate to interfere. With considerable difficulty he succeeded in appeasing their wrath, promising that, if they would at present keep quiet, he would hereafter treat of residence when the question of order should be under consideration. This promise gave Simonetta so much annoyance, that a total coldness ensued between them.^g Nor was the pope much better pleased, as he found himself pledged to keep open a question which he wished might either be totally suppressed, or deferred till a later period.

^f Paleotto, p. 142, sq. ; Pallav. xvii. 1. Sarpi makes the articles six in number, his second being, "Whether the Church was induced by just reasons to communicate the laity under the form of bread only, or was guilty of error in so doing ?" (p. 415).

^g Sarpi, p. 416.

The archbishop of Lanciano was then sent to Rome to inform the pope of the state of affairs, and the pressing petitions respecting the question of residence, and the declaration of continuation, upon which the legates were most anxious to know his determination.

On the 27th of June, with the Venetian ambassadors, appeared those from Bavaria. After earnestly denouncing the evils attendant on celibacy, and the profligate conduct of the clergy, they presented a petition containing twenty heads of reform, praying that the supreme pontiff would suffer both himself and his court to undergo a reform ; that the number of cardinals be reduced ; that no more scandalous dispensations be allowed ; that all exemptions contrary to the common law be rescinded ; and that all monasteries be placed under the power of the diocesan ; that pluralities be abolished ; that bishops, except under the most pressing necessity, be compelled to reside ; that all ecclesiastical offices be afforded without pay, and that incompetent benefices be incorporated with others ; that the old canons against simony be renewed ; that the superfluous constitutions of the Church be expunged ; that excommunication be only used in case of mortal sin, and notorious irregularity ; that the haste and slovenliness with which the divine offices are now performed, be amended ; that breviaries and missals be expurgated, and curtailed, with the omission of all unscriptural matter ; that prayers in the vernacular tongue be intermixed with those celebrated in Latin ; that the misapplication of clerical and monastic property be amended ; that some relaxation be made respecting abstinence from certain meats, and celibacy, in the case of certain nations ; that a new book of rituals, calculated for the use of all parish priests, be compiled, to prevent the confusion and variation now existing ; that means be sought not merely to expel evil parish-priests, but to substitute good ones ; that more bishoprics be established in large districts ; that it will be perhaps better, for the present, to pass over the many abuses and perversions of church property to other purposes ; and lastly (apparently with a view of making the pontiff some amends for the disagreeable character of the previous demands), that the legates presiding in the council take care that such useless questions as the divine right of

residence be avoided ; or, if discussed, that the fathers preserve their tempers.^h

The legates replied, that it would be impossible to take these matters into consideration at present, as the important and difficult subject of the communion under both kinds would absorb all the attention during the present session. Besides, the matters proposed were of a varied and distinct character, and it would therefore be best for them to be discussed under such heads of reformation as might be best adapted for their consideration during the ensuing session.

The cardinal of Mantua, vexed by the obloquy and calumny with which he had been rewarded for his earnest exertions, wrote to the pontiff, setting forth his past services, and craving permission to resign his office of first legate. He felt that, having pledged himself to allow the discussion of residence, he could not, consistently with honour, retain his office without fulfilling his promise, and he therefore sought to be freed from the irksome and painful task. At the same time, several prelates took this opportunity for leaving the council, first addressing a letter to the pontiff on the unhappy state of affairs, signed by thirty-two of them.ⁱ

The archbishop of Lanciano was at Rome, and dreading the consequences of the legate's resignation, he represented them to the pope in strong terms. It was obvious that a suspension, if not a total break-up, of the council would follow ; that the whole proceeding, already rendered doubtful by its many interruptions, would be looked upon with suspicion by Catholics, and utterly derided by the reformed party ; nay, it is not too much to say, that the Council of Trent, if not already in a state of actual schism, was fast approaching a condition painfully like it. The pontiff, however anxious he might have felt for the removal of a servant who, though faithful to his master, was still more so to his own word, determined to choose the least of two evils, and retain his legate. He accordingly wrote to the cardinal with his own hand, and not only exhorted, but even commanded him to continue his presidency of the council. He also ordered a breve to be written to the prelates who had

^h Sarpi, p. 417, sq.

ⁱ Paleotto, p. 169.

addressed him on the subject of residence, which he intrusted to the archbishop of Lanciano, with verbal instructions how to act with the president and the prelates.

On the return of the bishop to Trent, the cardinal of Mantua being reassured of the confidence of the pontiff, as well as of his good will towards residence (as soon as the present difficulties could be got over), resolved to sacrifice his own feelings to the public good, and continue in office. Moreover, his opponent Simonetta had been warned, by private letters, to pay all possible respect to the chief legate, and to take care that the question of the divine right should proceed no further. After the breve had been delivered to the prelates, the archbishop represented as the pope's desire, that the seeds of contention, which the evil demon is wont to scatter, should be dismissed; that they should cherish the tranquillity and mutual agreement in the synod, which can alone procure the grace of the Holy Spirit. In former sessions, he observed, when matters of controversy arose, they were set aside and passed over in silence. He concluded by stating that he felt certain, that, if the fathers would leave the whole matter to his holiness, he would by a breve pronounce residence to be a matter of his own jurisdiction.^k

CHAPTER LVII.

Discussion respecting the Communion under both kinds. Influences of the Scholastic Philosophy.

Meanwhile, from the 10th until the 23rd of June, the unprincipled innovation, by which the cup is denied to the laity—a subject which the recent embassies had made of paramount importance—had occupied the attention of the congregations. That the whole investigation was profitless, as far as any approach to the truth was concerned; that it was a display of jugglery and hair-splitting, disgraceful to the intellect, and damning to the religious principles of all concerned, no one but a Romanist can deny. No improvement can be expected from reading the narrative of such proceedings, except the useful lesson, that, when a body of men have once made up their minds to deliberate and dishonest error, their discussions only serve to strengthen them in the mistake, till they

^k See Mendham, p. 220, note.

fancy their consciences bound to stand by the fictions of their ingenuity, and at last begin to believe themselves converts to what they have taught others.

There is another advantage in this sort of questions, which is, that they spare the necessity of discussing real abuses. Practical reform is kept at a distance, while men are quarrelling about words, to which they affix no definite meaning. Such disputes, in fact, are a sort of game of definitions. All agree that certain words and phrases are to be the conventional marks of faith and practice; but the freedom of the human mind, its passions and its weaknesses, cannot bear anything positive. If it perfectly understands, it is unhappy; there is no scope for tentative philosophy, no opportunity for clever subtilities, no hope of displaying its superior cleverness in disentangling a quibble, or fixing a point previously left doubtful. Had the Roman pontiffs attempted to overthrow scholastic divinity, religion would have followed it. Had they deprived men of the free indulgence of the habit of finding reasons for anything, they would have personally suffered by the loss. Where even traditions had failed, the splendid talents of the schoolmen had reared an edifice, which—by the perfection and consistency even of its manifold contradictions, by the intricacy which, while it wandered through a labyrinth of reasonings and doubts, ever kept certain great theories of church hierarchy in view—proved a barrier, that even truth itself could not assail without frequently feeling the weakness of her advocates.

As Neoplatonism had, in early ages, become the favourite protégé of rationalizing Christianity, so, when the papal theory had gradually sprung up, and when the whole scheme of papal Catholicism had asserted its position, the scholastic philosophy was pressed into the service.¹ Little as the two were naturally associated, dogmatic theology and speculative philosophy were, by the wondrous ingenuity of metaphysicians, reduced to one friendly system; their very contradictions became the bonds of a firm union, and it was often difficult to tell where the speculative and the dogmatic began and ended. It is vain to indulge in declamations against the

¹ “La théologie ne s'empara point de la philosophie pour en faire sa servante, comme on l'a dit, mais son esclave par violence.”—M. Xavier Rousselot, *Etudes sur la Philosophie dans le Moyen-Age*, p. 6.

barbarism and ignorance of the schoolmen. If they lacked practical knowledge, they at least exhausted every theory that antiquity had handed down to them. If they drew wrong conclusions, it was because the mistaken union of Christian truths with pagan speculations had supplied them with fanciful postulates. If they had little correct knowledge in matters of fact, none were better skilled in, none did so much towards establishing, a right system of the laws of thought.

But in proportion as the ingenuity of rival disputants was sharpened, in proportion as the wit of the opponent heightened the powers of the advocate, so did each man's, or each party's tenets and theories become dear as a beloved child. Orthodoxy in religion, as in philosophy, became too personal in its character; and while one sect despised another for some minute difference, both sides forgot to appeal to the one great test of truth,—the revealed word. As the doctrines of the Trinity had given rise to the painful and unsatisfactory heresies of the early Church, so the doctrines of transubstantiation, and of its consequent the denial of the cup, had grown up from the subtilities of the schoolmen. Both were novelties as far as the early Church was concerned; but the constant and practised taste for interpreting texts, whether of Scripture or of the fathers, in different ways, while it produced uniformity as to the grand fundamental error, left numberless points of detail, more or less important, open to the discussions and disputes of the rival schools of Romanist philosophers.

The consequences of this speculative system have been seen in the case of transubstantiation—an error which, while the Council of Trent were prepared to ratify it with their verdict and anathema, was still too replete with favourite questions of an intricate and uncertain character, to allow of too definite an expression of views. It will be seen that, throughout the discussions touching the administration of the sacrament under both kinds, the same spirit reigned. While the heretic could gain no concession, those within the pale of Romanism, how different soever might be their opinions in detail, had only to agree in the common point of denial. For the rest, the Church gave them the same liberty of talking and disputing, which it had yielded to them on other matters.

I am not going to repeat the arguments urged against the

denial of the cup, but I must give some brief account of the discussions themselves. Perhaps no point is so clumsily explained, or so glaringly set against the very face of truth, throughout the whole of the Decrees and Canons of this council.

In the private assemblies of the theologians, it was at length agreed, that there is no divine law requiring either laymen or priests, when not sacrificing, to communicate under both kinds; that as much is contained under one kind as under both; and that infants, before they have reached years of discretion, are not required to communicate.^m But as to the grace received by virtue of the *opus operatum*,ⁿ the greater number were of opinion that the same amount of grace is received by communicating under both kinds, as one only. The archbishop of Granada objected to this article, which was directed against Luther, and was answered by the cardinal of Mantua. As to the two other articles, they were looked upon as matters of opinion rather than faith, and the theologians seemed almost equally divided in their opinions as to the propriety of changing the existing discipline of the Church.

Four canons, detailing the opinions above mentioned, were now laid before the congregation; but the legates recommended that the two, on which so much doubt existed, should be postponed for the present—a measure which the imperial prelates strongly opposed, and to which they only consented on condition that a declaration should be inserted in the decree to be passed in the session, that the remaining questions should be discussed as soon as possible.^o

We have already alluded to the objection raised against the third canon. It was held that, this point having been defined under Julius, and previously settled in the councils of Florence and Constance, it was useless, and would be a mere sham-fight with a shadow.^p Seripando, however, replied that it concerned the use rather than the doctrine of the eucharist, and it was determined to leave it an open question.

^m Paleotto, p. 146.

ⁿ Id. p. 150.

^o Cf. Decrees and Canons, p. 133.

^p “*Verebatur enim, ut illudendi nos occasio aliquibus præbeatur, quod adversus larvas imaginaria pugna dimicemus.*”—Paleotto, p. 150.

It was then determined that the canons should be remodelled, and preceded by a clear declaration of Catholic doctrine on the subjects involved. The preparation of the new canons of faith, and of the decrees on reformation, was intrusted to Simonetta, Del Blanco, Buonocompagnio, and the general of the Augustinians; whilst Hosius, Seripando, and the bishops of Paris, Chiozzia, Ostium, and the general of the Augustinians, were to frame the explanation of doctrine.

During this discussion, many serious disputes arose, and many trivial cavils, both sufficient to show the intemperate folly of the Church in arrogating to itself a right to deny, in the very face of Scripture, what Christ had instituted for all.

Some found fault with the diction, and preferred a rougher and more antiquated style, resembling that of the ancient canons, while another party could not see the necessity of departing from the pure and chastened Latinity which had grown into use since the revival of letters. The words "most august," applied to the sacrament, gave offence to some, as being an epithet properly belonging to the Roman emperors, and some wished that the term "most holy" should be substituted. But did these conscientious haters of pagan epithets ever object to the word *pontiff*?

A more serious objection arose from the fear lest the wording of the second canon should create disturbance in Cyprus and Candia, where more than six hundred thousand persons, although in communion with Rome, made use of both kinds. It was replied, that the anathema was intended to apply only to those who asserted the receiving of both kinds to be of divine right. Again, the French were equally solicitous, while supporting the petition of the imperial party for the use of the chalice, that no phrase should be introduced apparently condemning the ancient custom of communicating their kings under both kinds on the day of coronation, and an equally ancient practice, on certain holy days, in some of the Cistercian monasteries. A document, authorizing those of the Greek Church to partake of both kinds, was also brought forward.

It was agreed, at the suggestion of the bishops of Herda and Famagosto, that this objectionable clause should be more distinctly explained, and not left in general terms. This was

done in the first chapter, in which the words of St. John had been originally, without limitation, adduced in support of the communion under both kinds. This, at the same time, met the difficulty, stated by the bishop of Viviers, against adducing the much-disputed discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John, as explanatory of the eucharist.

As to the last point, the bishop of Brescia wished that the communicating of children should be declared not only unnecessary, but forbidden. But, as the authority of St. Dionysius and St. Cyprian was alleged to the contrary, and as such communion had been by no means uncommon in the early Church, it was thought inexpedient to venture so far in a statement.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Decrees on Reformation.

In the draught of the decrees touching reformation, which appear in their complete form in the Decrees and Canons,¹ "it is deserving attention, that, in the very first introductory paragraph, the important word *continue*, as applied to the council, is introduced in the insidious way, which, it will be recollected, was proposed. It is remarkable too, that in company with those to whom it was no secret, and before whom it would appear ridiculous to affect to treat it as such, no attempt is made to palliate or disguise the iniquities prevailing among the clergy. It will, however, be recollected, that these were prelates, who pronounced thus freely respecting the inferior clergy."²

So Mendham, who is, however, too disposed to underrate the measures of reform proposed at this session. A few other points of alteration in the decrees, as they at present stand, may be briefly noticed.

In the first chapter, it had been declared simoniacal, to receive even voluntary offerings for the collation of orders: but this clause was omitted, as that offence does not constitute simony. The allowance of the tenth part of a crown to notaries was limited to those countries in which those officers had previously been wont to receive such remuneration. In the third chapter, a third part of the revenues

¹ P. 133, sqq.

² Mendham, p. 214.

employed in distributions was definitely set apart for that purpose, instead of leaving the amount optional. The capitular obligations upon the bishop, originally inserted in the fifth chapter, with reference to the establishing of unions, were cancelled from this, and some other similar decrees, at the instance and opposition of the imperial and some Italian prelates.

But the last chapter gave rise to most discussion, being the abuse connected with the questors of alms. In a scheme of reformation there are generally some parties upon whom the onus of general hatred and abuse can be suffered to fall, without awakening any sympathy. The memory of Tetzels, his infamous purloinings and exactions, and his grand mistake in suffering them to be found out and exposed, rose to the minds of the prelates; and the majority, looking upon the fraudulent conduct of these men as, at least, the *occasion* of Luther's secession, were clamorous for their extirpation.

Another party, who, however, seem to have defended the office rather than the men, alleged that the office was one of great antiquity, and had received the approval of several councils, although they had repressed abuses connected therewith. They added, that many hospitals and other charitable institutions derived their origin thence; that by their means the pontiff was enabled to distribute indulgences and spiritual relief among those who, by reason of their distance, could not easily come to Rome; and that to abolish the office would be to lock up the treasures of the Church from many of those who most needed them. After considerable discussion, it was agreed to compromise the matter, by forbidding the questors exercising their office, except by permission of the ordinary. Great dissatisfaction arose; but was calmed by the opportune arrival of the bishop of Lanciano,^s who reported the determination of his holiness, that the obnoxious order should be abolished. This act was therefore put in execution, and, as a work of reform, becomes excessively interesting from the circumstances which had first given rise to its discussion.

^s On the 10th of July. Allusion has already been made to his mediation between the pope and the first legate.

CHAPTER LIX.

Continued Disputes respecting Residence. Letters of Visconti.

Meanwhile, the disputes on the subject of residence abated none of their rancour ; and the disposition of the legates in favour of the measure was interpreted as the commencement of a conspiracy against the papal authority ; and the pope himself, vexed at the injury likely to accrue from the agitation thus encouraged, began to suspect even Cardinal Morone of disaffection—a charge which the cardinal tacitly refuted by writing letters to two of the prelates at Trent, in which he strongly censured the proceedings of the party.

It will be remembered that Visconti, bishop of Ventimiglio, had been sent to Trent with the view of informing the pontiff how the affairs of the council were conducted, and he may be said to have superintended the conduct of the legates ; thereby adding to the many interferences with the liberty of the council.

“In a letter of the 6th,” remarks Mendham, “he enters rather at large on the manner in which he had employed himself since his arrival, and of the caution with which he was making himself acquainted with the state of things ; and at the close, he refers to the misunderstanding occasioned by the stirring question of residence between the two legates, the cardinal of Mantua and Simonetta. From another letter, soon after, it appears, that the nuncio set about the work of reconciliation with great zeal and address, having conferred with both parties, who hardly seem to have known why they differed. A few days onward the subject is resumed. But it appeared, that one cause of jealousy was, that the letters, which were formerly directed to the chief legate, were afterwards addressed to the other. Something is likewise intimated respecting the declaration of the continuation of the council. But it is in a letter of the 2nd of July, and in the close, which is in cipher, that the clearest discovery of the state of things and parties is made. There the writer declares his conviction, that when Order is discussed, there is an expectation from promises to the purpose, that residence will be introduced, which he anticipates will be productive of no little danger. He had conversed with many who espoused it, and they affirmed their party to be stronger than

was apprehended. Among these were some well-disposed to the papal interests, one of whom acknowledged to the writer that he might retain his consistency ; and this, he inferred, would be the conduct of the rest : they likewise alleged their conscience. As to any change for the better, if Mantua, as was rumoured, should resign, he considered the expectation quite groundless. He therefore sees no other remedy than that, before the session of the sacrifice of the mass, his holiness should issue a breve declaring residence, with other conditions appearing expedient to his beatitude ; and in this manner he thought every one would be readily satisfied. The next letter, of the 6th of July, mentions the application of the ambassadors of the empire and Bavaria to have the subject of communion in both kinds discussed. The French ambassador united with them ; and added, that in France it was desired to have worship in the vernacular tongue, which he thought right, and argued for the abolition of the images of saints, and of the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy. It is thought that the request of the emperor being conceded, other demands, such as the preceding, will follow, and that if it be not conceded, he will be exasperated. On the 13th of July, the nuncio expresses himself much aggrieved by the license of speech in which the fathers indulged themselves ; and adds, that he had recommended to the legates the example of their predecessor Crescenzo, who, when he perceived the prelates to wander, interrupted them without ceremony, and bade them keep to the point ; and thus brevity would be secured, and novelties precluded. Onward he notices the breve, which Monsignor di Lanciano had brought from Rome. The long conclusion in cipher is an account of the measure taken to produce at least an external reconciliation between the two disunited legates.”^t

CHAPTER LX.

The Twenty-first Session.

On the 14th of July, the archbishop of Granada caused a fresh disturbance by starting anew some doubts touching the meaning of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, as to whether it was to be understood in a spiritual sense only, or

^t Mendham, p. 217, sq.

with reference to the sacrament itself. But Seripando, who had strong reasons for believing that the archbishop's sole motive was to delay the proceedings of the council, replied as follows :—

“I would wish that all those most wise fathers, to whom the synod has committed the restoration of doctrine, should now give a reason in your presence of their opinions and proceedings ; not doubting but that their learning and high position would soon remove any doubts that might remain on some of your minds. I will briefly remark, that two opinions have arisen from the sixth chapter of John ; one among Catholics,—viz. whether that passage is to be understood of the spiritual use only, or of the sacramental likewise. With this the present doctrine has nothing to do, since it is not the purpose of the synod to define respecting controversies raised among Catholics. The other question is between ourselves and the heretics, who derive from this passage their argument touching the necessary administration of the sacrament to the faithful under both kinds. It is this difficulty, and not the other, which our doctrine meets ; nor does it exceed its own bounds. But whether it does sufficiently what is intended, must be yours to decide : for my own part, it seems to be fully satisfactory, unless the words be improperly twisted into a wrong meaning. And as we desire every such feeling to be absent from the candour of your dispositions, so do we warn you, that nothing, under present circumstances, can happen more disgraceful and contemptible to the holy synod, than for the synod not to be held on the appointed day ; since the oft-repeated prorogations must have excited animadversion, if not disgust, among the whole world.”^u

But the debates on this subject were not so easily settled, and it was at last proposed, with a view of preventing ambiguity, to insert the words : “ however it be understood, according to the various interpretations of the holy fathers and doctors.” To this eighty-seven agreed, and only twelve dissented ; either alleging motives of personal objection to the archbishop, or because they thought the dignity of the synod compromised by confessing to the existence of such a controversy.

^u Paleotto, p. 176.

The next day, when the legates thought that all disputes were at an end, almost at the seventeenth hour, Salmeron, a Jesuit, and Torres, two eminent theologians, who had been deputed by the pontiff, alleged that the doctrine published was adverse to the Catholic faith. In the first place, they said that the passage of St. John must evidently be explained of receiving the sacrament ; since there would otherwise be no satisfactory passage of the sacred letter from which the precept enjoining the eucharist could be elicited. Secondly, that no reasons had been alleged why this rite of communicating under one species only had been instituted. Thirdly, they disapproved of the reason brought forward, why children are said to be under no obligation to receive the sacrament and communion. They wished that the words of the second chapter, in which St. Paul's saying, " Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," is quoted, should be altered to the following : " For though Christ the Lord, in the last supper instituted and delivered to the apostles this venerable sacrament in the species of bread and wine, that instruction and tradition do not therefore extend to all the faithful, in such wise that, by the institution of Christ, they are bound to receive both species ; but only unto those to whom it was said, '*Do this in remembrance of me ;*' to those, forsooth, unto whom he gave power to make and to offer his own body and blood."^x Although Hosius, Madrucci, and several other fathers approved of this suggestion, it was eventually rejected.

But even on the same day, when all were on the point of leaving the council, Arrias, bishop of Girone, begged to be heard. It was certainly to the credit of the legates, that they gave him a fair hearing.^y But his remarks were of little importance, and certainly brought forward at a strange time.

On the 16th of July, 1562, mass was celebrated by the archbishop of Spolatro, and a sermon preached by Duditro, bishop of Tinia, who, although the fathers had agreed to abstain from mention of the granting of the cup, proceeded to show the progress, and, in sophistical arguments, to show the propriety of the custom of denying it, lest the abuses, to

^x Pallav. xvii. 11, p. 414. Cf. Decrees and Canons, Sess. xxi. ch. 1.

^y Sarpi, p. 435 ; Paleotto, p. 178.

which the grant of the cup had led, should be revived. But he concluded by recommending that, under existing circumstances, even the fear of this permission being abused should not prevent the grant of that blood which Christ shed for all. He thus ended a discourse little pleasing to the legates and others, who wished these condemned heads of doctrine to have been buried in eternal silence.

The decrees were then read by the officiating prelate, and met with almost unanimous approval. But Hosius, still in favour of the alteration suggested by Salmeron and Torres, and yet unwilling to oppose his colleagues, instead of a simple "placet," replied, "If this decree shall please the holy father, it will also please me." The patriarch of Jerusalem gave a like reply. A few further objections were made to the clause touching the various interpretations of the passage of St. John; and Dominico Stella, bishop of Salpi, was discontented with the reason given in the fourth chapter for the non-necessity of infants receiving the eucharist, and wished that the words of St. Paul, "Let a man prove himself," might be alleged as being an unsatisfactory reading for the non-admission of children to that sacrament.

At this session, six cardinals, three patriarchs, nineteen archbishops, one hundred and forty-eight bishops, three abbots, and six generals of religious orders were present.

CHAPTER LXI.

Reconciliation of the Cardinal of Mantua and Simonetta. Questions relating to the Mass.

Although, if we may believe Sarpi, the proceedings of the previous session gave little satisfaction, and the "labouring mountain bringing forth a mouse" was in everybody's mouth, yet something was to be hoped from the harmony arising from the reconciliation of the cardinal of Mantua and Simonetta. At the earnest request of the pontiff, expressed in letters from the brother of Simonetta and Cardinal Gonzaga, the two rival legates became friends, and began to take counsel together as to the best means of satisfying the pontiff and putting an end to the disorder and disputes on the subject of residence, a subject which the majority of the prelates now seemed inclined to refer to the pontiff. A breve, sent

by the pope through the medium of Lanciano, and expressing the greatest affection and the most specious promises, had no small effect towards promoting good will; and the joy of the legates was still more increased by the arrival of a letter from the king of Spain to his ambassador, the marquis of Pescara, in which he consented to forego the points of issue respecting the "continuation" clause and the question of residence. The archbishop of Granada, in a respectful but firm tone, remonstrated on this concession, declaring that the king must have been misled on the subject; and that, although he should forbear making any decided protest, he felt assured that the king would not be displeased at his persisting in advocating the cause of residence at future sessions.

On the 20th of July, 1562, a congregation was held, in which it was proposed to treat of the sacrifice of the mass, and of the abuses connected therewith. The cardinal of Mantua exhorted the prelates to observe quiet and orderly manners in giving their opinions in the congregation, and that they should observe brevity as much as possible, at the same time mentioning the rules for the right management of the congregations, which the legates had caused to be drawn up, and which gave general satisfaction. Seripando then discoursed touching the manner of examining the heads of doctrine, and the anathemas appertaining thereunto, observing, that as they had been all but settled in previous meetings, there would be little need for lengthy discussion. The archbishop of Granada thought, that as there was plenty of time to spare, the sacrament of Order might be treated of at the same time; to which opinion the bishop of the Five Churches gave his assent.

The theologians and canonists having been classified, and each allotted their respective duties, with a view to insuring despatch in the examinations, the following thirteen articles were submitted to their consideration:—

1. Is the mass a commemoration only of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross, and not a real sacrifice?

2. Does the sacrifice of the mass derogate from the sacrifice of the cross?

3. Did Christ, by those words, "Do this in remembrance of me," ordain that the apostles should offer up his body and blood in the mass?

4. Does the sacrifice in the mass benefit the receiver only ; and cannot it be offered for others also, as well for the living as for the dead,—for their sins, satisfactions, and other necessities ?

5. Are private masses, in which the priest alone communicates, and not others, unlawful, and to be abolished ?

6. Is it repugnant to the institution of Christ that water be mixed with the wine used in the mass ?

7. Does the canon of the mass contain errors, and is it to be abrogated ?

8. Is the custom of the Roman Church of pronouncing secretly, and in a low voice, the words of consecration, to be condemned ?

9. Is the mass not to be celebrated except in the vulgar tongue, which all understand ?

10. Is it an abuse to appropriate certain masses to certain saints ?

11. Are the ceremonies, vestments, and the other outward signs, used by the Church in the celebration of masses, to be abolished ?

12. Is it the same thing for Christ mystically to immolate himself for us, and to give us himself to eat ?

13. Is the mass a sacrifice only of praise and thanksgiving, or is it also a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead ?

To these was subjoined a request that the theologians should state whether these articles were erroneous, or false, or heretical, and to be condemned by the synod.²

CHAPTER LXII.

Discontent of the French Ambassadors. Advice of the Pope.

While these topics were occupying the attention of the theologians, the French ambassadors began to find their position an unsatisfactory one. Since the promulgation of the last decree, their jealousy respecting their want of importance in the synod had increased, and they wrote repeatedly to the French court, requesting the presence of a greater number of French bishops and theologians, without

² Sarpi, p. 440, sq. ; Paleotto, p. 183, sq.

whom it was impossible either to maintain a satisfactory position in the council, or to carry out the instructions they had received. In return, it was stated that, by the approaching September, at least forty fathers would arrive at Trent, and the ambassadors besought the legates to postpone the session until the meeting should be strengthened by the expected addition ; but failed in obtaining their demand.

Early in August, the pontiff wrote to the legates, directing them to yield to the wishes of the emperor, for the concession of the cup to the laity ; but they, probably knowing the uncertain state of feeling in the council, recommended the pontiff to avoid making any such grant a conciliar act, and advised that a general declaration only should be made, touching the expediency of granting it under certain circumstances, but leaving the decision of the cases to the judgment of the Roman pontiff.^a Thus did the universal institution of Christ become a favour to be bestowed at the option of a man !

CHAPTER LXIII.

Congregations respecting the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Among other rules which had been made by the legates, with the view of expediting the business of the council, it had been proposed that each speaker should be limited to half an hour. On the very first day, however, Salmeron, the pope's theologian, presuming on his position, spent the whole space of one congregation in a speech replete with commonplace.^b Torres followed him the next day, and was equally prolix in repeating the same things ; and the legates were so annoyed, both at the concessions advised respecting granting the cup, and at the presumption of their conduct in transgressing the rules of the council, that they resolved to make an example of the offenders. In fact, so little authority had the determination of the synod to regulate its own proceedings, that, according to Visconti, in four congregations only six individuals had spoken.^c

However, some progress in drawing up the doctrine and

^a Pallav. xvii. 14.

^b Sarpi, p. 528 : "Non pero s'udirono da lui se non cose comuni, le quali non meritano memoria particolare."

^c Mendham, p. 226.

canons of the mass was made, and the theologians were nearly unanimous in declaring the mass to be a true sacrifice. But on the 24th of July, George d'Ataïda, a Portuguese divine, delivered a discourse, which, from its near approach to the requirements of the Reformers, is too interesting to be omitted here.^d After allowing the patristic authority for considering the mass as a sacrifice, he alleged, that "it must certainly be concluded that it hath been so taught by an apostolic tradition, the force whereof is more than sufficient to make articles of faith, as this council hath maintained from the beginning. But this true and solid foundation is weakened by those who would build in the air, seeking to find in the Scriptures that which is not there, and giving occasion to their adversaries to calumniate the truth, while they see it grounded upon such an unstable sand." And having thus spoken, he proceeded to examine, one after another, the places of the Old and New Testament alleged by the divines, showing that no express signification of the sacrifice could be drawn from them. To the argument drawn from Melchizedek, he answered, that Christ was a priest of that order, as he was the only-begotten, eternal, without predecessor, father, mother, or genealogy. And this is proved, too, plainly by the epistle to the Hebrews, where St. Paul, discoursing at large of this place, doth handle the eternity and singularity of the priesthood, but maketh no mention of the bread and wine. He repeated the argument of St. Augustine, that, when there is a fit place for a thing to be spoken, and it is not spoken, an argument may be drawn from the authority negatively. Of the paschal lamb he said, that it could not be presupposed for a thing so evident that it was a sacrifice; and perhaps to him that would take upon him to prove the contrary, the victory would necessarily be yielded, and also that it was too hard a metaphor to make it a type of the eucharist, and not rather of the cross. He commended those theologians who, having brought forward that passage of Malachi, added that of St. John, *to worship in spirit and in truth*, because, forsooth, the

^d Pallavicino, xviii. 1, says, that the real speaker was not George d'Ataïda, but Francesco Foriéro, a Portuguese Dominican. Visconti, in a letter of the 27th of July, bears witness to the arguments detailed in this speech, but merely mentions that it was spoken by a Portuguese theologian. I have chiefly followed Brent's translation, p. 510, sq.

one and the other did formally speak of the same thing, and were to be expounded alike ; that no difficulty should be made concerning the word *adore*, as it did also certainly signify a sacrifice ; and the woman of Samaria took it in the general signification. But when Christ added, *God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit*, no man that is not desirous of perverting things to an improper sense will say that a sacrament, which consists of a thing visible and invisible, is purely spiritual, but composed of this and the elementary sign. Therefore, he that will explain both those places of internal adoration, cannot be convinced, and must have probability on his side ; the application being plain, that this is offered in all places, and by all nations, and is purely spiritual, as God is a pure spirit. And he proceeded, and said that the words, *this is my body which is given for you, and my blood which is shed for you*, have a more plain meaning, if they be referred to the body and blood in their natural essence, than in the sacramental ; as when it is said, *Christ is the true vine which bringeth forth the wine*, it is not meant that the significative vine doth bring forth wine, but the real. So, also, *this is my blood which is shed*, doth not signify that the sacramental and sacrificial blood was shed, but the blood natural and signified. And that which St. Paul saith of taking “part in the sacrifice of the Jews and of the table of devils,” is understood of the rites which God did institute by Moses, and of those which the Gentiles did use in sacrificing ; so that it cannot hence be proved that the eucharist is a sacrifice : that it is plain in Moses, that, in the votive sacrifices, the oblation was all presented to God, and a part burnt, which was called the sacrifice, and that what remained belonged partly to the priest, and partly to him that offered, which they did eat with whom they pleased ; neither was this called to sacrifice, but to participate of the thing sacrificed. The Gentiles did imitate the same ; yea, that part which was not consumed upon the altar was sent by some to be sold, and this is the table which is not the altar. The plain meaning of St. Paul is, that as the Jews, eating the part belonging to him that offereth, which is a remainder of the sacrifice, do partake of the altar, and the Gentiles likewise ; so we, eating the eucharist, are partakers of the sacrifice of the cross. And this it is that Christ said, *Do this in remem-*

brance of me, and which St. Paul said, *As often as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall profess that the Lord died for you.* But whereas it is said that the apostles were, by the words of the Lord, ordained priests to offer sacrifice, when he said *Do this*, without doubt it is understood of that which they had seen him do. It must, therefore, be manifest first that he hath offered ; which cannot be, because the opinions of divines are various, and every one confesseth that both the one and the other is catholic ; and those who deny that Christ hath offered cannot conclude by these words that he hath commanded the oblation. He then brought forward the arguments of the Protestants, by which they maintain that the eucharist is not instituted for a sacrifice, but for a sacrament ; and concluded that it could not be said that the mass was a sacrifice but by the ground of tradition, exhorting them to rest upon this, and not to make the truth uncertain by desiring to prove too much. He then came to the Protestant arguments ; in refuting which he gave his hearers little satisfaction ; for he recited their arguments with force and plausibility, but gave weak answers, rather tending to confirm them. Some attributed this to the shortness of time which remained until nightfall, and others thought he was unable to express himself better ; but the greater part believed that he was far from satisfied with his own answers.

Hereupon the fathers murmured with great dissatisfaction ; and, in the next congregation, Jacopo Pavia, another Portuguese divine, repeated and refuted the arguments of his colleague, excusing him as being of really the same mind with himself. Strangely enough, the legates were satisfied of his having no intention to offend, and that his orthodoxy was unshaken. Nevertheless, he quitted Trent a few days after, and his name is omitted in the subsequent catalogues of the assembly.

It is impossible to go into the lengthened debates which followed. The observance of the mass had been by no means regulated by a consistent ritual, but, with some exceptions, use and occasion, rather than deliberate decree and prescript, had been the only guide. This was strongly urged by Antonio of Valtellina, a Dominican ; who, in describing the great variations in the mass, as used in different countries,

maintained that as, even at Rome, the vestments, vessels, and other ornaments of the ministers and altars, are so changed that, if the ancients should return to the world, they would not know them ; that it would be dangerous to enforce the observance of the rites practised by the Church of Rome ; and he concluded by urging the granting of the cup ; by which he gave great dissatisfaction.

Before continuing the debates, it may be well to observe, that the Spanish prelates were in a state of great dissatisfaction at the large majority of the Italians in the council, and they wrote to their king, complaining of the non-decision of the question of residence, and of the bribery and corruption by which the pope swayed the council. The legates, however, counterplotted, and sought to ruin the credit of the prelates of Granada and Segovia, on the ground of their having promised their votes to the bishop of the Five Churches in favour of administering the chalice, without paying any respect to his majesty's wishes on the subject. The pope was not forgetful of anything calculated to strengthen his power ; and, both by means of his legates, and by intrigues with the Spanish ambassador, he was prepared to withstand any dangerous concessions in the council, or any external attacks on the part of the Protestants.

Another annoyance arose from the fact, that all ambassadors were compelled to negotiate with the legates only, and both the French and Spanish deputies expressed great dissatisfaction, especially as such restriction was contrary to the rule of previous councils. Nevertheless, business proceeded ; and on the 11th of August the theologians submitted the result of their labours, consisting of four lengthy chapters and several canons, before a general congregation. Two questions were the subject of debate ; the first of which was, whether the canons should be preceded by a statement of doctrine or not. Some wished the subject of doctrine to be altogether omitted ; others wished for a simple declaration, unaccompanied by reasons ; but the third and stronger party were in favour of clear and solid doctrine, supported by competent proofs and arguments. The first party observed, that as most of the arguments were derived from tradition, the heretics would be little likely to yield respect to them, while the Catholics stood in no need of any proofs. But the third

party maintained that the council appeared in the light of a teacher and parent, as well as of a judge, and that they ought to be prepared to render an account of the reasons which actuated their decree, as well as to seek to win the hearts of the heretics by gentleness and argument, rather than to exterminate them with the sword. It was therefore determined, that a statement of doctrine should be prepared.^e

This dispute was succeeded by the more serious one as to whether Christ offered himself up to the Father for the redemption of the human race at the Last Supper, or only on the cross. Four opinions prevailed on the subject, which we will briefly describe, following the notes taken by Paleotto.

The first party held that Christ offered himself at the Last Supper; and this opinion, promulgated by Salmeron and supported by him with many passages from the Greek and Latin fathers, was embraced by Madrucci and the bishop of Otranto; and the bishop of Rossano alleged that the Germans themselves affirmed the same thing in the document entitled the Interim.

Numerous other prelates spoke to the same effect; but the most powerful arguments were brought forward by Diego Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, who had arrived from Trent on the 23rd of July, and made his first appearance in congregation on the 21st of August. Regarding the question as matter of fact, to be decided by testimony, he appealed to upwards of forty ancient and modern writers, Greek and Latin, in defence of the sacrificial character of Christ's act in the Last Supper. After entering into explanations of the passages of Scripture bearing upon the question, he proceeded to refute the assertion that it derogates from the dignity of the sacrifice on the cross. He urged, that the omnipotent acts of Christ had ever benefited man, and that the death on the cross ought not to claim the whole credit of our salvation, although it was to be regarded as the great and crowning act of Christ's ministry in our behalf, and as not consisting in one act only, but embracing numberless others of infinite mercy.^f

^e Paleotto, pp. 193-6.

^f Paleotto, p. 200; Pallav. xviii. 2. The latter author enters into a hearty panegyric of his brother-Jesuit.

The contrary opinion was maintained by the archbishops of Granada, Braga, and Lanciano, and by four other prelates, who held that the sacrifice at the Last Supper was eucharistic only. The details of the different speeches need not be repeated.

The third party amalgamated these two contrary opinions, and advised that in the doctrine it should be stated that Christ offered himself up at the Last Supper, but that no mention should be made as to the *manner* in which he did so. As in the former disputes on transubstantiation, so on this occasion, room was left open for the wranglings of schoolmen ; and while the Protestants were anathematized for not believing what the other party themselves did not understand, Catholicism was left in free possession of her own inconsistencies, and was privileged to believe after its own fashion, provided it believed *what* the Church enjoined.

An attempt was then made in favour of celebrating the mass in the vulgar tongue, and precedents were alleged to support the propriety of changing the present system. But little good-will was shown to this most necessary act of reform, and it fell to the ground unheeded.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Discussions respecting the Grant of the Chalice.

Meanwhile, the question of administering the chalice was also debated with great activity, the ambassadors of the emperor being vehement in their demands for its concession to Bohemia, Hungary, and the German states. After much had been urged respecting the danger of denying, and the many advantages of granting the cup, and after reference had been made to previous instances in which that concession had proved beneficial to the unity of the Church, the following document was submitted to the fathers for consideration :—

“ Article the first.—Ought communion under both kinds, as requested in the name of his most sacred majesty the emperor, on behalf of the whole Roman empire, in as far as it contains all Germany, as well as on behalf of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and archduchy of Austria, and likewise all other provinces of his imperial majesty, to be granted by the holy synod, under the following conditions?

"1. That those wishing to communicate under both kinds should in all other matters, both as regards this and the other sacraments, as well as in every other matter of faith, doctrine, and ritual, agree with all the doctrines received by the holy Roman Church ; and likewise religiously admit and observe all the decrees promulgated by this holy synod.

"2. That pastors and preachers of the aforesaid nations shall believe and teach that the custom of communicating under one kind only, which has been approved and long observed by the Church, is praiseworthy, and to be observed as a law, except it be otherwise determined by the Church ; and that those who persist in thinking differently are to be esteemed as heretics ; and that they shall not administer this communion under both kinds save to those who believe and have confessed this truth.

"3. That they are bound, as respectful sons, to display with a faithful and sincere heart all manner of obedience and reverence to our most holy lord the pope, as lawful bishop and master of the universal Church.

"4. That they accord the obedience and reverence, similarly due, to archbishops, bishops, and their other prelates.

"5. That this use of the cup be only permitted to those who have displayed contrition, and have been confessed according to the custom of the Catholic Church. Also, that ordinaries provide most diligently and with all manner of caution, that in the administration of the blood no sacrilege or profanation take place."[‡]

The second article was to this effect : "Is this power to be intrusted to the archbishops and bishops of the aforesaid places, to wit, that any of them, as a delegate of the Apostolic See, shall be able to permit the curates of churches within his diocese to communicate under both kinds to those who seek it, in the said churches, but under the aforesaid conditions?"

CHAPTER LXV.

Debates on the Grant of the Cup.

On the 28th of August, 1562, some important debates took place with reference to the above propositions. The bishop

[‡] Paleotto, p. 221, sq.

of the Five Churches observed, that the circumstances of the present time demanded the most diligent and impartial consideration, and that the grant of the cup, so often urged by the emperor, was a question involving the fidelity of a large portion of the imperial party to the Catholic Church. He represented that they had only abstained from defection, under the promise that their wishes on this subject should be attended to in a short time. He then urged that "it had always been the right of the Church to make changes in matters appertaining to its jurisdiction, that is to say, in such matters as, without detriment to faith, might be changed according to the exigences of circumstances. Thus, in this present instance, the law abrogating the communion of the chalice was not brought in until the Council of Constance, and that with the view of meeting many inconveniences and heresies which had arisen ; that this law had been soon after set aside by another council, restored again by Pius II. ; while Paul III. and Julius III. had granted permission to restore the old system. After enumerating various instances in which the use of the chalice had either been granted or connived at, he wound up an able oration by setting forth the great prospects of peace and unity which seemed likely to result from the proposed concession, and the alienation of whole kingdoms and provinces from their allegiance to the Roman see, which must be the inevitable consequence of persisting in retaining a custom, which, both by nature and reason, admitted of change according to circumstances."^h

The patriarch of Jerusalem, followed by some other prelates, was profuse in his compliments to the piety and goodwill of Ferdinand, but asserted that the proposed grant of the cup involved great danger, inasmuch as they were by no means certain that the piety, faith, and humility of those who demanded it were to be relied on as sufficient to deserve such concession. He alleged that the very reasons which had induced the fathers of the Council of Constance to withdraw the use of the chalice still remained in force ; that the concessions made previously had been fruitless ; and furthermore, that there was great reason to fear, that the grant of

^h Paleotto, pp. 224-9. Cf. Le Plat, t. v. p. 467, sqq., where the speech bears date Sept. 2, and varies in other respects. See, also, Pallav. xviii. 3.

the cup might countenance the idle spread and heretical belief, that as much was not contained under one kind as under both.

The archbishop of Granada, while inclining to the opinion of the bishop of the Five Churches, was at the same time desirous that the question should be further considered. But the archbishop of Rossano, after repeating the danger lest the Nestorian heresy, which denied that as much is contained under one species as under both, should be revived, proceeded to enlarge upon the danger and sacrilege presumed to result from the accidental spilling of the most sacred blood in the eucharist ; the difficulty of preserving it from turning sour, and added, that, in many populous parishes, on a festival, the difficulty of procuring sufficient wine would be incalculable. Nor did he think that the conditions, under which it was proposed to permit the use of the chalice, were sufficient to protect that authority of the synod, since, whether they were observed or not, the decree of the council would still remain to posterity, fixed, as it were, to the pillars of the universal Church. He concluded by recommending that the whole matter should be left to the judgment of the supreme pontiff, whose decision respecting its being permitted in particular cases was safer than a conciliar decision embracing the whole world.

The archbishop of Braga alleged that four sorts of men seemed to be concerned in the question at issue : the Catholics, who did not require the use of the chalice ; those openly professing heresy, who neither sought it, nor ought to receive it, if they did ; those who are heretics at heart, and yet pretend to be pious Catholics, and to whom, as their desire for the cup arose from a desire to curry favour with the emperor or other princes, no concessions ought to be made ; and a fourth party, who were uniform in faith, and did not steadfastly cling to the Catholic doctrine and dogmas. To this latter party he thought there was even less reason for making concessions, since they erred in not believing that Christ is wholly contained under one species.

The archbishop of Lanciano maintained the very reverse opinion, holding that the infirm were those whom it most became the council to consider. He alleged the permission given by Paul to Timothy to be circumcised, and the letter

of St. Gregory permitting the marriage of clerks in a particular district.

The archbishop of Philadelphia, and suffragan of the bishop of Eristat, confessed that there might be danger in refusing; but that there would be greater risk in granting, the request made for the chalice; and that it was the duty of the synod to cling to the practice of the universal Church, and to treat innovations with abhorrence.

The archbishop of Chiozza, in a curiously categorical speech, remarked that the question appeared to resolve itself under six points: 1st, What was the thing sought?—and he held that it was a thing not only good in its kind, but even in a certain wise commanded by the law. 2ndly, By whom?—and he held that the good deserts of the emperor in reference to the Catholic religion were sufficient assurance on that head. 3rdly, as to the persons for whom it was sought. Those, he observed, were not to be looked upon as enemies, who acknowledged neither the Church, the pontiff, nor the synod, but as Catholics, who craved for the chalice, not because they believed it to be necessary, but because it would be a means of peace and unity with their brethren, and ultimately of their being re-established in the Catholic faith. 4thly, as to whom was made the request? On this he observed, that although it was asked of the synod, yet the request was virtually made to the pontiff, as head of the synod, without whose assent the decrees of the synod could have no force; and that their request was therefore tantamount to a direct appeal to the pope, whose part it was to determine such matters. 5thly, as to the conditions under which it was demanded; they were such, that, if they were not observed, the concessions must be accounted void. 6thly, as to the time and occasion. He repeated that this was the most important matter of all, and that it was of serious importance to reflect whether the heretics might not take advantage of such a concession on the part of the Church, and increase their demands to an even absurd extent. “But,” he concluded, “there are, nevertheless, three reasons which incline me to wish this concession made. 1st, Christian charity; 2ndly, the authority of his imperial majesty, whose great piety and religion compel us to believe that, in making this request, he was actuated by the best wishes for the welfare of the Church;

and, 3rdly, the like concession previously made to the Bohemians by the Council of Basle, subsequently confirmed, and under as easy conditions as those now demanded by Paul III.”ⁱ

It would be impossible to enter into the details of the various arguments, which Paleotto had so accurately and patiently digested ; but, as Mendham^k observes, we must observe throughout them “such an absence of legitimate and scriptural reasoning, that it will be deemed sufficient to say, that there was some variation in their sentiments.” The address, however, of the concluding speaker, Diego Lainez, deserves notice. After totally rejecting the grant of the chalice, and alleging that the emperor was to be considered, in this respect, not as the protector, but as the son of the Church, and that obedience was therefore his first duty, he wound up by saying : “Let us not fear, O fathers, that even if the aid of human princes desert us, that God, whose cause is at stake, will be wanting to us ; since we, with intrepid faith, ever remember that the most holy Church, founded on the most precious blood of his Son, although it may be reduced to a small number, shall never perish.”

The remarks of our accurate eye-witness and reporter of these debates, Paleotto, cannot here be omitted. “It seemed wonderful,” says he, “that so many fathers on both sides, famed for their erudition, prudence, and integrity of life, should have been so inconsistent with each other, that, were their authority to receive attention, the mind would be left in utter suspense. For instance, there were but two French prelates present ; and of these, the archbishop of Paris took one view of the subject, the bishop of Lavaus another. What shall I say of the bishop of Philadelphia, who, being mature in years and of remarkable reputation for uprightness, had great influence in impugning the concession of the chalice ? Touching him of Segovia, I have already said that he changed his opinion immediately upon hearing the remarks of Hosius. Again, the bishop of Lavenmuntz, also a German prelate, when the question was first mooted immediately left for Germany ; while he of Ceneda advocated one view in the council, another in his private conversations with the prelates.

ⁱ Paleotto, p. 232, sq.

^k P. 232.

Other proctors, moreover, of German prelates, in their own familiar conversation, proved their sense of the injustice of the petition, although, not having a vote, it was impossible for them to make known their opinions.¹ Many other matters of no trifling importance happened ; for when the bishop of the Five Churches, who had the greatest anxiety for the welfare of the empire, after having, as above detailed, done all in his power to conciliate the minds of the fathers to Ferdinand, he of Caorla, who took the extreme reverse opinion, when it came to his turn to speak, brought forward two arguments against the former speaker, by which he showed his great anxiety for the reputation of the holy synod. One was, that, if the cup be denied, the prosperous progress of the council would be hindered : another was, his own constant attendance at the discussions of the council, when so many of those whom it most concerned were systematically absent.

“ Moreover, among the abbots who delivered their opinions, a certain canon, Ricardo de Vercelli^m by name, defended the refusal of the chalice with so much ardour as to declare that the demand for it savoured of heresy, and to volunteer to prove this by arguments. On his continuing to speak, the cardinal of Mantua rebuked him with great severity, and bade him cease talking so absurdly ; for, seeing that this proposition had been set forth by the legates, it was an offence to their dignity to style it heretical. On his still continuing to speak, the cardinal bade him be silent. After the next speaker had finished, he straightway left his seat, went to the legates, and asked pardon for anything that he might have spoken inconsiderately, at the same time asking permission to lay open his real intentions to the whole synod. Having obtained leave, he retracted his former assertions, and all perceived that his mistake had arisen rather from ignorant simplicity than from evil intention.”ⁿ

Following the same excellent guide, I will now briefly

¹ Waterworth, p. cxcii.

^m Cf. Sarpi, p. 460.

ⁿ Paleotto, pp. 238-40. “ This fact,” observes Mendham, “ is mentioned more strongly by Visconti in a letter of the 7th of September, where he calls him general of the order, and makes him say that the demand of the cup savoured not only of heresy but of mortal sin.—Mendham, p. 233, *note*. Paleotto’s account differs from those of Pallavicino and Sarpi (cf. Courayer, t. ii. p. 306, *n.* 80), but seems, on the whole, more like the correct one.

sum up the reasons alleged on both sides. He gives them as follows :—

For the grant of the chalice.—1. The constant custom of the early Church for upwards of twelve hundred years, and the silence of the fathers as to any denial of the chalice. 2. That it is a pure rite, which the Church has the power to alter, as was shown by the conduct of the Council of Constance; and that it may therefore be changed now in the reverse way. 3. The consent of Paul III. and other instances before alleged. 4. The request of the emperor. 5. The character of the conditions under which it is to be granted. 6. The example of the Greek Church, and the fact that no warranty is thence derived for fears as to the spilling of the blood. 7. The certain destruction of many nations, and the ill-will which will be excited against the Catholics, if the chalice be refused; also the consent of the nuncio Canisio, or of the pope himself, in regard to those places. 8. The fear of the council being disturbed by Germany, and being harassed by war and seditions. 9. The fact that, if the permission be abused, it can be withdrawn, consistently with its conditions. 10. The changes made in various similar rites from time to time, and the advantage of such concessions in promoting unity. 11. The consolation of reflecting that, whatever may be the result, the council will have done all in their power to promote a pure and holy reunion, and the satisfactory refutation of the malice of its opponents. 12. The debate yet existing among theologians, whether more grace is acquired by receiving the communion under both kinds than under one only. Thus he who seeks it under both chooses the safest way; and to hinder him from so doing is to inflict an injury.

Reasons against the concession.—1. The great scandal which will arise among other Catholic nations, and even in some parts of Germany, if the excellent institution of the Church touching the denial of the use of the cup be departed from. 2. The danger of the demand spreading among other nations less Catholic, and which will proceed to other demands. 3. The fact that the conditions imposed at the Council of Constance, and afterwards in the time of Paul III., had not been observed. 4. That it would lead to a like demand for the marriage of priests, and the use of meat. In fact, the present demands show that these three points hang

closely together. 5. The insufficiency of the reasons by which the Church was formerly led to communicate under both kinds, and the existence of the same reasons by which the Council of Constance was induced to restrict the laity to one. 6. Because they expect more of the divine aid from both kinds than one, which is heretical ; and because, even if the conditions compelled them to maintain the contrary, the protest itself will be absurd. 7. That if they be heretical in other respects, this cannot be granted to them, without evidence of their renunciation of error ; and if they become Catholics, they cannot insist upon this one point, save only from a captious obstinacy ; seeing that it in nowise concerns their salvation. 8. The fear of spilling the blood, and of sacrilege, which can never be thoroughly avoided, especially on such days as Easter, when great multitudes are present ; the great quantity of wine, which neither can nor ought to be consecrated ; and the danger of administering wine to the aged and the paralyzed. 9. The danger of innovation. 10. The fact that so many really Catholic nations had never made any such demand, and the certainty that it must therefore proceed not from the love of God, but from hostility to the Church. 11. That if such concession is to be made, it should be made by the sovereign pontiff, who, by means of his legates, nuncios, and ministers, can obtain correct information as to the manners, disposition, and faith of those who seek it. But that it is unsafe for the fathers of the synod, having scarcely any knowledge of these nations, to grant such permission, seeing that they neither know to whom it is to be granted, how far they may be trusted, and what may be hoped from them. 12. Heresies touching this sacrament were never so numerous as at the present time ; and if any change be made, some heresy will derive fresh strength, and the ignorant will be persuaded that other points of this sacrament may be changed, and that what has been hitherto defended is not firm. Heretics have no greater wish than to sever the unity of the Church by various arts. Moreover, all novelties are to be shunned, and we must hold to ancient tradition as the safer rule.

He then enumerated the conditions to be annexed, if the communion under both kinds be at any time granted, which have been already described.

Upon taking the votes, they were to the following effect : fourteen prelates recommended that the matter should be delayed ; thirty-eight plainly denied it ; thirty granted it ; twenty-four wished it to be referred to the will of the pope ; thirty-one approved of the decree for the concession, but wished the execution thereof to be left to the pope ; eleven were doubtful ; eighteen wished to limit the grant to Bohemia and Hungary.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Debates respecting the Mass.

We must not lose sight of the discussions respecting the mass, which had meanwhile been going on. On the 7th of September, the canons and decrees relating to this doctrine were formally laid before the assembled fathers. The archbishop of Granada took exception to the application of the text in the third canon,^o "Do this in remembrance of me," alleging that not only did the question relative to the ordination of priests more properly belong to the sacrament of Order, but that many great authorities referred the institution of orders to the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Many expected that a long dispute would follow ; but, adds Paleotto, "it pleased the divine goodness that others, who spoke on the opposite side, were brief ; and although one^p enlarged in rather a troublesome manner upon the popular superstition, which might seem to be sanctioned by what is said of the effects of the sacrificial mass, yet the majority approved of the doctrine proposed with wonderful consent, and were filled with joy both at the effect and the brevity of the discussion, ascribing the whole to the present grace of the Holy Spirit."^q

"But," continues the same authority, "as Satan never ceases to scatter abroad the seeds of discord, and to dissolve what has been well settled, to the utmost of his power, it seemed good to four Spanish bishops, viz. those of Granada,

^o According to the order above quoted, but second in those afterwards published.

^p Viz. the bishop of Segovia, on account of the words "and other necessities" in the fourth (third published) canon.

^q Mendham, p. 229.

Braga, Segovia, and Almeria, to demand a private audience of the legates the following day. Here they declared that they were urged both by their own official duties and by the stings of conscience to open their minds and declare that they could never bring themselves to approve of the promulgation of the third canon in the present session : first, because it had not been, as was customary, discussed beforehand by the minor theologians ; secondly, because the fathers themselves had consulted authorities in a very imperfect manner ; and thirdly, because the fathers themselves were at great variance, many of them wishing the discussion to be postponed till the sacrament of Order should be treated of—an opinion in which they themselves coincided. The legate Hosius, who had committed himself by some writings on the same subject, opposed them, but in very moderate terms ; while the other legates, although feeling restricted to observe the wishes of the synod on the subject, seemed favourable to the proposed delay.

But the day before the session, September 16th, when almost every matter seemed fully discussed and settled, and the fathers were preparing to leave, the archbishop of Granada commenced a vehement attack upon the same canon to which he had previously objected, and alleged that Dionysius, Maximus, and Chrysostom were opposed to it, inasmuch as they assigned the sacerdotal ordination of the apostles not to the Last Supper, but the day of Pentecost. He exhorted them, therefore, to defer the examination of this point till the next session ; and a violent confusion arose. Hosius attempted to pacify the disturbance, by distinguishing into two parts the power conferred upon the apostles ; one of which, touching the real body of Christ, he alleged was given them at the Last Supper ; the other, concerning his mystical body, on the day of Pentecost. The bishop of Tortose, who had perhaps foreseen this dispute, read a digest of authorities in defence of the obnoxious canon, and was supported by some other prelates. The tumult, however, increased ; and it was only by the management of two of the legates that the dispute was brought to a peaceable termination. “The means,” however, “did not escape without censure ; for Simonetta seems to have expressed himself as relying upon the obstinacy of those who favoured the canon to an extent

which might be interpreted to imply, that they were perfect proof against any opposing arguments, however conclusive and convincing. So far the business of the council had proceeded relative to the mass."^r

CHAPTER LXVII.

The Disputes respecting the Grant of the Chalice resumed.

We have already^s seen the doubtful state of the suffrages of the fathers relative to the question of administering the communion under both kinds, as well as the grounds urged on both sides. Nor can we fail to perceive how closely interested the papal adherents were in the denial of any such grant, save under such conditions as might render it a matter, not of ecclesiastical law and recognition, but of condescension on the part of the papal see. Let us now return to the bishop of the Five Churches, who, as ambassador from the emperor, had every reason to feel much embarrassed at the uncertain state of the dispute, and the doubtful character of any concessions he might hope to gain.

On finding the diversity of opinions on the subject, he pressed the legates to refer the matter to the pope, recommending them at the same time to secure the consent of his holiness to the grant of the cup under the conditions annexed. The legates feared that, unless some attention was paid to the wishes of the ambassador, he, and with him the German party, would raise objections to the decrees respecting the sacrifice of the mass. They accordingly directed the auditor to draw up a form of decree, which, while agreeable to the opinion of the fathers, should at the same time satisfy the ambassador.

This was done;^t but it did not gain the approbation of the ambassador; and another was prepared, the main purport of which was as follows: "That whereas it seemed impossible for such a matter to be settled and defined at present, the council had thought fit to refer it to the judgment of the pontiff, to the end that he might, after the necessary inquiries, permit the use of the chalice to such nations and people as he judges fitting and useful, under the annexed conditions, or

^r Mendham, p. 230, sq.

^s End of ch. lxv.

^t This will be found in Paleotto, p. 248, sq.

such others as the Holy Spirit should suggest to him ; such concessions being according to the wish, advice, and approval of the most holy synod."^u

But the fathers were too careful of the interests of the pope-dom to consent to a measure which gave the council even a discretionary right of judgment over the actions of the pontiff. It was accordingly thrown out by a majority of ten, on the 15th of September, and the president drew up a decree couched in simple terms of reference to the Roman pontiff. This document, which appears in its final form at the end of the seventy-second session, was carried on the 17th,^x thirty-eight voting against it, and ninety-eight deciding in its favour.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Reformation. Abuses of the Mass.

At the same time (*i. e.* September 7th) on which the canons of the mass had been presented, those on reformation were also laid before the fathers. A long memorial, sent from the emperor, was also read, and the legates, in order to show due respect to Ferdinand, extracted from it two points to be proposed to the fathers : the first, relative to the discipline and costume of clerks ; the other to the manner of celebrating divine offices, which was referred to the head of abuses of the mass, of which we shall speak hereafter.^y

The decrees on reformation were at first fourteen in number ; but the third and fourth of these, regulating the pensions to be imposed on bishops and parish priests, were struck out, as referring to what the council held to be a monstrous abuse under any form. The subject, however, presented some difficulties, and caused considerable discussion. The ninth decree, which limited the jurisdiction of the ordinary in the

^u Paleotto, p. 250. Waterworth merely states that it was condemned, but gives no glimpse of the reason why.

^x So Pallav. xviii. 7. Paleotto, who is followed by Mendham, says the 16th. There is the same difference as to the day of the session itself. It may be observed, that this was not the only hinderance that seemed likely to interfere with the progress of matters. Lanssac was urgent that the session should be prorogued until the arrival of the French bishops ; a proposal, however, to which neither legates nor fathers were favourable.

^y Paleotto, p. 255.

hearing of certain cases, which involved a sum beyond the amount prescribed by the Council of Lateran, was also omitted. The remaining eleven decrees, the first of which was framed with an express reference to the wishes of Ferdinand, were left, with some unimportant variations, in the form in which they appear in the published editions.

An elaborate document, consisting of eight chapters, was framed concerning the abuses of the mass. But it was thought, upon deliberation, more advisable to leave minute points of observance and discipline to the judgment of the ordinaries, agreeably to the circumstances and requirements of their churches ; and a more general statement was therefore drawn up, in which the subject was treated under the three heads of covetousness, irreverence, and superstition. A few points, however, which excited some discussion, seem to deserve notice.

One party was desirous that what are called "*missæ siccæ*," that is, masses in which all the rites are observed except consecration, should be abolished ; but, upon further consideration, they determined to make no innovation ; both because their use appeared to be sanctioned in the sacerdotal books, and because, in maritime excursions, the requisites of the sacrament could not always be obtained, and therefore the bare memorial is of importance ; and further, in many places, the ministry necessary to consecration was not safe. It was therefore thought unwise to prohibit the only possible substitute to be found on such occasions.

Another more curious question arose, as to the propriety of burying bodies near the altars where mass was celebrated ; but as there were no definite rules laid down on the subject, and as, if any such rule were now instituted, many sepulchres, and amongst them some of the most magnificent, would have to be destroyed or removed—an interference with which families, who possessed distinguished ancestors, would be ill satisfied—it was abandoned.

In this proposal we can almost perceive a dawning of that same feeling which afterwards animated the tasteless and rabid zeal of the Puritans ; and we must feel rejoiced at the good sense which prevented so unholy an invasion of the rights of the dead, upon the strength of a mere superstition, and to the destruction of many noble works of art. But the

proposal to abolish music in churches was still more redolent of a similar feeling ; and no one, who has compared the difference of a service unaccompanied by music, and even the simplest parochial service in our own churches, will feel surprised that it was promptly negatived. Certain fitting restrictions, however, as to the style and character of the music to be introduced during divine service, and a precept forbidding either the organist or the choir to indulge in light and incongruous strains, were inserted in the decree respecting the celebration of the mass.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Letters of Visconti.

Visconti, in the ciphered portion of a letter bearing date the 4th of September, alludes to the wish of Lanssac, that the session should not meet till the 20th of October, when he expected twenty theologians to arrive from Paris ; and he adds, that the French prelates were bent upon agitating the question whether the pope was, or was not, superior to the council. The Spaniards would join them in this attempt ; and he had been told by one of the legates that the cardinal of Lorraine always discovered a wish to disturb and diminish the authority of the Apostolic See, and to do all in his power that the sacred college should not continue the influence which it possessed in the pontificate.^z

“ It may be proper,” continues Mendham, “ here to refer to the letter immediately preceding, of the 3rd of September, which recognises not only the meeting of a German diet, which was always a formidable thing, at Frankfort, but another fact or speculation of more importance. The writer was in the confidence and knew the mind of his holiness sufficiently well. He repeats the report, that the prolongation of the council would finally produce some impediment to the object desired ; and he had reason to fear *that* event from the prolixity of speech in which the prelates indulged themselves. He accordingly suggests the advantage which may be taken from the scarcity of grain then prevailing ; that since neither the suspension nor the translation of the

^z Mendham, p. 235, sq.

council was feasible, when the prelates begin to complain of the scarcity, which cannot be considered as produced artificially, his holiness may call the council to himself, stating, that he desires to be present in it ; and it is probable if this were proposed, that all the prelates, except the ultramontanists, would consent."

CHAPTER LXX.

The Twenty-second Session.

On the 18th^a of September, 1562, the twenty-second session was opened with the customary ceremonies, mass being celebrated by Pietrantonio di Capona, archbishop of Otranto, and the sermon preached by Visconti, bishop of Ventimiglia. A few of the old objections were revived ; but the only matter of real importance was the protest of the bishop of Segovia, "remarkable," as Mendham observes,^b "not only for its good reasoning, but for adducing a passage as forming a part of the decree which does not appear in the present copies of it.—'Likewise what is affirmed in the doctrine, that by this most holy offering, and unbloody sacrifice of the altar all the sacrifices of nature and the law are perfected and consummated, is disapproved, as well because it derogates much from the bloody sacrifice of the cross, which was the fulfilment of all that was figured, and of which that venerable sacrifice of the altar is commemorative, and from which alone it derives its force ; and also, because neither Scripture nor legitimate tradition affirms this.'" The decree on the concession of the chalice also excited considerable opposition, both absolutely and in particular respects. The last decree, appointing the 19th of November for the next session, was carried without opposition.

Visconti, in a letter bearing the date of the session, expresses great delight at the manner in which it terminated, and expresses his thanks to God at the comparative unity of feeling with which the canons and decrees had been received. He adds, that when the printing of the decrees was contemplated, he intimated to the legates that it was unadvisable to print them. This, while it shows the great influence he must

^a According to Pallavicino's dating.

^b P. 239.

have possessed in the council, also accounts, in a manner, for the omission of the clause above referred to. Nevertheless, there does not seem adequate reason for believing that much alteration was made in the published decrees from those read at the sessions.

As the synod was dismissed after the usual manner, great discourses took place between the fathers touching the continuation of the communion under both kinds. "Concerning which," says Sarpi,^c "some perhaps will be curious to know, for what cause the decree last recited was not put after that of the mass, as the matter seemeth to require, but in a place where it hath no connection or likeness with the article preceding. He may know that there was a general maxim in that council, that to establish a decree of reformation, a majority of voices was sufficient, but that a decree of faith could not be made if a considerable part contradicted. Therefore the legates, knowing that hardly more than half would consent to this of the chalice, resolved to make it an article of reformation, and to place it last among these, to show plainly that they held it to be of that rank."

The emperor's ambassadors felt pleased with the tenor of the decree, hoping that Ferdinand would more easily obtain the concession of the chalice from the pope, and upon more satisfactory conditions, than it would from the council; "but," continues Father Paul, "the emperor had not the same opinion, aiming not to obtain the communion of the cup absolutely, but to pacify the people of his own states and of Germany, who, being dissatisfied with the pope's authority for the things past, could not well relish anything that proceeded from him; whereas, if they had obtained this grant immediately from the council, it would have given them good satisfaction, and led them to believe that they might have obtained other requests; so that this motion being stopped, and the infected ministers cashiered, he hoped he might have held them in the Catholic communion. He saw, by former experience, that the grant of Paul was not well received, and did more harm than good; and, for this cause, he prosecuted the matter no more with the pope, and declared the cause

^c P. 538, Brent.

of it. Therefore, when he received news of the decree of the council, turning to some prelates who were with him, he said, 'I have done all I can to save my people ; now look you unto it, whom it doth more concern.'"

But still greater dissatisfaction arose among those nations, who, relying on the simple justice of their demand, found that, after being referred by the pope to a council, they were again sent back by the council to the pope, and that they were as far off as ever from what they had every right to expect. The juggling character of the whole proceedings was too evident to leave much faith in the council ; and it becomes matter of surprise that so impudent a tampering with the common privileges of Christians, avowedly in the face even of tradition, and calculated to reassert the worst and most insolent claims of the Roman pontiff, did not give rise to acts of open aggression on the part of those, who had patiently waited for the entire sacrament, of which they had been so long and so unwarrantably defrauded.

On the other hand, Pius IV. had every reason to congratulate himself on the termination of the session in a measure which made the council confessedly subject to his authority, and which silenced the fears as to that authority becoming a subject of question. He began to hope that the disputes respecting residence, or any other troublesome subject, would be referred to the same infallible tribunal, and that a way would be paved for hushing all contentions, and for bringing the council to a speedy conclusion. But two difficulties still harassed him. One was, the determinate conduct of the cardinal of Lorraine, who, it has been said by Visconti, meditated demanding the use of the chalice for France, and likewise the removal of images, besides being generally and openly adverse to the papal interests.^d In order to counteract this mischievous influence, he urged the transmontane bishops, even those who had renounced the dignity, to proceed to Trent, and was liberal in his provisions for their support and his promises. On the other hand, the uncertain conduct of the princes caused him great trouble. They seemed to wish the council to go on to no purpose. Such

^d Sarpi, p. 472.

was the case especially with the emperor ; while the king of France seemed desirous to give satisfaction even to the Huguenots. Another troublesome person was the bishop of the Five Churches, who assembled the French, Portuguese, and Swiss ambassadors, and tried to persuade them to insist on the matter of reform and to postpone doctrine, "since," says Visconti,^e "the incredulous and obstinate would not be induced to make any change, and the Catholics had no need of further instruction."

^e In Mendham, p. 240.

PART THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

Demands of the Ambassadors.

"THE present session," observes Paleotto, "is especially memorable, on account of the serious disputes and dangers which transpired during its progress ; for it was prorogued eight times, an event that never happened on any other occasion ; for eight months it was continually harassed by the most violent disputes, and during that period, besides the death of two of the most illustrious legates, so many unexpected events took place as it would be no easy task to recount."^a

But before we attempt to detail the proceedings of the session itself, it will be well to take notice of the discontent evidently excited in the mind of the French king. His ambassadors, just after the termination of the last session, received notice that, while he approved of what had been laid down by the fathers touching the sacrifice of the mass, he felt that—as far as the adversaries for whose sake the council was chiefly assembled, and seeing that they had neither been present at, nor had declared their sentiments in, the council—the synod might be looked upon as fighting with a shadow, and that it was easy for the prelates to settle what no one was present to oppose. To the end, therefore, that all suspicion might hereafter be removed, he expressed his desire that any further consideration of doctrine might be postponed until the arrival of the French, German, and Polish prelates, who were expected shortly. Meanwhile he advised the fathers to give their deepest attention to matters calculated to strengthen the discipline of the Church,

^a Mendham compares the somewhat similar opening of the Histories of Tacitus. Livy's second Decade opens in much the same manner.

and to bestow all possible pains on that reformation which alone could confer credit on the synod.^b

The legates replied, that they were willing to pay immediate attention to the subject of reform, and even requested the ambassadors to furnish them with a copy of their instructions, to the end that they might give greater satisfaction to the wishes of the French king. The ambassadors, in reply, gave them a document to the effect, "that the king having seen the decrees of the 16th of July, concerning the communion *sub utraque*, and deferring two articles on the same matter, howsoever he commendeth that which is done, yet he cannot conceal that which is generally remarked, viz. that the matter of discipline and manner is either quite omitted or but slenderly handled, and the controverted points in religion in which all the fathers agree hastily determined. Which, although he thinketh to be false, yet he desireth that the propositions of his may be expounded as necessary to provide for the good of Christendom and the calamities of his kingdom. And having found by experience, that neither severity nor moderation hath been able to reduce those who are separated from the Church, he thought fit to have recourse to the general council, which he hath obtained of the pope; that he was sorry that the tumults of France did hinder the coming of his prelates; that he saw well that the constancy and rigour in continuing the form begun by the legates and bishops was not fit to reconcile peace and cause an unity in the Church; that his desire was that nothing might be done to alienate the minds of the adversaries now in the beginning of the council, but that they may be invited, and, in case they come, received as children with all humanity, hoping that by this means they will suffer themselves to be taught, and brought back to the bosom of the Church. And because all that are in Trent do profess the same religion, and neither can nor will make doubt of any part thereof, he thinketh the disputation and censure in points of religion to be not only superfluous, but impertinent for the Catholics, and a cause to separate the adversaries the more. For he that thinketh they will receive the decrees of the council, in

^b Paleotto, p. 282, sq. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the agreement in the accounts of this eye-witness and faithful reporter of the proceedings, and of Sarpi.

which they have not assisted, doth not know them well ; neither will anything be done by their means, but arguments furnished for writing more books. Therefore the king thinketh it better to omit the matter of religion, until the other of reformation be well set in order ; and that this is the scope at which every one must aim, that the council, which now is great, and will be greater by the coming of the Frenchmen, may produce fruit. Afterwards the king demandeth, that in regard of the absence of his bishops, the next session may be put off until the end of October, or the publication of the decrees deferred, or a new order expected from the pope, to whom he hath written, labouring in the meanwhile in the matter of reformation. And because he understandeth that the ancient liberty of councils is not observed,^c that kings or princes, or their ambassadors, may declare the necessities of their states, his majesty demandeth that their authority may be preserved, and all revoked which hath been done to the contrary."^d

A similar wish was expressed by the imperial ambassadors on the part of Ferdinand, but with no better success. Furthermore, other causes of complaint were rife. While the pope was unwilling to give the French and German prelates an opportunity of being present, by postponing the debates on the few remaining doctrinal subjects, he was securing a safe majority on his own side, and the council was becoming more and more a packed assembly, in which the pontifical interest was all but paramount.^e Indeed, the pope's proceedings in this respect were so apparent, that we can well believe, with Father Paul, that "he did of set purpose proceed so openly, that the cardinal of Lorraine might know that his attempts would be in vain, and so resolve not to come, or that the French might take some occasion to make the council dis-

^c But Courayer well observes :—" Dans le mémoire cela est exprimé conditionnellement, et l'on y disoit, que *s'il s'était fait quelque chose de contraire à cette liberté, on le revoquât. Les dits ambassadeurs, y est-il dit, insisteront que cette liberté-là leur soit restituée, et s'il a été décrété quelque chose au contraire, qu'il soit révoqué.* Expression qui est plus douce, et où la délicatesse du conceil est mieux ménagée que ne semble l'indiquer *Fra Paolo*" (b. ii. p. 344).

^d Brent's *Sarpi*, p. 546-7. Cf. Le Plat, v. v. p. 501, sqq.

^e Compare an important letter of Lanssac to the queen of France, in Le Plat, v. v. p. 505.

solve.”^f In fact, the cardinal had been assured by his kinsman Ferrara, “that his journey would be of no moment, and of small reputation to himself, in regard that he would arrive after all was determined;” a remark which was thought to proceed from the pope, or, at all events, to be by no means displeasing to him.

CHAPTER II.

Propositions on the Sacrament of Order.

Several propositions had meanwhile been prepared touching the sacrament of Order, to be examined by the theologians, who were divided into six classes for the purpose.^g These propositions were laid before the theologians on the 18th of September, extracted from the writings of heretics, to the following effect :—

1. That order is not a sacrament, only a certain rite for electing and constituting the ministers of the word and of the sacraments.

2. That order is not only not a sacrament, but is rather a human figment, devised by men ignorant of ecclesiastical matters.

3. That order is not only a sacrament duly ; and that the lower and subsequent orders do not tend as steps to the priesthood.

4. That there is no ecclesiastical hierarchy ; but that all Christians alike are priests ; and that for the uses or exercise [of the ministerial office] there is need for a call from the magistrate and the consent of the people ; and that he who has once been made a priest can again become a layman.

5. That in the New Testament there is no visible and outward priesthood ; nor any spiritual power either to consecrate or to offer the body and blood of our Lord, or to absolve from sins before God ; but only the office and ministry of preaching the Gospel ; and that those who do not preach are not priests.

6. 7. That in the collation of order, unction, and in like manner the ceremonies employed, are not only not required, but pernicious and to be despised ; and that, by ordination,

^f Sarpi, p. 547. The latter reason is, however, scarcely a probable one.

^g Paleotto, p. 280. Sarpi says only four.

the Holy Ghost is not given, and therefore it is impertinent for bishops, when they confer orders, to say, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*.

7. That bishops are not superior to priests ; and that they have not the right to ordain, or, if they have, that it is a power common to them with priests ; and that ordinations conferred by them, without the consent of the people, are void.

Three classes of theologians having been intrusted with the examination of the sacrament of Matrimony, the remaining three occupied themselves in discussing the articles proposed respecting order. "It was," doubtless, as Mendham says, "with a design, that these articles were heretical ones to be condemned, not, as was frequently the case, simple questions to be discussed."^h

Scarcely had these discussions begun, when some of the Spanish prelates began to complain bitterly of the omission in the articles of the one brought forward in the same council, in the time of Julius III., touching the divine right of episcopacy, and its superiority to the priesthood. Seripando replied, that on this head there was no point at issue with the heretics, and that it had therefore been justly omitted. It was rejoined, that Luther had denied that bishops were such by divine right. Seripando answered, that Luther had admitted the divine right of episcopacy as an institution, but had impugned the rites of consecrating bishops, blessing churches, bells, and other such human figments. The Spanish bishops were still dissatisfied, and expressed a fear that, if this article were omitted, the question of the divine right of residence would arise again ; and they expressed the utmost anxiety that no alteration should be made in the article as it formerly stood. "In this," observes Paleotto,ⁱ "they were not much deceived, since the legates wished to take away from the fathers every opportunity for disputing about residence. Nay, when the minor theologians happened to touch even indirectly upon that subject, they were promptly forbidden to take up that point of dispute, and commanded to attend to the one proposed."

The congregations commenced on the 23rd of September,^k

^h P. 242.

ⁱ P. 284.

^k Visconti, Lettre du 24 Sept.

1562, and they were continued, twice a day, until the 2nd of October,¹ or even later. The assembly on the first day was very numerous, upwards of a hundred and sixty prelates, and eighty-four theologians being present, besides the legates, and the imperial, French, Portuguese, Venetian, and Swiss ambassadors. The three first articles were discussed by Salmeron, the papal theologian, Ferdinando di Vellorillo and Diego Paoza, both secular clerks, the former sent by Philip, the latter by Sebastian.

The arguments of Salmeron, in brief, were as follow : that sacrifice and the priesthood cannot be separated, and that the doctrine of the one involves that of the other ; that Luther denied that Order was a sacrament, in order to overthrow the Church ; that it was instituted by Christ in the words " Do this in remembrance of me ;" that the power of conferring order was imparted to the apostles by Christ, with the impress of a characteristic and the use of a peculiar ceremony, and that this power was breathed into them by him ; that this order is a power over the mystical body of Christ, *i. e.* the Church, as the other, conferred at the Last Supper, was over his real body. He then wound up this subject by insisting that bishops were ordained by Christ, as is inferred from the last chapter of St. Luke.

From the sixth chapter of Acts, he next proceeded to insist that order is equally a sacrament in the deaconship, and that grace is conferred thereby ; he went on to confute the heretical opinion that deacons were chosen only for an earthly, and not for a celestial, ministry, both from texts of St. Paul's epistles, and the fourth council of Carthage, of Florence, and Trent. " He then," continues Pallavicino, " brought forward various proofs of the characteristic impressed by the collation of order. He then went on to the fourth article, confuting those who held that priests and deacons might be constituted by the laity, seeing that their office is of a supernatural character, and appertaineth unto the gift of ' feeding the sheep,' which was committed to St. Peter, and that this privilege had therefore been interdicted

¹ So Father Paul. But the author of a journal quoted by Courayer, p. 348, does not make them end till the 8th of October. Sarpi's whole report is here so inaccurate, that I have followed Pallavicino and Paleotto.

to the laity by the eighth council of Lateran and that of Florence. Moreover, when the laity had been allowed to choose them, it was only by the permission of the apostles ; and that the people were present at, and bore testimony to, the election ; but that the power of ordaining rested solely in the Church."^m

Two days having been spent by the theologians of the first class, those of the second class then spoke. Peter Soto, pontifical theologian,ⁿ spoke to the following effect, respecting the fourth and fifth articles : that there is in the Church an hierarchy, *i. e.* a power and prerogative to govern. He proceeded to illustrate the grades of this hierarchy from the fanciful writings of the fictitious Dionysius Areopagite. He denied that all Christians were priests, and alleged that the words of St. Peter, "a holy people, a royal priesthood," referred only to a mystical and spiritual priesthood, not to a proper and bodily one ; that baptism is a sacrament whereby we are born again, not whereby power is conferred on us ; and that, as in the order of nature, so in the order of grace, it is absurd that birth and perfection should unite in one.

He went on to show, by various sayings of St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and the Council of Nice, that Order is an outward sacrament ; and, to show the third grade of the hierarchy, *i. e.* the ministers or deacons, he observed, that although the lower offices may in a certain wise be executed

^m Pallav. xviii. 12, 3-5. The speech is given at full length in Le Plat, v. p. 510, sqq.

ⁿ His speech is wrongly placed on the 23rd by Sarpi. He also differs materially as to its purport. Courayer thinks that the speech reported by Sarpi, on the seven orders instituted by Christ, was delivered by one of the theologians of the first class. This seems likely, if we consider the character of Soto's answer, as given above, as it will then be a reply not only to Salmeron, as Dr. Waterworth has observed, but to another of the earlier speakers. It may be well to quote Sarpi's analysis of this speech : "Soto was copious in showing that there were seven orders, and each properly a sacrament, and all instituted by Christ, saying, it was necessary to make a declaration herein, because some canonists, passing the limits of their profession, have added two more ; the first, tonsure, and the bishopric ; which opinion may cause many other errors of greater importance. He likewise showed at large, that Christ had, while he was on earth, exercised all these orders, one after another ; all whose life, as it was addressed to the last of these sacraments, so it is plain that all the others serve only as a ladder to climb up to the highest, which is the priesthood."

by all Christians, yet they are not exercised by all in the most legitimate and congruous manner; since for such works there is need of a certain power beyond nature, even in the most moral—a power which is imparted by him, who is at the head of the Church—and that therefore the present custom of suffering the laity to administer the seven offices of the Church was neither praiseworthy nor agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church. He then impugned the statement in the third article, that the priesthood is simply the office of preaching, seeing that that office rather appertained to bishops; but bade them guard against the mistake set forth in the latter part of that same article, that no man can be a bishop who possesses not the faculty of preaching.

Returning back to the fourth article, he confuted the latter portion, referring to lay ordination, taking, however, a different view to that of Salmeron, viz. that the right of election, and not the merely bearing witness thereunto, belonged to the people, as was evident from the fourth epistle of St. Cyprian, and from apostolic tradition. But he alleged, although that right was of apostolic origin, nevertheless such traditions, appertaining as they did to a point of government, might be changed, while those, which appertained to sacrament, could not. Thus the Roman pontiffs had been able to regulate the system of ordination, and permit it, as time and circumstances might demand, either to chapters, princes, or others.

The two last articles were examined by the third class of theologians, and more especially by Melchior Cornelio, a secular clerk, sent by the king of Portugal. He remarked that the denial of grace conferred in order was an error of Wickliff. After a defence of the unction, and of other matters opposed in that proposition, he came to the last article, and laboured to prove that the celebrated saying of St. Jerome, quoted by heretics, to the effect that the distinction between bishops and priests is not by nature, but in a prerogative derived from custom, and maintained that the words of the father were to be understood solely of an equality of external jurisdiction prescribed by ecclesiastical law. He also attempted to refute some of Soto's objections to Salmeron, touching the right of lay election.^o

^o Pallav. *ibid.* §§ 6-9.

CHAPTER III.

On the Subject of Reformation. Fresh Difficulties. Proposals to Pius.

We must not lose sight of the speech of Seripando at the opening of the congregations on the 23rd of September. In the absence of the cardinal of Mantua, he recommended the fathers to give fitting attention to the propositions respecting doctrine, while the legates should turn theirs to the subject of reformation.^P

The legates, however, were bent on doing nothing without a reference to the pontiff; and they accordingly despatched a letter to him, especially setting forth the urgency of the fathers to bring on the question of residence.

The main cause of the revival of this bone of contention was a change made in the seventh article from the form in which it had been prepared under the legate Crescenzo. It had then been proposed to condemn the assertion "that bishops are not superior to priests by the divine law." These words, for reasons which will be sufficiently obvious, were now suppressed, in the hope of preventing any tendency to revive the troublesome question of the right of residence.

But this conduct, and the motives which prompted it, had not escaped the observation of the imperial and the French prelates, who remonstrated on the omission of the obnoxious words. The legates replied, as Pallavicino confesses, with some dissimulation, that they had no intention of evading the question touching the right of residence, and that they were willing to discuss it during the present session. They probably spoke the truth; for, as the same historian observes, they could never have hoped that that question, so often aroused, would be suffered to fall into oblivion; but they were anxious to avoid encumbering the question with merely speculative matters, which had not been stated by any of the modern heretics. Lanssac added, that he cared little on what right the prescript of residence depends, provided means of enforcing its strict observance be discovered; since it is evident that most of the evils of the Church arise from neglect on this head.

^P Paleotto, p. 285.

A violent dispute followed, and the archbishops of Granada,^a Braga, and Messina, and the bishop of Segovia, having in vain tried to persuade the legates, went to Seripando, before whom they produced various passages from the writings of heretics, in which the divine institution of bishops was denied. To this Seripando replied, that such was not the opinion of the heretics; but simply this, that the bishops of the present time were not those to whom the sacred Scriptures refer, seeing that they did not exercise the ministries there enjoined them—words which rather seemed to prove that they held the institution of bishops to have proceeded from God.

Under these circumstances, the legates recommended three courses to the pontiff, as likely to meet the question of residence. One was, that they should propose to have the matter referred to the pontiff—a view which the pontiff himself had approved, in an epistle addressed to Simonetta, but which had not yet arrived.^r Another was, that without entering into a definition of the disputed point, certain rules respecting residence, with suitable penalties and rewards annexed, should be drawn up, with the view of effectually securing residence. The third was, that a number of the bishops, amounting to upwards of a hundred, should solicit the legates, as if from their own free will, to remit the whole matter to the decision of the pontiff—a form which would appear more becoming than if the legates appeared to be the authors of this proposition.

CHAPTER IV.

Reply of Pius.

It will readily be seen, that the last of the three proposals above mentioned would be little popular with the remaining bishops, even if the proposed majority were obtained. Nay, the courtly historian of the papal council himself confesses, that it was more likely to lead to a fresh and greater schism than to heal the old one.^s Two things, however, are tolerably

^a Cf. Sarpi, p. 565, sqq. ed. Brent.

^r See Pallav. § 13.

^s Pallav. *ibid.* § 14. Dr. Waterworth's statement of the third proposition, "that a number of the bishops should, of themselves, propose that the question should be referred to his holiness," certainly is a most

evident from the very notion of such a proposal, firstly, that the legates, and through them the pontiff, were virtually the whole council; and secondly, that the legates felt sufficient confidence in the existence of a majority in the council in favour of the pontiff.

Pius IV. replied, that while he should have preferred that the council should act independently, he felt inclined to consider the second proposal as the best. As touching the condition to be appended, excluding the definition of the doctrine respecting residence, he was silent. But the main purport of his letter was to leave the whole to the judgment of his representatives, the legates.

Both the legates and the pontiff were the more anxious for a speedy and quiet termination of the dispute, as the French prelates, headed by the cardinal of Lorraine, were expected. Seripando, who had taken the office of first legate, in consequence of the illness of the cardinal of Mantua, had learnt that, on the arrival of those prelates, various innovations would be attempted, especially as regarded the manner of voting; as well as that questions of great magnitude and responsibility, such as the superiority of the pontiff or of the council, the method of electing the pontiff, the limitation of the number of cardinals, and other similar subjects, would be brought under discussion. Subsequent letters, however, from Rome, proved that their fears were exaggerated, and that the rumours had been to a considerable extent at variance with the real state of circumstances.^t

mild version of Pallavicino, and totally suppresses the intriguing and dishonest character of the proposal. Compare Courayer, v. ii. p. 374-5.

^t Compare Mendham, p. 244. "There were persons," Paleotto writes, "who carped at the pontiff for sending to the synod bishops of inferior qualifications, as if he regarded rather number than weight and value. It was likewise objected, that his holiness readily granted licenses of absence to those prelates residing at Trent, who were favourable to the divine right, although men of eminence and merit. These, however, are represented as uncandid and unfounded surmises." The following passage of Father Paul is important:—"The coming of Lorraine did trouble them more, being advised from divers places that, besides the business of the election of the pope, he meant to propose many novelties, about the collation of bishoprics, plurality of benefices, and, which was of no less importance, the communion of the cup, marriage of priests, and mass in the vulgar tongue. And, presupposing he would not begin his journey before he had answer from the abbot of Monte, sent by the

CHAPTER V.

Discussions on the Canons.

On the 9th of October, the document containing the articles, or rather anathemas respecting the doctrine of Order, was fully prepared, and was laid before the assembled fathers. But before it was presented in the general congregation, it was communicated, according to custom, to the different ambassadors present. The French deputies objected to the seventh canon, which condemned the assertion that ordinations are invalid when conferred without the choice or consent of the people, as being opposed to the custom of the French nation. Their objection was submitted to a committee of theologians, who explained that their only intention was to define, that the force of the sacrament of Order does not depend upon the popular assent. However, to prevent ambiguity, the word "orders" was substituted for ordination.^u

We will now proceed to notice a few of the objections and other remarks to which these documents gave rise.

The patriarch of Venice objected to a clause which alleged that orders receive their consummation in the priesthood, as being opposed to the first point in the chapter on sacred unction, and to the common opinion of those skilled

king and himself, they gave consent to recall the cardinal of Ferrara, and to offer the legation of that kingdom to Lorraine, which they did think might stop him, because he so much desired to command that clergy, that he had formerly plotted to make himself patriarch in France; but if he came, that more prelates ought to be sent to the council, and some cardinals also, to counterpoise him. And the cardinals of Bordisina and Navagero were named. But this resolution was not then taken, because they feared that Lorraine would disdain, and take occasion to do worse; and because it was not so well known whether these were able to make so great an opposition; as also because they were willing to know the opinion first of those who were in Trent, for fear of giving them distaste. They considered the charge which would increase, which was not fit to be endured without great utility. Therefore they resolved to write to the legates, not to suffer the least discourse concerning the election of the pope; which, if they could not resist, yet they should not give any permission, but rather return to Rome, lest they should prejudice the College of Cardinals and Italy."

^u Pallav. xviii. 14, 4. This author and Paleotto, p. 293, sqq. are my authorities for what follows.

in ecclesiastical law, viz., that episcopacy is a distinct order, which is not consummated in the priesthood.

The archbishop of Granada, perhaps rather hypercritically,^x objected to the assertion that the inferior orders ascend through the middle, since *they* do not ascend; but the clerk by them. With better reason he opposed the omission in the seventh canon of a definition, which had been prepared under Julius III., declaring that bishops were instituted by divine right, and were by the same law superior to priests. He proceeded to demonstrate the necessity of a statement on this subject from the errors of Calvin, Musculus, and other innovators, and complained that no reply had been made by the legates to his previous remonstrances. He went on to show that episcopacy was one single institution, of which all bishops possessed a part; that the Roman pontiff and the other bishops were brothers, the son of one father, Christ, and one mother, the Church; and that, although the pontiff was the head of the Church, the other bishops derived their institution from Christ, and not from Peter; just as the apostles received their commission from Christ, and not from Peter.

Hosius rejoined, that the Confession of Augsburg recognised this pre-eminence in bishops, and only denied that the unction, prayers, and rites of their consecration were such as had been originally instituted. "Why, then," rejoined Guerrero, "if even the heretics confess this, why should we be ashamed to assert it?" "Lest," replied Hosius, "we should seem to call in question a matter, which the heretics have not impugned."

The archbishops of Lara and Braga supported the archbishop of Granada, the former prelate remarking, that the council had met not only to condemn the Augsburg Confession, but likewise all other heresies; and that, whereas other heresies involved the error in question, they were bound to condemn it in express terms. He of Braga also observed, that the rights of ordination adopted by the Catholic Church were called in question by the heretics, and that it was necessary to declare that the power of confessing and conferring orders belonged as much to the bishops, as the

^x Mendham, p. 244.

power of preaching, to which they wished episcopacy to be limited.

The bishop of Segova supported the objection made by the patriarch of Venice, touching the non-consummation of Order in the priesthood, and thought that it was inadvisable to state that Order confers that kind of grace by which man becomes the friend of God. He then recommended that all the ceremonies of ordination should be enumerated, and a distinction drawn between those which were necessary, and those which were merely used for congruity's sake; and that a clear definition of the origin of bishops and priests, in as far as they constitute an hierarchy, should be laid down. He added, that, as the Roman pontiff is the successor of Christ, so are bishops the successors of the apostles; and that, consequently, wherever the jurisdiction of bishops is enfeebled, the pontificate in like manner loses strength; that the power of jurisdiction was conferred on bishops by God, seeing that episcopacy cannot exist apart from jurisdiction; but that the exercise of that jurisdiction is conferred on them by the Roman pontiff, whose province it is to designate persons, and allot the churches. He also urged the necessity of defining episcopacy to be a distinct order; and that, with the priesthood and diaconate, it constituted the hierarchy. He went on to argue, that whereas Christ was the author of the hierarchy, he was in like manner the author of that jurisdiction, whereby bishops are placed in the highest order of the hierarchy; and lastly, he held that the words "*Whatsoever ye shall bind,*" etc. were addressed by Christ to all the apostles; and he affirmed that bishops had succeeded the apostles fully, both in order and in jurisdiction.

These opinions, in which the reader will detect not a little quiet assertion of the episcopal *versus* the papal prerogative, met with approbation from some of the prelates; but they were objected to by the bishops of Nicastro and Vercelli, as involving a point which had been purposely left undiscussed by the minor theologians, and concerning which they themselves were not agreed. This is a tolerable proof, that private intrigue, while it regulated every step of the proceedings of this council, totally prevented the possibility even of a fair choice of subjects, unless in connection with those of

the select committees, who virtually administered the whole affair.

The bishops of Leon, Ostium, and Viviers, maintained that episcopacy is of divine institution, but only as regards order; the bishop of Lago took the very reverse opinion; whilst the bishop of Aliffe, taking a middle view of the question, asserted that both the office and the jurisdiction of bishops are from Christ; but that it appertained to the pontiff to assign the place and manner in which both were to be exercised.

It would be impossible to mention even the names of all who spoke on this subject, amounting, as they did, to one hundred and eighty-one^y of the fathers, fifty-three of whom supported the amendment of the archbishop of Granada.

CHAPTER VI.

Oration of Diego Lainez.

While I regret that I cannot enter into a lengthy discussion on the extraordinary verbal discrepancy between the reports of the oration of Lainez, delivered on the 20th of October, found in the rival histories of the council, I must at the same time express my conviction that, although Father Paul has presented an elegant and plausible oration,^z probably closely agreeing with what was actually spoken, his accuracy in the order and details seems to be far inferior to that of Pallavicino, who, while allowing his adversary some praise for the working up of the arguments brought forward by the Jesuit, is vehement in his condemnation of his want of veracity. What I am about to bring forward, must be merely looked upon as a summary of what the latter found written, not as what he believed to have been actually spoken.^a The uncertainty of notes taken by different hearers, and the likelihood of additions, sometimes by way of commentary—the inversions of arrangement, consequent on the comparison of imperfect copies with the view

^y Only 131 according to Visconti; but 8 and 3 are easily confounded.

^z It will be found in Brent's *Sarpi*, p. 570, sq. Cf. Courayer, v. ii. p. 391, sqq.

^a Pallav. xviii. 18, 1.

of making up one complete one—and the natural tendency to alter in filling out the notes taken, are sufficient reasons to account for a discrepancy, which compels us to read on both sides, before we assign our belief or our incredulity to either.

After setting forth the fact, that many had discouraged him from entering upon the present subject, lest he should lay himself open to the reproach of being a servile follower of the pontiffs,^b he declared that he did not therefore feel justified in abandoning the obligation of defending the truth; that God, the Judge of the living and the dead, would be his witness that he spoke according to conscience, and had never uttered a word with the view of currying favour; that he had thrice been present at that synod, under three different pontiffs, and had always used sincerity of speech, and always would do so; and that he had no reason for doing otherwise, as he had nothing to seek, hope, or fear.

He then proceeded to show, that a thing is of divine right, which God has instituted immediately of himself; but that, on the contrary, that cannot be said to be of divine right, which God does through the intervention of others. Thus, law, considered absolutely, is from God; but not therefore every individual law; that all truth, as St. Ambrose saith, cometh of the Holy Ghost; but yet it is not necessary that every individual truth proceed from the divine law; that it is neither required, nor is it always sufficient, that a precept be of divine institution, or that it be contained in the Sacred Scriptures; not necessary, to wit, as is evident from the matter and form of some of the sacraments; not sufficient, as may be seen from the prohibition against eating blood and things strangled, in the 15th chapter of the Acts. In like manner, St. Paul commands bishops to be men of one wife; women to wear veils; but such precepts, although recorded in Scripture, are not therefore of divine right.

^b “*Ut non deficiunt aliqui, qui hæc ab eo idcirco ita affirmari suspicarentur, quod cum ejus religio, cujus ipse caput et generalis erat, pendeat recta a papa, et quotidie latius propagetur, putaverit ipse si jus sententia obtineret, facile futurum fore, ut ejus religio majores huic vires sumeret, quoniam aliarum etiam ecclesiarum administratio, repugnantibus licet episcopis, ei concedi posset, cum ambo jurisdictionem æque ac papa ignoscant. Verum hæc proculdubio vana fuerunt.*”—Paleotto, p. 301. This certainly corroborates Pallavicino's statement; while Father Paul says nothing about the subject.

Furthermore, he observed, the Scriptures and fathers, in innumerable places, ascribe many works to God, because he influences them, and works them by means of secondary causes, which nevertheless only mediately proceed from the divine power; while, on the contrary, many works are ascribed to men, which were the result of the immediate agency of God. For instance, the baptism of John, the law of Moses, and other similar things, were the direct institutions of God.^c

Moreover, there was this general rule, depending upon the observation, the congruity, and the similar character of the operations of nature, viz., that those precepts, which God had wished to be immutable, had been delivered immediately by himself; while those, which were changeable, had been ordained through others; and, therefore, that the

^c By way of comparison, I append a quotation from the beginning of Sarpi's statement of the same oration :—

"The substance was, that there is great difference, yea, contrariety, between the Church of Christ and civil societies. For these have first their being, and then they frame their government, and therefore are free, and all jurisdiction is originally in them, which they do communicate to magistrates, without depriving themselves of it. But the Church did not make itself nor its government; but Christ, who is prince and monarch, did first constitute laws, by which it should be governed, and then did assemble it, and, as the Scripture saith, did build it, so that it was born a servant, without any kind of liberty, power, or jurisdiction, and absolutely subject. For proof hereof he alleged places of the Scripture in which the congregation of the Church is compared to a sowing, to the draught of a net, and to a building; and where it is said that Christ came into the world to assemble his faithful people, to gather together his sheep, to instruct them by doctrine and example. Then he added, that the first and original ground upon which Christ built the Church was Peter and his succession, according to the words which he spoke to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' Which rock, however, some of the fathers have understood to be Christ himself, and others, the faith of Peter, or the confession of his faith; yet the more Catholic exposition is, that Peter himself is understood, who in the Hebrew and Syriac is called a stone. And to Peter alone it was said, 'feed,' that is, 'govern my sheep,' animals which have no part or judgment in governing themselves. These things, that is, to be a key-keeper and a pastor, being perpetual offices, must be conferred upon a perpetual person, that is, not upon the first only, but upon all his succession. So the bishop of Rome, from St. Peter to the end of the world, is true and absolute monarch, with full and total power and jurisdiction, and the Church is subject unto him, as it was to Christ."—Brent, p. 570.

immutable laws were contained in the Gospel, because set forth by Christ himself.

Hence he observed, that there are two kinds of power among men,—the civil and the ecclesiastical, the latter of which is also of two sorts ; one, that of order, which operates by means of the sacraments, and another, that which operates by means of excommunications and other laws : that the first is the power of order, imprinted by consecration, and instituted for the purpose of imparting holiness to others, in as far as there is need for the sanctification of souls ; while the latter is the power of jurisdiction, infused not by consecration, but by the simple act of collation, and therefore capable of being communicated to a clerk of lower degree, and even to a layman. As both powers tended towards heaven, so both were from on high, but yet differed in various ways.

Having detailed these differences, he proceeded to affirm, that episcopacy in every one created a bishop, was immediately derived from God ; but not so jurisdiction ; which is immediately from God only in those to whom God hath immediately communicated it, as to Peter and his successors, and, as he thought, was in the other apostles only by special privilege and commission ; whereas all other bishops enjoy it through the medium of the pontiff, and immediately from the pontiff, as successor of St. Peter. The pope's jurisdiction, he continued, is unchangeable, as was that of Peter and the other apostles ; in the case of bishops, changeable, but not at the mere pleasure of the pontiff, but from just reason.

He then went on to impugn the assertion that the words "feed my lambs" were addressed to all the apostles, and not to Peter only, and that they therefore contained a distinct grant of jurisdiction to all bishops, as successors of the apostles. He observed, that, at this rate, Peter would himself have been among the sheep to be fed, and would therefore have been subject to the others.

Similar quibbles did this ingenious man employ in face of the plainest statements of Scripture—quibbles which, however, were too well known to admit of much new illustration. Suffice it to say, that his reasoning is generally as clever, as his premises are untrue ; and that, if he did not earn the name he seems to have dreaded, he ought to have done so. A stancher adherent to popery never existed—

powerful, because he seldom lost sight of his object, still less frequently gave way to impulse ; powerful, because earnest and endued with an eloquence which even the most varying reporters render undoubted ; and possessing a ready perception of fallacies, and a power of eliciting them from the very words of truth itself. His abilities we cannot doubt ; but it is to be questioned whether they contributed much to the welfare of the cause on which they were so lavishly bestowed.

CHAPTER VII.

Remarks on Father Paul's Report of this Speech.

Having said thus much respecting Pallavicino's account of this remarkable oration, I still feel that it would be a serious omission to pass over some peculiar features in the speech reported by Father Paul, as they tend to show the influence which the pontiff possessed over the council, or rather, to exhibit the utter fallacy of supposing that even a so-called *general* council had any authority save as the representative of the pontiff's pleasure.

"As a number of prelates, assembled by the pope to make a general council, be it how small soever, hath the name and efficacy to be general from the pope only, so also it hath its authority ; so that if it doth make precepts, or anathematisms, neither of them are of force but by virtue of the pope's future confirmation. And when the synod saith, that it is assembled in the Holy Ghost, it meaneth that the fathers are congregated, according to the pope's intimation, to handle that which, being approved by him, will be decreed by the Holy Ghost. Otherwise, how could it be said that a decree was made by the Holy Ghost, and could be made to be of no force by the pope's authority, or had need of greater confirmation ? And, therefore, in the councils, be they never so numerous, if the pope be present, he only can decree ; neither doth the council anything but approve, that is, receive the decrees ; and, therefore, it hath always been said, *sacro approbante concilio* ; nay, even in resolutions of the greatest weight (as was the disposition of the emperor Frederick II. in the general council of Lyons), Innocent IV., a most wise pope, refused the approbation of the synod, that none might think it necessary, and thought

it sufficient to say, *sacro præsentè concilio*. And for all this the council cannot be said to be superfluous ; because it is assembled for better inquisition, for more easy persuasion, and to give satisfaction to men. And when it giveth sentence, it doth it by virtue of the pope's authority, derived from God. And for these reasons, the good doctors have subjected the council's authority to the pope's, as wholly depending on it, without which it hath not the assistance of the Holy Ghost, or infallibility, nor power to bind the Church, but as it is granted by him alone to whom Christ hath said : *Feed my sheep.*"^d

Father Paul's remarks at all times exhibit a greater insight into the pure principles by which history is to be tried, viz., those of human nature, than his rival Pallavicino's. Whatever the latter author may say, I agree with Courayer^e as to the great probability of the following particulars :—

"The bishop of Paris, who was sick at home when he should have given his vote, declared to every one that, when a congregation was held, he would deliver his opinion against the doctrine broached by Lainez—a doctrine which, not having been heard of in former ages, has been invented by Caietan to gain a cap ; that in those days it was censured by the Sorbonne ; that, instead of a celestial kingdom (such as the Church is called), it maketh it not a kingdom, but a temporal tyranny ; that it taketh from the Church the title of the spouse of Christ, and maketh it a servant, prostituted to a man." He went on to show how by this doctrine the episcopal authority was debased ; "that the bishops had held their authority entire until the year 1050, when it received a great blow by the congregations of Clugny and Cisterce and others, which arose in the same age, because many functions, proper and essential to bishops, were, by their means, reduced under the papal sway. But when the Mendicants began, after 1200, almost all the exercise of episcopal authority was taken away, and given to them, by privilege." A little after, our historian continues : "Those that were skilled in history did speak no less of that observation, *sacro præsentè concilio* ; which, being in all the canonical texts, seemed new unto them all, because they had not marked it.

^d Brent's translation, p. 593, sq.

^e P. 398.

And some approved the Jesuit's interpretation, and some, on the contrary, said that the council had refused to approve that sentence. Some proceeding one way, said, that the question being of a temporal matter, the business might pass either one way or other; but that no consequence could be drawn from hence, that the same might be done in matter of faith, or ecclesiastical rites, especially it being observed that, in the council of the apostles, which ought to be a ruled pattern, the decree was not made by Peter, in presence of the council, nor by him with approbation, but the epistle was entitled with the names of the three degrees, asserting in that congregation, apostles, elders, and brethren; and Peter was included in the first, without prerogative. An example which, in regard of antiquity and divine authority, is of more credit than all those of the times following, yea, than all together. And, for that day, in respect of these other points, the discourse of the Jesuit gave matter of talk throughout all Trent, and nothing else was spoken of."^f

CHAPTER VIII.

Want of Freedom in the Council. Opinion of Danz.

After this further specimen of the crippled character of the proceedings of this council, I feel that I cannot do better than introduce the spirited remarks of a German writer on the dependant character of the whole affair. Although I feel, that, to a great extent, the following remarks do but reiterate what has been repeatedly inculcated throughout the present volume, yet, so intimately do his remarks apply to the unsettled state of the synod, which will shortly become the subject of my pen—so ably, and yet so tersely, has he stated the various influences which tended to shackle the Tridentine assembly, and thereby render it inefficient in all, useless in many points most needing its attention, that I feel no small satisfaction in introducing them to my readers. It will be observed, that their political value is perhaps greater than their theological; but in matters where temporal interests had so unlimited a sway as the Council of Trent, this does little towards shaking their reputation for truthfulness.

^f Sarpi, p. 575.

"This Tridentine Council had quite another aim than the two general councils which preceded it. It had to take the position somewhat of a peace congress, and to seek and propose the ways and means, by which the provinces, who had torn themselves away from the general Church, or had been excluded therefrom, might again be united to, and incorporated with it. . . . But to attain this end the council should have been entirely free, both spiritually and corporeally. Spiritually free it could only be, if it had really been assembled under the Holy Spirit, and not in the spirit of clerical princedom and priest prejudice ; if it had not allowed itself to be influenced in any manner by preconceived notions, or bad passions ; if it had put aside all personalities, and had not permitted heretic hatred to have any sway over its actions ; if it had been able to forget and to learn. It was not to carry on a lawsuit with the dissentients ; a sentence was not in question, but a mutual act of concession ; a dictated peace was not concerned, but one freely accepted by both parties. How little, however, of this spirit of freedom, of peace, of mutual concession, there was to be found at Trent, the history of the council proves in almost every page. Did not bishops sit there, who unequivocally declared, that they had only come together in order to anathematize the Protestants as heretics ? whilst the highest piece of abuse that could be levelled against the council consisted in the idea that it was possible for themselves to agree with Protestants in one point. *Vincit pudorem libido, rationem amentia*. With such a horror of all means of reconciliation, with such a raging spirit of condemnation, no hope of union and peace could ever survive. The Council of Trent surpasses all others in the number of its anathemas.

"To be corporeally free, viz., to be free in the forms of their proceedings, the synod ought never to have allowed a papal legate to be their president ; and the princes, to whom church union and church freedom were of consequence, should have supported them in every way with all their might and dignity. It is not correct, too, for the sovereign head of a state to preside at the assemblies of the estates of his realm. The papal legates might have been present at the sessions, and have preserved the supreme rights of the Church against

any improper attacks ; but they should never have interfered with the proceedings until they assumed a lawless and disorderly aspect. The council ought not to have put the papal legate in the chair ; for it might have perceived, that under these circumstances the Protestants would not feel disposed to appear. And yet this was the most important thing of all, in order that the bearings of the question under consideration should not be judged in a partial manner.

“ The council, however, completely lost its freedom by the system of voting and acting that had been proposed. The fathers were first sounded and sifted in the congregations, so that they might be subsequently worked upon in accordance with the papal views ; and if they did not then agree, they were brought into a minority by the manner of gathering the votes separately ; for the Italian prelates who were present, and were nearly all creatures of the pope, were far greater in number than the others.

“ But the principal thing which impeded the freedom of the council, was the slavery and confinement of the legates themselves, who dared not comply in any way with the wishes of the fathers, but were ever obliged to await the commands from Rome, and to act in conformity with those commands. This was so well known, that a jest was made of it, in that they said, the Holy Ghost, who worked in the council, always came in a portmanteau from Rome.” §

CHAPTER IX.

Further Disputes on the Divine Right of Bishops. Departure of Cardinal Altemps.

Altemps, vexed at the delay produced by the disputes just related, obtained leave from the pontiff, and went to visit his own church. He had at first intended to return to Trent ; but it being found that neither his age nor his influence was sufficient to draw the Germans to the synod, he was subsequently released from the duties of legate. The pontiff was meanwhile strongly inclined to add two legates to the number already at Trent. One of these was Busdesius, a French prelate, who the pontiff hoped would possess

§ Danz, *Geschichte des Tridentinischen Concils*, pp. xxxiii.-xxxvi. Jena : 1846. This Danz, by the way, is himself a Catholic.

considerable influence over the minds of his countrymen at the council, and would serve to counterbalance any measures that the cardinal of Lorraine might take displeasing to the papal court. But the cardinal of Mantua expressed his willingness to consent to any measures that the pontiff might think fit to adopt, but at the same time alleged that the proposed addition seemed likely to prove fruitless. He represented that the French prelate was totally unfit to compete with Lorraine either in ability or position; and that the very comparison implied by such antagonism might only offend the latter, and drive him to display his superiority by some untoward measures. As to Navagero, the other candidate, he was neither skilled in the canon law nor in general theology, and was therefore unfit for the proposed office. Simonetta fully agreed with the opinion expressed by his colleague; and, as Pallavicino well observes—"We cannot wonder that the proposed addition was very disagreeable to the old legates, since those talked of were far from being superior to themselves; and it seemed an evidence, either that they themselves were inadequate to their office, or did not possess the confidence of Pius. Again, the very nature of things rendered it likely that those, who, by virtue of their experience, had taken the lead, would be less anxious for success in their future transactions, since every good result would be attributed solely to the assistance of their new colleague."^h

Accordingly, they laboured unceasingly to display their own zeal, and to do away with any question of their efficiency. On the 20th of October, the four Dominican bishops of Chioggia, Rossano, Modena, and Lanciano, were added to the deputies already appointed, and were directed to draw up a fresh form of doctrine. After incessant labour, especially at the seventh canon, they presented the result of their investigations to the legates on the 28th;ⁱ who in turn

^h Pallav. xviii. 16.

ⁱ "In a letter of Visconti, dated the 22nd of October, 1562, and which is a very long one, besides the agreement that Hosius should interrupt Granada if he trespassed upon the forbidden ground of divine right, as has been already noted, the writer begins a fresh ciphered part, with observing that there were many prelates who, in different ways, spread a report of the suspension of the council; some saying that the abbot of Manna sought it in the name of Rome, and that the emperor

laid it before the Spanish bishops for their approval. In this document bishops were declared to be, as regards their order, instituted by Christ; but as all mention of the origin of their jurisdiction was omitted, the Spaniards still remained as dissatisfied as ever. The archbishop of Granada observed, that he had been charged with want of fidelity to the Apostolic See; but that this charge was unjust, and that, to prove it so, he would readily consent to a declaration, "that bishops are, by the Divine law, subject to the Roman pontiff, and bound to obey him." But he and his party at the same time positively insisted on the addition of the clause, which had been proposed under Julius III., and declared, that if it were refused, they would complain to his most Catholic majesty and the other princes, and cease to attend the meetings of the synod.^k The legates were in great difficulty, but thought it unadvisable to enter into a long dispute. The cardinal of Mantua, therefore, gave a polite but general answer, declaring that himself and colleagues would not be wanting to their duty, and exhorting the malcontents to be quiet, and to submit to the general opinion of the synod.

While the legates were in a most uncomfortable state of doubt and anxiety, they were visited by the three patriarchs, accompanied by upwards of forty prelates, who endeavoured to persuade them to make no alteration in the obnoxious canon. This shows the evident jealousy of the Italian prelates against those of Spain—a fact which Pallavicino¹ confesses, and which will surprise no one who reflects upon the many temptations to non-residence, which was the fundamental matter of the dispute, that were presented by the luxurious ease and refinements of the court of Rome.

The legates at length resolved to make use of a form of the canon, which had been proposed by the archbishops of Lanciano and Modena, which, although obscure, seemed capable of an explanation calculated to meet the wishes of the fathers. Paleotto assisted them in drawing it up, in

desired in particular that his holiness should do it without mentioning that the princes wished for it. This, it is added, would be a good pretence for finishing the council. His holiness certainly was in trepidation all the while the council was sitting; and these reports had doubtless some foundation."—Mendham, p. 274. Cf. Heidigger, v. ii. p. 855.

^k Pallav. *ibid.* Paleotto, p. 301, sqq.

¹ *Ibid.* § 6.

terms suited to the avowed meaning of the Spanish fathers. According to the Acta, which Pallavicino also follows, it was to this effect :—

“If any one shall say that the episcopal power of ordaining, confirming, and teaching, was not instituted by Divine right, or that the power of jurisdiction which bishops possess was not conferred [upon them] by Christ our Lord, in the Roman pontiff, his vicar, [a power] which is derived from himself, unto his bishops, when they are assumed unto a part of his solicitude, or that bishops are not superior to priests, let him be anathema.”^m

Castagna and Lainez persuaded the Italian prelates to accede to this form, after some hesitation, and considerable vexation at so great a concession being made to the wishes of another nation ; but the more moderate among them wished only to secure tranquillity, and consented. But Soto was less fortunate in persuading the Spanish prelates, who objected to the words “unto a part of his solicitude.”

Seripando, also, who had been prevented by illness from being present at the last meetings, objected to the form now proposed, as being ambiguous—an error against which the pontiff had especially warned the legates. Another form was therefore prepared, to this effect :—

“If any one shall say that it was not instituted by Christ, that in the Catholic Church there should be bishops, and that they, when assumed unto a part of the solicitude of the Roman pontiff, his vicar on earth, are not true and legitimate bishops, superior to priests, and that same power which they have obtained up to the present time ; let him be anathema.”ⁿ

^m “Si quis dixerit, episcopalem potestatem ordinandi, confirmandi, docendi, non esse jure divino institutum, vel jurisdictionis potestatem quam episcopi habent non esse a Christo Domino in pontifice Romano, ejus vicario, collatum, quæ in episcopos, cum in partem sollicitudinis assumuntur, ab ipso derivatur, aut dixerit episcopos non esse presbyteris superiores : anathema sit.”—Paleotto, p. 303.

ⁿ “Si quis dixerit a Christo Domino non esse institutos episcopos, secundum quod antiqua universalis ecclesia patrumque traditu docet, ac perinde presbyteris non esse superiores : anathema sit.”—Paleotto, p. 306. This is apparently given in an abridged form. I have followed Pallav. l. c. § 7. “It is remarkable,” observes Mendham, speaking of the previous canon, “that Seripando, who, from ill health, was absent,

The archbishop of Granada objected to this, declaring that bishops are not called unto a part of the solicitude of the Roman pontiff, but are vicars of Christ, and not of the pope. He was subsequently answered by the archbishops of Lanciano and Taranto; but the adherents of Granada kept increasing, chiefly from the persuasion that the decree considered favourable to their wishes had been prepared and agreed to under Julius III. At length, however, the bishop of Telesia, "who had been secretary to Julius, discovered that, so far from the canon in question having been prepared for publication in session, it had not even been examined in congregation."^o This was one point gained in favour of the legates.

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings of the Pontiff and of the Legates.

We have already alluded to the desire of reformation evinced by Pius IV., a desire in which, so long as it was in no way likely to interfere with his own absolute prerogative, he really appears to have been sincere. During the debates we have described, he had been employed in various schemes for rectifying the abuses of the Roman court, and in securing the residence of bishops. Many matters appertaining to the first of these points had already been legislated for, and some abuses either done away with or ameliorated. "But one work," says Pallavicino,^p "yet remained, important beyond the rest, and upon the right settlement of which depends the soundness of the rest; viz., the election of the chief pontiff." But the sketch which the cardinal proceeds

condemned the canon, as more advantageous to the heretics than to his holiness, whose authority was too faintly recognised in it. The very words, divine right, were odious at Rome, where it was suspected that something even further was concealed under it" (p. 246).

^o Dr. Waterworth gives this canon as follows:—"The holy synod furthermore teaches, that those are not to be heard who assert that bishops are not instituted by divine right; whereas it is most manifestly plain from the evangelic writings, that Christ our Lord himself called the apostles and promoted them to the rank of the apostleship; in whose place bishops are set: nor is it to be thought that this so eminent and necessary a grade has been introduced into the Church by human institution, for this would be to detract from and to lower the providence of God, as wanting in things the most noble" (p. ccvii.).

^p Pallav. xviii. 17.

to give is neither very copious nor very satisfactory. In fact, after reading his account of what reforms were agitated by the pontiff, we rise up with a painful feeling that, beyond general expressions of good feeling against improper influence exercised at elections, the Christian world gained little or nothing.

The first legate had meanwhile proposed a decree on residence, in which, agreeably to the advice of the pontiff, he avoided deciding on the origin of the duty, but attached certain rewards and punishments consequent on its fulfilment or non-fulfilment. It was well received, but the discussion of its clauses was postponed for the present.

On the 9th of November, chiefly at the earnest entreaties of Lanssac, it was agreed to postpone, not only the session, but likewise the congregations, until the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine and the French prelates, who were daily expected. The legates were the more willing to consent to this, both because the pontiff had requested them to wait ten or twelve days for the cardinal to arrive, and because they had hopes of meanwhile preparing matters appertaining to the business of the ensuing session, which had been neglected in consequence of the disputes respecting the seventh canon. Lanssac, satisfied with having gained the wished for delay, expressed his contentment at the decree on residence laid before him by the legates, repeating the assertion, that, so long as residence was insisted upon, he cared not upon what right it was supposed to rest. He then set out to meet the cardinal of Lorraine.

CHAPTER XI.

Remarks of Pallavicino on the altered Opinion of Pius IV.

It would be injudicious to omit a curious passage in Pallavicino, which, besides giving him an excellent opportunity for attacking the Venetian historian on the score of omission, supplies us with some curious information.^a

After confessing the truth of Father Paul's assertion, that, when the cardinal of Lorraine had entered Italy, the pope saw that it would be useless to hasten the business of the

^a Pallav. § 12, sqq.

council, and accordingly gave order to the legates to prorogue the proceedings, Pallavicino states that he was ignorant of another fact, which he would doubtless have turned to account, had he known of it; namely, that Pius subsequently changed his opinion, and sent an express to his legates, ordering them to proceed at once. His reasons seem to have been personal annoyance at the complaints of the representatives of princes, whenever the pontiff had recommended any course to be pursued under peculiar circumstances, whereas he was perpetually being harassed with requests to direct the proceedings of the council in some way agreeable to their wishes. Furthermore, he alleged that such delays as the present had been asked for, under the idea that the queen of England and the Protestants would submit themselves to the council,—a hope that had proved wholly fruitless, and naturally so, as they well knew that a proscription would be the only reward of their appearance at the synod.^r Again, the cardinal of Lorraine, as has already been mentioned, was suspected of advocating measures little pleasing to the papal court, and of entertaining a great desire to conciliate the Huguenots. These, and various other suspicious acts of the French ministers, drove the pontiff to an alternative of sacrificing either his own credit or the public safety, and he sent orders to proceed at once with the synod. His commands, to the great delight of the legates, arrived too late.

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The cardinal of Lorraine, to pursue the narrative in the words of Sarpi, entered Trent on the 13th^s of November, and was met a mile on the way by Cardinal Madraccio and many prelates, and by all the legates at the gate of the city;^t from which place he was accompanied to the house where he was lodged. He rode between the cardinals Mautua and Seripando, which honour they thought necessary to render him, because the same was done unto him

^r This is admitted even by Pallavicino.

^s Some say the 14th. Cf. Courayer, p. 415, n. 3.

^t Not so; but at some little distance from the city.

by Monte and Sancta Croce, legates in Bologna, when the council was held in that city, at the time when he went to Rome for the cap. In the evening he went to visit the cardinal of Mantua, and had audience the next day before the legates, with the ambassadors Lanssac and De Ferriers. He presented the king's letters directed to the council, and then made a long discourse, to show his inclination to serve the Apostolic See, promising to communicate all his designs to the pope, and to them, the legates, and not to desire anything but to the good satisfaction of his holiness. He said he would not be curious in unprofitable questions, adding that the two controversies, of the institution of bishops and of residence, which were spoken of everywhere, had diminished the authority of the council, and taken away the good opinion the world held of it. For his own part he professed he was more inclined to the opinion which doth affirm them *de jure divino*; yet, though it were certainly true, he saw no necessity or opportunity to proceed to the declaration thereof; that the end of the council ought to be to reunite those to the Church who were separated; that himself had been at a party with the Protestants, and had not found them so different but that they might be reduced, if the abuses were taken away, and that no time is more fit to win them than this, because it is certain they were never so united to the emperor as now; that many of them, and in particular the duke of Wittemberg, was willing to assist in council, but it was necessary to give him satisfaction by a beginning of reformation, in which the service of God did require that their excellencies should employ their labour. He showed the desire of the king that fit remedies might be applied to the necessities of his people, seeing that as he had war now with the Huguenots, so, if the abuses were not provided against, he should have more to do with the Catholics, whose obedience will be quite lost; that these were the causes why his majesty had sent him to the council. He complained that of all the money, which the pope promised to lend the king, he could receive but five and twenty thousand crowns, disbursed by the cardinal of Ferrara in regard of the limitations, put in the Mandates, because they could not be exacted but upon certain conditions, to take away the Pragmatics of all the parliaments of the kingdom—a thing of so great difficulty,

that there was no hope ever to receive one penny. In the end he said he had brought new instructions to the ambassadors ; and therefore, when he had spoken to the synod in the king's name, in the first congregation, he would afterwards only deliver his suffrage as an archbishop, not meddling with the affairs of the kingdom, but leaving the care thereof to them.

“ The legates answered without consultation, as every one thought good, commending his piety and devotion towards the Apostolic See, and offering to impart all their affairs unto him. They showed what patience they used in suffering the liberty or rather the license of prelates, in their speeches, who went up and down, and moved new questions ; but now, his excellency being joined with them, they doubted not, but by his advice and assistance, they might be able to repress this great boldness, and compose the differences that had arisen, and proceed hereafter in so courtly a manner, that the world might receive edification, which before had conceived a bad opinion ; that the evil will of the Protestants was too much known ; who, when they show themselves not averse from concord, it is not to be doubted but that they invent new occasions of greater difference ; that it is certain that they have demanded a council, because they thought it would be denied them, and at the same time, when they required it, they endeavoured by all means to hinder it, as now those who are assembled in Frankfort labour that it may not proceed, and use means to the emperor to interpose some impediment ; that they hate the very name of the council, as much as of the pope ; neither have they formerly made any other use of it, than to cover and excuse their apostasy from the Apostolic See ; that there was no hope of their conversion, and therefore money only was to be used, to preserve the good Catholics in the true faith. They commended the piety and good intention of the king, and showed the desire of the pope for reformation, and what he had done to reform the court, not regarding the diminution of his own revenues ; and that he had always written to the council, that they would labour in the same business whereunto themselves the legates were much inclined and disposed, but were hindered by the contentions of the prelates, which consumed almost all the time ; that if, in France, there be danger to lose the

obedience of the Catholics, it is a matter to be treated of with his holiness. Concerning the loan of money, they said the fraternal charity of the pope towards the king and kingdom was so great, that they might be assured that the conditions were put in for pure necessity. And after divers compliments, they concluded that on Monday he should be received in the general congregation, to declare to the fathers the occasion of his coming, and to read unto them the king's letters."^u

CHAPTER XIII.

Further Proceedings. Speech of Lorraine.

The congregations were resumed on the 16th of November; but as so great a number of prelates had arrived, some time was spent in arranging the etiquette of the assembly, as to the order of precedence, and the place to be taken by each prelate. But on the 23rd, the cardinal of Lorraine, who had been hindered from attending by an attack of fever, made his appearance for the first time in a general congregation; and, after he had been formally received by the legates, and the letters of the French king read, he spoke at some length, setting forth the unhappy state of religion in France. "I speak it in a word," said he, "and that with incredible anguish of mind,—we *were* Frenchmen once: the glory of Frenchmen has departed.^x And this just judgment of God," he continued, "has been provoked against us by the corrupt manners of every order, and the total downfall of ecclesiastical discipline. These disturbances have been stirred up by heresies being unsuppressed, and by the neglect of those remedies which the Lord our God hath provided. Hence these tears,—these dissensions, pillagings, intestine and worse than civil wars.^y Grief is everywhere, lamenta-

^u Brent's Sarpi, p. 624, ed. 1629.

^x The cardinal of Lorraine was a good classic, and took care to display it. This portion of his speech is quite a Virgilian cento. Cf. for example, *Æn.* ii. 325:—

————— "*fuius Troes, fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Dardanidum.*"

^y Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 1:—

"*Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos.*"

tion everywhere, and the image of death on all sides.^z Even the sacred and holy temples of God are not spared. Priests and holy men are murdered at the altars, which they embrace in their dying moments. The visible signs of the sacraments are trodden under foot, and burnt. Piles of ornaments of the church are erected everywhere, and a pyre is raised to burn the torn-down images, for which the books, not only of the churches, but likewise of the most ancient libraries, are heaped up. The public archives are not respected. The relics of the saints are reduced to ashes, and cast into the waves. I shudder as I recount^a the sad story; but neither the sepulchres of pontiffs, emperors, kings, princes, bishops, or any others, especially of those who have best deserved of the Church, are spared. The name of God is everywhere blasphemed; the spirit of lying is in the mouths of all those who have falsely usurped the ministry of God, and, having driven away the shepherds, the thief and the robber, keeper of another man's flock, enters in."^b

I cannot give this oration at length; but the above extract is sufficient to show that the ultra-Protestant party had committed outrages which, however provoked by the persecuting spirit of Rome, were little to their credit. At the same time, the outrages perpetrated by a mob, who perhaps look only to a riot as the means of chance plunder—the mad destruction of works of art, and the desecration of the remains of the dead—cannot be ascribed to the principles of reformation. In all ages of the world, in every conspicuous epoch of history, a certain spirit of Vandalism exists, which only needs occasion to develop. Public outrages are no more a proof of wrong principles, than the quiet and polite insinuations of the Jesuits were a warranty for their inoffensiveness.

But to proceed. Whatever may have been the outrages wrought by the Huguenots; however disturbed may have been the state of the whole kingdom, they had evidently

^z Virg. *Æn.* ii. 368 :—

————— “*crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.*”

^a Virg. *Æn.* ii. 204 :—“*Horresco referens.*”

^b Paleotto p. 309, sq. Cf. Le Plat, v. v. p. 551, sqq.; Pallav. xix. 3, 3; Sarpi, vii. 32, and the authors cited by Courayer.

gained their point in the mind of the cardinal. He felt certain that the only way to restore peace was by such concessions as might, at all events, prevent the molestation of the moderate party; and by taking such steps towards reformation as might give confidence in the synod, and take away the many scandals which disgraced the Roman Church. He concluded his elegant and powerful oration with calling upon the assembly to avoid fresh dissensions, and to turn their attention from the discussion of minute and unimportant points, to the more serious subject of reform, and by professing his submission to the legates, his deep veneration for the sovereign pontiff, and for the holy assembly of the council.

After a brief but polite speech from the cardinal of Mantua, the archbishop of Zara, who had been deputed for the purpose, gave a full reply to the speech of the cardinal of Lorraine. After expressing the sorrow felt by the synod for the distressed condition of France, he declared that the synod would do all in their power to make known the true worship of God, to reform manners, and to restore tranquillity to the Church, to which end they would more easily attain, if assisted by his excellency and the prelates by whom he was accompanied. He spoke largely in commendation of the cardinal, and concluded by declaring that the synod thanked God for his coming, and gave him joy of it, and offered to give ear to whatever should be delivered by the ambassadors, in fit time and place, not doubting that it would be for the glory of God, the benefit of the Church, and the dignity of the Apostolic See.^c

The ambassador De Ferriers then spoke with some freedom, and after setting forth the excellent disposition of the king towards religion, which was more clearly evinced by the coming of the cardinal, he went on to state that, "as touching the requests to be made, they would not be troublesome nor obstinate in them; that they demanded nothing but what all the Christian world demanded; that the most Christian king doth request that which Constantine the Great requested at the Council of Nice; that all the demands are contained in Holy Scripture, in the old councils of the

^c Sarpi, p. 631.

Catholic Church, and in the ancient constitution, decrees, and canons of the popes and fathers; that the most Christian king doth demand the restitution of the Catholic Church to its integrity by means of them, the fathers, constituted by Christ as the chief judges, not by a decree with a general clause, but according to the form of the express words of that perpetual and divine edict, against which neither usurpation nor prescription ever have, or can take place; so that those good orders, which the devil hath taken away by force and concealed a long time, may be restored, as it were out of captivity, to the holy city of God, and to the sight of men."^d He concluded by declaring: "Unless the purposed reformation proceed, it is in vain that you ask us whether France be in peace; for we shall reply, as Jehu did to King Joram, asking whether it were peace,—‘What hast thou to do with peace so long as’—ye know the rest."

CHAPTER XIV.

Remarks on the Seventh Canon. Further Proceedings of Lorraine.

On the 30th of October the second form of the doctrine and canons of the sacrament of Order was proposed. I have already^e given the words of the seventh canon in their amended state, and have remarked that no point throughout the whole sittings of the council caused more vehement and renewed disputes,—in fact, it was, as Mendham^f observes, "the standard, for the preservation, seizure, or recovery of which the most determined efforts of the two hostile ranks were employed, and which repeatedly came into the possession of one or the other of them, according to the fortunes of this theologic war."

To continue in the words of the same writer,—“It is hardly possible that the reader should not have observed throughout the preceding history, the extreme dread manifested by the pontiff of Rome at divine right anywhere but in himself. The first object of horror was the claim of such right as it respected residence; but the divine right of resi-

^d Sarpi's report agrees strictly with the *Acta* of Paleotto, p. 317, sqq. It is to be observed that the term "usurpation" is, however, an incorrect rendering of the Latin term "noncapio," as noticed by Pallavicino, *l. c.* § 6.

^e Ch. ix.

^f P. 248.

dence, and that of the episcopal order by which it was to be exercised, rested precisely upon the same foundation, and the latter was not in better favour than the former. Hence the pontifical advocates, with their clients, wished to amalgamate the orders of bishop and presbyter in the one order of priest, assigning to the bishop no superiority but that of degree. Hence, too, the predilection for the hypothesis of a hierarchy, which, as it existed among the Jews, presented the alluring exemplar of a sacred society, composed of priests and their one ruler, the high priest alone. The simple superiority of a Christian bishop would not satisfy the aim and pretensions of the bishop of Rome, because his superiority was shared by many. The titles of archbishop, patriarch, and even primate, were as little satisfactory; for there was a division of honour and authority in them. But the high priest on the Jewish model, in the Pontifex Maximus, as the perhaps more familiar and cherished heathen one, was a title which would answer every claim or desire, to its most ambitious extent, of a spiritual monarch,—the one head of Christendom, the one successor of the chief of the apostles, the one vicar of Christ. It will excite no wonder that the election and coronation of so august a personage should be transferred from the Pontificale, which puts him in the company of other bishops, to the Ceremoniale, which associates him with secular monarchs, with kings and emperors."

CHAPTER XV.

Further Discussions and Delays.

Before I notice the discussions which took place upon the new form of the seventh canon,—which, from their extent and number, I shall be compelled to do in a very brief manner,—it will be well to state, that on the 25th of November, Seripando found that, owing to the lengthy disputes that had already taken place, and the unsettled state of the whole question, it would be impossible to hold the session on the following day, as had been announced. On this occasion he admonished the prelates, that the length of their discourses prevented the possibility of determining any certain day for the session, which must therefore be prorogued during pleasure. He asserted that many of them spoke of abuses, not remembering that, to spend so much time in vain disputa-

tions without any fruit, was the greatest abuse of all, and one which must be removed, if they desired to see the council brought to a reasonable termination. The cardinal of Lorraine exhorted them to the same effect, urging them to despatch the matter already in hand, and to proceed at once to those of more serious importance.

Some of the prelates were displeased at the indefinite prorogation of the session, and wished the time to be positively fixed. But the legates replied that this was impossible, since there was no telling when the present dispute would end. In conclusion, however, it was agreed that some time within eight days should be chosen for settling the length of the prorogation; and on the 2nd of December, the 17th of that month was fixed for the day of session. It was also arranged that two congregations should be held each day, with the view of expediting the business in hand.

To return to the disputes. The archbishop of Granada was as firm as ever in his resistance to the canon in its altered form. His chief objections were to the title assumed by the pontiff or vicar of Christ, since bishops were the successors of the apostles, and therefore vicars of Christ, acknowledging, however, a superior, who was vicar to themselves, and who could change or remove from office other vicars. The second point he disliked was, the expression of bishops being called to a part of the pope's solicitude, since they ought to be spoken of as called by God, as in the Scriptures. Thirdly, that it contradicted a prior canon, to the effect that bishops were instituted by divine right.

Several other fathers spoke to much the same effect; but the archbishop of Lanciano supported the canon, on the ground that the omission of the words "divine right" did not imply their denial, since all truths do not require to be expressed, especially when they might injure more important ones. Thus it was prohibited by a synod to call Mary *Χριστοτόκος*, lest it should seem to exclude the other title of *Θεοτόκος*.

The bishops of Cajazzo and Zara cleverly observed, that it was nowhere stated that Christ instituted that there should be bishops, but that he created them himself. He of Chioggia, who had formerly been suspected of heterodoxy, now asserted that, as the pontiff was chief monarch, the nature of

the hierarchy required that all powers, as rivers from their source, and rays from the sun, should be derived from him.

But among all the disputes which arose on this awkward subject, none were more fierce than the one which took place on the 1st of December. Melchior Avosmediano, bishop of Guadix, declared, "that it was strange that the offices of bishops should be treated of with such diligence, while not a word was said about their chief duty, to feed their flocks. As to the seventh canon, however, he said, that there were as many points of doubt in it as sentences. For instance, when it says that it 'was instituted that there should be bishops,' it does not explain whether there now are, or are to be hereafter. Again, when it speaks of bishops called unto a part of the pontiff's solicitude, it assumes that they are not true bishops, who are not called of the pope, which is false; for he, who is created a bishop according to the first and fourth of the Apostles' canons, and agreeably to the statutes of the churches, is a true bishop, even if not called by the pope. For example, the archbishop of Salzburg confirmed bishops elected by the chapter, who were true bishops; and the same was the case in other instances."^g

Great was the uproar which arose. Simonetta had quietly interrupted the speaker, explaining that the archbishop consecrated, but that his consecration was confirmed by the authority of the pontiff. But other prelates began to cry, "Out with him! Out with him!" And others,—“Let him be anathematized!” To whom, in turn, the archbishop of Granada exclaimed: “Be ye anathematized!” But the Spanish prelate continued his speech amidst the clamours, declaring that the pope was the supreme vicar of God, and that obedience was due to him as such, with other expressions more palatable to his audience, and concluded by rebuking them for their impatience in not hearing him out fairly.

Much spiteful feeling was evidently displayed against the Spanish prelates on this occasion; nay, Pallavicino^h himself observes, that the most outrageous and unjust part of the whole proceeding, was the transfer to the whole of the Spanish party, of the blame which one speaker had excited.

^g Paleotto, p. 342, sq.

^h xix. 5, 6.

This display of childishness, this bandying of the stock expressions of heretic and blasphemer, in a manner and upon an occasion wholly unsuitable, and this gross infraction of the liberty of speech, which, although never possessed in reality, was still too specious to be lost in effigy, bitterly displeased the legates. The cardinal of Mantua declared, that if so indecent an exhibition took place again, he would withdraw from an assembly which so little knew how to respect his office. He of Lorraine was equally severe upon the offenders, and expressed a like intention to return to France, if such scenes took place. He especially animadverted upon the impious stupidity of flinging anathemas at each other; and expressed a hope that the legates would use their authority to punish any such offences in future.ⁱ

The bishop of Aliffè supported the same view as he of Guadix, and declared that, until the synod determined to the contrary, he should profess that bishops derived their power from Christ, and neither from St. Peter nor the pope. Hosius interrupted him, saying, that there was now no disputation respecting the power of the pope. The archbishop of Granada claimed liberty for the speaker, who continued his address. Hosius then complained that much was said foreign to the purpose, and that the heretics, who did not deny the validity of bishops ordained by Christ, denied that of those ordained by the pope, which was therefore the point they were called upon to refute. The cardinal of Lorraine^k then delivered a speech, which, despite its length, was listened to with delight.

After setting forth the importance of the subject under discussion, and the impossibility of rightly ordaining sacred matters, without first defining who were the legitimate ministers of the sacraments, he proceeded to impugn the statement that, in every law, the priesthood had always been united; since, by the law of nature, all the first-born, such as Esau, were priests, yet did not all the first-born sacrifice. He also observed, as did Antonio Agostino, that the word *servator* was improperly preferred to *salvator*, as being devoid of ecclesiastical authority. Again, in the third chapter, he

ⁱ For a somewhat different account of this uproar, see Mendham, p. 251, *note*. I follow Paleotto, with whom Pallavicino substantially agrees.

^k This was on the 4th of December.

recommended omitting any definitions of the matter and form of the sacrament of Order—since the matter of this sacrament was not easy to define—but wished that the imposition of hands, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, in the ordination of priests, should be introduced. In all these particulars his opinion was followed; but, in order not to define that the imposition of hands is necessary in the sacrament, the more general terms *words and signs* were used. As to the main question under debate, he expressed a desire that all ambiguity should be removed as to the meaning of the council; that he did not approve of specifically defining the institution of episcopacy to be of divine right; because it had been the cause of many controversies in the Church; although there was no doubt entertained that the power of order in bishops was immediately from God; as, in like manner, he believed, was the jurisdiction of bishops, as far as it concerns things supernatural; but that, in all others, the bishops were unequal to the Roman pontiff; that in these days, when the power of the Roman see was conspired against in all directions, it was incumbent on them to avoid any act or word which might seem to assail or lower that authority. He then proposed the following brief canon as an emendation of the seventh: If any one shall say that bishops were not instituted by Christ in the Church, or that they are not, by holy ordination, superior to priests: let him be anathema.¹

The rest of the French prelates then proceeded to deliver their opinions, the greater part of which were in favour of the cardinal's views, although some of them inclined towards the Spaniards. Lainez was the last speaker, and he denied that the jurisdiction of bishops was derived from any but the pontiff.

When the dispute was at length concluded, the opinions passed upon the conduct of the disputants were as various as might have been expected. Although, as Father Paul observes, the French and Spaniards had the same end, viz., to provide against the ambition and avarice of the papal court, yet they went different ways to work in order to attain their object. Equally different were the opinions

¹ Pallav. xix. 6, 2-4.

formed of their proceedings by the Italian prelates. It was said that the Spanish prelates had been less mindful of the authority of the chief pontiff than they would confess; that their great aim was to free themselves from the power of the bishop of Seville, the chief inquisitor of Spain. Another party asserted, that their only view was for the increase of their own power and independence, at the expense of the authority of the Roman see. Others gave them credit for conscientious motives, and attributed their conduct to zeal for the welfare of the Church. As to the French, although the cardinal of Lorraine had always in public rebuked those who delayed the business of the council by disputes about the power of the pope or council, nevertheless they had all taken opportunity to introduce the obnoxious subject, and more especially the archbishop of Metz, formerly tutor to the cardinal. Lorraine laboured hard to exculpate himself from the suspicion that attached to him in consequence, and told the legates, that, whatever mistakes he might commit through imprudence, he was incapable of dissimulation and cunning. Simonetta smiled, and taking him blandly by the hand, said that he had certainly heard reports to that effect.

Paleotto,^m after relating this anecdote, expresses his surprise that the fathers should have almost all fallen upon this point of jurisdiction,—a subject neither proposed nor necessary, nor fitted to the times,—while they neglected other matters of doctrine, or handled them but lightly. And hence, he continues, many other things were called in question, which are matters of controversy, not with the heretical, but among theologians and canonists, and which ought therefore to have been avoided, as only tending to nourish division and sects among the fathers, without any advantage.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Lorraine is consulted by the Legates. The Seventh Canon is again altered.
Dissatisfaction of the French.*

The legates, vexed to find that they made no progress, but rather got further involved in difficulties, determined to con-

^m P. 357. The remarks of Paleotto, which follow, on the views of the papal authority over bishops, are very important and useful.

sult with the cardinal of Lorraine, and entreat him to interpose his aid in removing so many controversies.

In obedience to their wishes, Lorraine remodelled the seventh canon under the form of two new ones, to this effect :ⁿ—

1. If any one shall say, that bishops were not instituted by Christ in the Church ; or, that they are not, by their ordination, greater than priests ; or, that they have not the power of ordaining ; or, if they have, that they have it in common with priests ; or, that orders conferred by them without the consent and calling of the people, are null ; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say, that Peter was not, by the institution of Christ, first among the apostles, and the supreme vicar [of Christ] ; and that it is not necessary that there be in the Church a supreme pontiff, the successor of Peter, and his equal in authority of governing ; and that, in the Roman see his successors up to this time have not had the right of primacy in the Church ; let him be anathema.

These canons seemed likely to prove as unsatisfactory as in the previous form, and the legates determined to send to Rome. Accordingly, a courier was despatched, with a copy of the proposition made by the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as of the opinions of certain canonists thereupon, showing that the papal authority was in question, and requesting his holiness' commands. The cardinal, when he heard of this, complained that, having given the copy before he spoke in the congregation, the legates had appeared satisfied with it, but now showed distrust. He said that he thought it strange that fear was shown of everything done either by himself or by the French prelates. He complained that his own nation was wronged by the Italians, and declared that he himself heard an Italian prelate use the coarse saying, which was already popular about Trent : *Dalla scabie Spagnuola siamo caduti nel mal Francese.*^o

ⁿ This seems the proper place for mentioning these two new canons, although Pallavicino, xix. 6, 4, does not distinctly state *when* they were put forth. It seems evident from Paleotto, p. 361, that they were proposed just before the legates sent to Rome to communicate with the pontiff. Dr. Waterworth, p. ccx., has merely placed them in a note, without referring them to any particular time.

^o Sarpi, p. 562, ed. 1619.

The same author proceeds to mention a curious fact, not a little proving how imperfect was the freedom of the debates, even in the private congregations, and in how much dread the legates were of the French prelates.

On the 7th of December, the French, provoked at the uncertainty of the proceedings, agreed that the cardinal of Lorraine should not be present,^p and that their prelates who were to speak should use perfect freedom, and that, if they were found fault with for so doing, their ambassadors should protest. Although they urged the obnoxious question of the divine right, they were heard with attention. They ventured to allege that the institution and jurisdiction of bishops was of divine right; that there was no difference but in degree of superiority, and that the pope's authority is confined within the limits of the canons. They commended the conduct of the parliaments of France, who, if any papal bull was presented containing anything contrary to the canons there received, pronounce it to be abusive, and prohibit its execution. "This liberty," adds Father Paul, "made the pontiff's party use more respect in their speeches, although the prettiness of the proverb pleased some of the livelier prelates so well, that they could not forbear to use it."^q

CHAPTER XVII.

Further Changes in the Canon.

The legates, still wishing to keep on friendly terms with Lorraine, at the instigation of Cardinal Borromeo, explained to him, through the medium of two other prelates, the difficulties involved in the present draft of the canon, and sought to disarm him of any suspicion of unfair play. A new canon was the result, which still dissatisfied his holiness; and another was suggested, which in turn was objected to by the mediators, as reducing the pontiff to a mere instrument.

^p The death of the king of Navarre furnished an excuse for the cardinal's absence. Courayer well observes that this was not only an excuse but a sufficient reason, of which, however, the cardinal was perhaps not sorry to avail himself. The reader doubtless recollects that the king of Navarre had favoured the Protestant party.

^q "Se ben la bellezza del motto proverbiale incitava qualche volta alcuni de' prelati allegri à non astenersene."

Much deliberation took place, and it was resolved that the subject should be reconsidered, and another meeting be convened. Another was prepared, more satisfactory as concerned the papal interests, yet it failed to pass.

While these matters were occupying much anxious consultation, the expected advices came from the pontiff, which threw the whole affair into still greater confusion. Not only were many alterations recommended in the old decree, but it was likewise advised, that an eighth canon should be drawn up, in which the primacy and supreme authority of his holiness should be amplified, or at least confirmed. These letters were accompanied with long annotations.

The legates perceived that, if such a canon as the one suggested were to be promulgated, a long dispute would be the result, and some still more serious controversies would arise therefrom. They therefore thought it better to point out these difficulties to his holiness, than to stir up fresh matter of disturbance. Agreeably, however, to the pontiff's advice, they communicated with the cardinal of Lorraine, and at length agreed to the following threefold form of the seventh canon, together with an eighth appended.

7. If any one shall say, that bishops received by the Roman pontiff into a part of the solicitude, are not set by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God in that part, unto which they are assumed, or that by holy ordination they, &c. : or

If any one shall say, that the order or grade of episcopacy in the Church was not instituted by Christ : or

If any one shall say, that there were no bishops constituted in the Church by Christ, or that by holy ordination they are not greater than priests, &c.

8. If any one shall say, that the blessed Peter, by the institution of Christ, was not the first among the apostles, and [Christ's] vicar upon earth, or that it is not necessary that there be in the Church one pontiff, the successor of Peter, and equal with him in the authority of government, and that his successors in the Roman see up to the present time had not the right of primacy in the Church ; that there was not a father, pastor, and teacher of all Christians whatsoever, and that the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal Church, was not delivered to the

same by our Lord Jesus Christ, in the blessed Peter : let him be anathema.

Seripando had hopes that tranquillity would be restored, if the present opportunity were not allowed to slip ; but it proved the cause of some dissension. The cardinal of Lorraine at first appeared favourable to the proposed canon ; but at night he sent for the auditor, and made many objections. The legates felt disappointed at losing the support they had no reason to hope for, and their vexation was increased by the prelates, who were offended by the terms “ universal Church,” applied in such a manner as to presuppose the superiority of the pope to a council. Measures of different kinds were vainly tried, and the legates found themselves, in the April of 1563, as far off as ever from a settlement of the *vexata questio*.^r

CHAPTER XVIII.

Decree of Residence. Prorogation of the Council.

Meanwhile the decree concerning residence, which had been already proposed on the 6th of November, was, with a few modifications of the penalties against non-residence, and of the limitations of absence, proposed in congregation on the 10th of December. Although the proceedings on both questions were simultaneous, it has been thought advisable by most writers to treat of them distinctly, to avoid the confusion which would otherwise ensue. Nevertheless, so mixed up were the two questions of order and residence, that the arguments for both are substantially the same, and the question of residence has already occupied a sufficient space in our pages.^s The cardinal of Granada stanchly maintained his former opposition ; another prelate quaintly and sensibly observed, that he could not understand the doctrine of those, who, while acknowledging that bishops were divinely commanded to feed their flocks, did not state in what manner they were to be fed. Some objected to the severity of the punishments denounced against non-residence ; others were equally opposed to the rewards ; and some

^r I have followed Paleotto, to whom I shall return in due course, when we come to the death of the legates.

^s The arguments on residence will be found at length in Paleotto, p. 409, sqq.

thought that there ought to be no rewards whatever for the performance of a plain and necessary duty. The bishop of Necanata declared that he had been a constant resident in his own church, never having been absent fourteen days ; and he wished the fathers would exert all their power to do away with the perpetual residence at Trent, and to shorten the speeches, observing that the churches were suffering severely from the very evil which they were talking about redressing.^t

On the 16th of December, Seripando remarked that it would be madness to attempt to prove the obvious necessity for a further prorogation of the session ; but that it was for the fathers to determine whether the day for it should be left undefined, or whether they should fix upon a time within the ensuing fifteen days. The latter proposal was unanimously approved.

CHAPTER XIX.

Departure of Visconti for Rome.

On the 26th of December, in obedience to the wish expressed by the pontiff in a previous communication, Visconti set out for Rome, with the view of exculpating the legates from the charges laid against them, and to represent the difficulties with which they had been compelled to struggle, the disturbances caused by the Spanish prelates,

^t "Of one speech," observes Mendham, in a note, "some account may be given for the sake of nationality, if for nothing else. It is one of an Irish bishop, but which of the three, who were all made by Pius IV., and came to Trent on the same day, our author does not say. This prelate objected to the clause forbidding prelates to be in the councils of princes ; for, said he, but for the contrary, religion would be annihilated in many kingdoms. In Queen Mary's time, he adds, there was a contest at the council-board between two rival bishops, claimants of the same see, the one a Catholic, the other a heretic. The first pleaded that his adversary should be deprived, because he had obtained the see from a schismatic king, Henry VIII., upon which he was judged guilty of treason. 'Hear me,' he replied ; 'if Henry was a Catholic, the consequence is necessary, that the queen is a schismatic, or the contrary : choose which you like best.' Upon this he was acquitted, and obtained the bishopric. He opposed the clause, additionally, because the heretic would say, that such bishops as took a share in the councils of princes were chargeable with mortal sin, as the Polish ambassador had affirmed."

and the impossibility of using sharper means of appeasing them. He was also to excuse the apparent shortness of the time during which the session had been put off—a fact which led to its still farther prorogation—and to give an account of the proceedings of the cardinal of Lorraine, which they stated had proved much less adverse to the Roman pontiff than had been feared. In fact, that, from his previous conduct, they had every reason to expect that he would fall in with the wishes of Pius, and that the result would be favourable.

After this, the further purport of his mission was to offer three questions to his holiness. 1. Whether, if nothing could be found likely to give general satisfaction in regard to the seventh canon, it was to be suppressed by the legates, even if any danger seemed to threaten ; for example, if the Spaniards, who were so desirous thereof, should absent themselves from the session, and matters should seem to threaten a breaking up of the council and a schism. 2. If they found it impossible, as touching the article of residence, to hinder the fathers in a friendly manner from entering upon the dangerous question, whether the legates might apply force to restrain them, by making use of their absolute power ; or whether the fathers should be left free to pursue the question, and decree accordingly. 3. If the French should urge any proposition obnoxious to the authority of the Apostolic See, whether they were to be hindered by the legates ; and whether they were, under such circumstances, to pay no attention to the annoyance which had been excited in Spain and elsewhere by the clause, “ the legates proposing,” which had been looked upon as a chain that tied the fathers hand and foot ; or whether, even supposing the pontifical authority were called in question, they should permit that question to be proposed.^a

The fifteen days had now nearly elapsed ; but, as many of the fathers had still to deliver their opinions, the session was again, for the fifth time, prorogued, and a like space of fifteen days left for fixing a day. On the last of these days, the 4th of February, 1563, was fixed upon, and

^a Pallav. xix. 9, 4-5.

Cardinal Madrucci, and the cardinal of Lorraine, were deputed to make such alterations in the decree on residence as seemed to be required.

CHAPTER XX.

Various Events towards the Close of the Year 1562.

Before proceeding to the turning point in the history of this vexatious and unsatisfactory session, it will be well to take a brief glance at some of the affairs of the latter part of the previous year, which bear most closely on the council. Father Paul states, that the death of the king of Navarre caused a great change in the designs of the cardinal of Lorraine. "For that king had had no inconsiderable hand in the commission given to the cardinal at his departure; so that he was uncertain, at his death, whether the queen and others would continue in the same heat. Besides, he saw a manifest change in the whole government, and therefore desired to be in France, that himself might bear part of it also. For the prince of Condé, being at open enmity and distrust with the queen and her party, the cardinal of Bourbon incapable, Montpensier's reputation doubtful, and the constable old and infirm, he had hopes that his brother might take the leading power over the army, while himself conducted the cabinet. He ruminated upon these things, and thought much less of the council, or of Trent. The other Frenchmen openly said, that they had reason to thank God for the death of the king, because he had begun to waver, and to join his own interests with those of his brother and the Huguenot party."

As soon as the diet was assembled in Frankfort, the prince of Condé sent to solicit assistance from the Protestant princes, and to treat of a union with the Huguenots, as well as with those who maintained the Confession of Augsburg. He also repeated the demand so often urged for a new and free council, in which the decrees of Trent should be canvassed afresh.

The new king of Bohemia was anointed and crowned at Prague, in the presence of his father, the emperor, by the archbishop of that city, who had come from Trent for that purpose, in order that the king might have a voice in the Imperial diet. On reaching Frankfort, they were compelled

to wait until the vacant archbishopric of Cologne was filled up by the canons, and this gave time for much discussion of matters little agreeable to the Roman see. In fact, fear was entertained that the diet would send to Trent to protest, and that some new form would be used in the coronation, to the abolition of the old, which would manifest a disposition to depart from the ancient rites, or that the new king would make some promise injurious to the pope's prerogative.

"But," continues Father Paul, "the emperor and the king used much art to prevent the handling of religious topics before the election of the archbishop.^x At the coronation the only innovation was, that the electors and other Protestant princes stood at mass until the Gospel was read, and then went out. After the ceremonies were over, the emperor began to practise with some of the Protestants, that they would adhere to the Council of Trent; who, not to be prevented assembling themselves together, presented to the emperor the answer which, twenty months before, they had promised to his ambassador in the assembly at Namburghs, in which, having declared the causes why they had, and did still appeal to a free council, they added the following conditions, upon which they were willing to assist at a future general council. 1. That it should be celebrated in Germany. 2. That it should not be intimated by the pope. 3. That he should not preside, but be part of the council, subject to the determination thereof. 4. That the bishops and other prelates should be freed from their oath given to the pope, that they may freely and without impediment deliver their opinions. 5. That the holy Scripture might be judge in the council, and all human authority excluded. 6. That the divines of the states of the Augustan confession sent to the council, might not only have a consulting but deciding voice also, and might have a safe-conduct both for their persons and for the exercise of their religion. 7. That the decisions in council should not be made as in secular matters, by plurality of voices, but the more sound opinions preferred, that is, those which were regulated by the hand

^x This took place Nov. 24th, and the coronation on the last day of the same month. Cf. Courayer, p. 440.

of God. 8. That the acts of the Council of Trent should be made void, because it is partial, celebrated by one part only, and not governed according to promise. 9. That if a concord in religion cannot be concluded in the council, the conditions of Passau may remain inviolable; and that the peace of religion, made in Augsburg, in the year 1555, may continue in strength and force, and every one bound to observe it. 10. That concerning the aforesaid conditions a fit and sufficient caution be given."

The emperor, having received this statement of their wishes, promised to do all in his power to secure concord, and to use means to procure the celebration of the council, in such a manner as to leave them no plea for refusing to attend thereat. To this end, he offered to go in person to Trent, and resolved to pass on to Inspruck, as soon as the diet was ended, as, being then but four days' journey from the seat of the council, he would be enabled to take all necessary measures.

Another event, still more calculated to afflict the pontiff, was the death of his nephew, Friderico Borromeo, upon whom he had lavished all the favours and advantages that the papacy could bestow, and to whose aggrandizement he had looked as the means of raising the glory of his house. Sickness and low spirits pressed heavily on him, and he sought to make the council a diversion from the sadness of his own thoughts. He held repeated congregations at Rome respecting the two questions of the divine institution of bishops, and of residence, which were thought by the whole court to be little favourable to the pontifical authority. He was more especially troubled by the designs of the French, who seemed to be egged on by the cardinal of Lorraine, and whose demands were more and more disagreeable, and whose language grew more threatening ever day. The Italians shared in the alarm of the court. "Either," said they, "the council will go on, or it will be dissolved. In the former case, especially if the pope should die in the interim, the ultramontanes will fashion the conclave after their own views, and to the detriment of Italy; they will circumscribe the pope to a mere bishop of Rome; under the pretext of reform, they will destroy all offices, and ruin the whole curia. Should it, on the other hand, be dissolved without having

effected anything desirable, even the faithful will take great offence thereat, and the waverers will run extraordinary risk of being lost altogether."^y

A solemn embassy from the duke of Bavaria passed by Trent on its way to Rome, to solicit the communion of the chalice, and were privately received by the first legate, and by the cardinal of Lorraine. This aroused the old controversy, which had for some time slumbered in silence; and the Spaniards and Italians both felt annoyed at the idea of that permission being given, while the council was yet sitting. "All the fathers," observes Father Paul, "were in a hurly-burly, because letters came from Rome to divers prelates, that the council should be suspended; which report was confirmed by Don John Mauriques, who passed by Trent, on his way from Germany to Rome. But the legates, having received the pope's letters, thought it impossible to execute the orders he had sent, and that it was necessary to give him a more particular account of the occurrences than could be done by writing, and make him understand that the council cannot be governed as they at Rome think it can, that they might receive a more plain instruction from his holiness what they should do."^z The bishop of Ventimiglia was accordingly despatched on this errand.

On the 28th of December, news reached Trent of the battle fought on the 17th of the month,^a in which the prince of Condé was taken prisoner. The whole kingdom, as has before been observed, was in a sadly turbulent condition, and those religious differences, which at first gave rise to petty skirmishes, ended in a furious and destructive war. The Huguenots had increased in numbers, and, by their firm adherence to the prince of Condé, provoked the constable of Bourbon and the house of Guise. A league was accordingly formed against them, and a party set out, slaying the Huguenots wherever they met with them; and, proceeding to Paris, they persuaded first the king of Navarre, and then the queen, to join with them. The prince left Paris, and retired, with his adherents, to Orleans; and manifestoes and

^y Ranke, p. 81.

^z Brent, p. 647.

^a There is considerable doubt as to the exact day on which this battle was fought. Cf. Courayer, p. 450, who has compared authorities with his accustomed diligence.

writings passed on both sides, each protesting that they acted only for the liberty and service of the king. "But the constable and Guise waxing every day stronger, in April the prince wrote to all the reformed churches of France, demanding soldiers and money, and declaring war against the defenders of the Catholic party, calling them disturbers of the public quiet, and violaters of the king's edict, published in favour of the reformists. The prince's letters were accompanied with others of the minister of Orleans, and of some other cities, which caused those of that religion to arm. And there fell out an accident which did incite them more; for, at the same time, the edict of January was published again in Paris, with an addition, that neither in the suburbs of the city, nor within the space of a league, any assembly of religion should be held, or sacraments administered, but after the old rites. And in the end of May, the king of Navarre made all the reformists go out of Paris, proceeding, however, with great moderation.

"War broke out," continues our animated historian, "in all the provinces of France, between the parties; and that summer there were at the least fourteen formal armies, all at one time, in divers parts of the kingdom. The sons fought against their fathers, brothers against brothers, and even women took arms on different sides, for defence of their religion. There was scarcely any part in Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Gascoigne, which was not vexed oftentimes, the Catholics remaining conquerors in some places, and the reformists in others, with such a variety of accidents, as would be tedious to repeat. Where the Huguenots overcame, the images were beaten down, the altars destroyed, the churches spoiled, and the ornaments of gold and silver melted to make money for soldiers' pay; where the Catholics were conquerors, they burned the bibles in the vulgar tongue, re-baptized children, and re-married those who had been married according to the new ceremonies. And the condition of the clergy on both sides was most miserable, who, wheresoever they were taken, were cruelly murdered. In July the parliament of Paris made a decree that it should be lawful to slay all the Huguenots, which, by public order, was read every Sunday in every parish. Afterwards they added another, declaring them rebels, public enemies, themselves infamous, and all

their posterity, and the goods of those who took arms in Orleans, confiscated, except Condé, upon pretence that they held him by force. And, although there were many treaties between the parties, and a verbal conference also between the queen-mother and the prince, yet such was the ambition of the grandees, that it was impossible to find out any means of composition.

“But the king of Navarre being dead, who perhaps would not have suffered them to proceed to an open war, the queen, resolving to regain obedience with arms, demanded aid of all the princes; and because the people of the Low Countries did learn, by this example, to be more contumacious and obstinate, the king’s authority diminished every day, and could not be repaired by the governors. And the king refused to go thither to oppose his person against the ill-disposition of the people, and the designs of the grandees, as Granvell, the chief in that government, had given him counsel. For that wise king knew how dangerous it was to be contemned to his face, and doubted that, instead of gaining Flanders, he should make it more contumacious, and, in the mean time, lose Spain. But he thought that, by subduing the Frenchmen, who rebelled against their king, he might make an absolute provision against the contumacy of his own subjects; and therefore he offered the queen great assistance of men and money, sufficient to subject the whole kingdom unto her. But the queen refused the men, and demanded the money, knowing that if she had received a Spanish army, she would have been forced to govern France, not according to her own interests, but those of the king of Spain. Yet taking a middle course, she received six thousand men, with which, and with her own forces, conducted by the constable and the duke of Guise, the battle was fought the day aforesaid, in which three thousand Huguenots and five thousand Catholics were slain, and the generals on both sides, Condé and the constable, taken prisoners. Neither of the armies was discomfited, by virtue of the lieutenants on both sides, Guise for the Catholics, and Coligny for the Huguenots. The queen made Guise general, which did not deter Coligny from maintaining his army, preserving the places he possessed, and making some progress also.”

The news of the emperor’s intended journey to Inspruck

gave much alarm to the pontiff, who felt certain that neither the will to plot mischief, nor the power to execute it, would be wanting. He therefore resolved to go in person to Bologna; to send eight or ten cardinals to Trent; to make greater alliances with the Italian princes, and to confirm the prelates as his adherents in the council, until he could find some occasion to dissolve or suspend it. And to hinder all proceedings in Trent respecting the reformation of the Roman court, he took much pains with it himself, publishing a brief, dated December 27th, in which he ordained that no auditor should proceed to a definitive, howsoever plain the case might be, before he made the proposition to the whole college, without consent of the parties; that the sentences, propounded in writing, should be produced within fifteen days; that the causes of the auditors themselves, or of their kinsfolk unto the second degree, or of any of their family, should not be heard in the *Rota*; that the parties should not be forced to receive an advocate; that no decision should be made against those which be printed, except two-thirds of the voices do consent; and that they should be bound to remit every cause which seemed to be criminal. In the same document he likewise made a tax for the moderation of fees, and by other bulls reformed the signature of justice, the tribunals of Rome, and the office of the fiscal advocate, ordaining what fees they should receive. "But," observes Father Paul, "the usual extortions were so far from being redressed by those provisions, that, by transgressing the new orders, they learned to violate the old, which were in some use."

The courtiers had thought that the Huguenots were completely crushed by the late battle, and were proportionately glad. But the pontiff was more moderate in his opinions of that affair; and, finding that the Catholic forces were not augmented, while those of the Huguenots exhibited no signs of diminution, as well as that this battle would give occasion for a treaty of peace, by which he would be prejudiced, and the council would suffer, he felt more and more troubled.

Such is, in brief, a summary of the events which tended to place the affairs of the council on the unsatisfactory footing in which the pontiff found them at the beginning of the year 1563. We can scarcely do better than, leaving the

assembly still at Trent, employed in the disputes already mentioned, to proceed with the other events which preceded the death of the two legates.

CHAPTER XXI.

Thirty-four Demands presented by the French Ambassador.

On the 3rd of January the French ambassadors laid before the legates a series of propositions; and having publicly read them, sent a copy on the following day, entreating that they might be proposed in the synod, by whose determinations they alleged that the king was every way disposed to abide. The legates, having asked time to deliberate, went to the cardinal of Lorraine, and asked him whether the demands made were according to his own views, at the same time wondering that, whereas he had promised that all matters should be communicated to the pontiff, before they were proposed in council, the French ambassadors were now so urgent for their being proposed immediately. Thirdly, they found fault with the publication of such documents, until the inclination of the pontiff had been first ascertained.

The cardinal, in answer to the first question, expressed his disapprobation of some of the demands, and declared that he had only been prevented from procuring their alteration by his exertions to prevent still more obnoxious proposals, such as the abrogation of annats, being urged. As to the second point, he ascribed the hurry of the ambassadors to the desire of exculpating themselves from the charge of protracting the business of the synod to an unnecessary length. Thirdly, he stated that the publication of the documents had been in obedience to the wishes of many of the fathers, especially those of the Italian party.

The demands were to the following effect, being thirty-four in number:—1. That priests should not be ordained before they were old, and had a good testimony of the people that they had lived well; and that their carnalities and transgressions should be punished according to the canons. 2. That holy orders should not be conferred at the same time when the inferior were, but that every one should be approved in the one before he ascended to the other. 3. That a priest should not be ordained before he had a benefice or

ministry, according to the Council of Chalcedon, at which time a presbyterian title without an office was not heard of. 4. That the due function should be restored to deacons and other holy orders, that they may not seem to be bare names and for ceremony only. 5. That the priests and other ecclesiastical ministers should attend to their vocation, not meddling in any office, but in the Divine ministry. 6. That a bishop should not be made but of a lawful age, manners, and doctrine, that he may teach and give example to the people. 7. That no parish priest should be made but of approved honesty, able to instruct the people, celebrate the sacrifice, administer the sacrament, and teach the use and effect of them to the receivers. 8. That no abbot or conventual prior should be created, who hath not studied divinity in some famous university, and obtained the degree of master, or some other. 9. That the bishop by himself, or by other preachers, as many as are sufficient, according to the proportion of the diocese, should preach every Sunday and holy day, and in Lent on fasting days, and in Advent, and as often as it shall be fit. 10. That the parish priest shall do the same as often as he hath auditors. 11. That the abbot and conventual prior shall read the Holy Scriptures, and institute an hospital, so that the ancient schools and hospitality may be restored to the monasteries. 12. That bishops, parish priests, abbots, and other ecclesiastics, unable to perform their charge, shall receive coadjutors, or leave their benefices. 13. That concerning the catechism and summary instruction of Christian doctrine, that should be ordained which the emperor hath proposed to the council. 14. That no man should have more than one benefice, taking away the differences of the quality of persons, and of benefices compatible and incompatible, a new division not heard of in the ancient decrees, and a cause of many troubles in the Catholic Church; and that the regular benefices should be given to regulars, and secular to seculars. 15. That he who hath two or more shall retain that only which he shall choose within a short time, or shall incur the penalty of the ancient canons. 16. That to take away all note of avarice from the clergy, nothing be taken upon any pretence whatsoever for the administration of holy things, but that provision be made that the curates, with two clerks or more, may have

whereon to live and maintain hospitality, which may be done by the bishops by uniting benefices, or assigning tenths unto them; or where that cannot be done, that the prince may provide for them by subvention, or collections imposed upon the parishes. 17. That in parish masses, the Gospel be expounded clearly, according to the capacity of the people; and that the prayers which the parish priest maketh together with the people be in the vulgar tongue; and that the sacrifice being ended in Latin, public prayers be made in the vulgar tongue likewise; and that at the same time, or in other hours, spiritual hymns or psalms of David, approved by the bishop, may be sung in the same language. 18. That the ancient decree of Leo and Gelatius, for the communion under both kinds, be renewed. 19. That before the administration of every sacrament, an exposition be made in the vulgar tongue, so that the ignorant may understand their use and efficacy. 20. That according to the ancient canons, benefices may not be conferred by the vicar, but by the bishops themselves, within the term of six months, otherwise that the collation may devolve to the next superior, and by degrees to the pope. 21. That the mandates of provision, expectatives, regresses, resignations in confidence, and commendas, be revoked, and banished out of the Church, as contrary to the decrees. 22. That the resignations in favour be wholly exterminated from the court of Rome, it being as it were an election of oneself, or a demanding of a successor—a thing prohibited by the canons. 23. That simple priories, from which the cure of souls is taken away, contrary to the foundation, and assigned to a perpetual vicar with a small portion of tithes or of other revenue, be restored to their former state at the first vacancy. 24. That benefices, unto which no office of preaching, administering the sacraments, nor any other ecclesiastical charge is annexed, may have some spiritual cure imposed upon them by the bishop with the council of the chapter, or be united to the next parishes, because no benefice ought or can be without an office. 25. That pensions be not imposed upon benefices, and those abolished which are imposed already, that the ecclesiastical revenues may be spent in maintaining the pastors and poor, and in other works of piety. 26. That ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout the whole diocese be restored to the

bishops, all exemptions being taken away, but of the chief governors of the orders and monasteries subject unto them, and those who make general chapters, to whom exemptions are granted by a lawful title, but yet with provision that they be not exempted from correction. 27. That the bishops may not use jurisdiction, and handle matters of great weight concerning the diocese, without the council of the chapter; and that the canons may reside continually in the churches, be of good conversation, learned, and at the least twenty-five years of age, in regard that the laws not giving them the free disposition of their goods before that time, they ought not to be made counsellors to bishops. 28. That the degrees of affinity, consanguinity, and spiritual kindred, be observed or reformed, and that it may not be lawful to dispute therein, but with kings and princes, for the public good. 29. That in regard many troubles have risen by means of images, the synod would make provision that the people may be taught what they ought to believe concerning them, and that the abuses and superstitions, if any be used in the worship of them, be taken away, and that the same be done concerning indulgences, pilgrimages, relics of saints, and of companies or confraternities. 30. That the public and ancient penance in the Catholic Church for grievous and public offences be restored and brought into use, as also fastings and other exercises of sorrow, and public prayers to appease the wrath of God. 31. That excommunication be not decreed for every sort of offence in contumacy, but only in the greatest, and in which the offender doth persevere after admonition. 32. That to abbreviate or quite take away suits of law for benefices, by which the whole clergy is blemished, the distinctions of petitory or possessory, newly invented in those causes, may be taken away, nominations of universities abolished, and a commandment given to bishops to give benefices, not to those that seek them, but to those that avoid them and are worthy of them; and their merit will be known if, after their degree received in the university, they shall have spent some time in preaching with the consent of the bishop and approbation of the people. 33. That there being a suit for a benefice, an economic may be created, and arbitrators elected by the litigants; which, in case they refuse to do, that the bishop may nominate, and

that these may determine the controversy within six months, and that no appeal may lie from them. 34. That the episcopal synods may be held once a year at the least, and the provincial once in every three years, and the general, if there be no impediment, every tenth year.

Although, as Pallavicino^b confesses, these demands proved more moderate than had been expected, many points contained in them were looked upon as dangerous, especially those concerning changes in points of ritual. Another party, looked upon them as desirable, rather than possible, or adapted to the existing state of affairs. The same author observes, that the main object with the legates was, to avoid any matters likely to restrain the power of the pontiff, or to lead to the "seditious question" of his prerogative in relation to the council—in other words, to prevent the synod being anything else than a select assembly, a packed jury, to try popery before its chief representative by way of magistrate!

CHAPTER XXII.

Arrival of Visconti. Reception of the French Propositions at Rome.

We must refer our readers' attention to the progress of the debates at Trent, at the same time craving indulgence for a degree of obscurity, which is unfortunately inseparable from the arrangement of records embracing so many simultaneous points of interest. In fact, the history of the Council of Trent is almost the history of Europe during a certain period; and the difficulty of blending the internal and external^c histories, and the confusion which would arise from any attempt to mix up the debates of the synod with the affairs which, from day to day, were more or less influencing the value, if not the character, of those debates, compel us at times to treat of the proceedings of this assembly rather according to the immediate connection of the subject, than of strict chronological order.

On the 1st of January Visconti, bishop of Ventimiglia, arrived at Rome. On the 3rd the pontiff held a congregation, and expressed his confidence in the conduct of the

^b Pallav. xix. 11, 5.

^c I am indebted to Dr. Waterworth for this useful distinction.

legates, as well as his good-will towards the cardinal of Lorraine. In a congregation held the following day, he created Ferdinando de Medici and Friderico Gonzaga cardinals, the latter chiefly out of compliment to his first legate.^d But the business of the council gave him much anxiety; and he began to meditate a visit to Bologna, with the view of being nearer the seat of the assembly, and either completing or transferring it. But the cardinal of Mantua dissuaded him from this step, representing to him the scandal which would arise, if, even upon his arrival, the council could not reach a regular termination, but must be dissolved.^e Nor did the propositions of reform made by the French give any more satisfaction to the pontiff, who declared that their aim was to take away the Datary, the Rota, the Signatures, and finally, the whole apostolic authority. But upon considering the instructions of Lorraine which accompanied them, he took a more favourable view of the question; and, to make some diversion of feeling in France, he ordered Ferrara to release the king from the tax of 40,000 crowns, without any condition, and at the same time speaking somewhat favourably of the proposed scheme of reform. He was, however, careful to insist upon the pontifical authority, and earnest in denouncing certain points which seemed to question it. At the same time he wrote to Trent, cautioning the legates to avoid discussing the thirty-four propositions until they were obliged, and that they should then commence with those that were least prejudicial; such as those appertaining to manners and doctrine, deferring those relative to rites and benefices.

About the end of January, the bishop of Five Churches went to Inspruck,^f to meet the emperor. Fear was entertained, that his account of the proceedings of the synod would be unfavourable, especially as he had been persuaded of the existence of certain secret cabals, which were likely to have an unfair influence upon the measures of the council.^g

^d Cf. Courayer, v. ii, p. 460.

^e Cf. Ranke, p. 85, *note*. "Lettera del C^{le} di Mantua, scritto al Papa Pio IV. il 15 Gen. 1563. Quando si havesse di disolvere questo concilio . . . per causa d' altri e non nostra . . . mi piacerea più che V^{ra} Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma."

^f I resume the narrative of Paleotto, p. 473, sqq.

^g "Præsertim quod ei a malevolis quibusdam persuasum fuerat, privatos quosdam conventus a nonnullis seditiosis frequenter iniri, qui

The legates did all in their power to disabuse him of this belief, and to send him away with a good opinion of their own vigilance and integrity. They also, by way of counterpoise,^h sent Commendone to the emperor, not only for the sake of compliment, but in order to acquaint him with the state of proceedings, and that it was their intention to refer his demands to the synod, as had been repeatedly urged by his ambassadors, at the same time apologizing for the delay which had taken place in so doing.ⁱ

Visconti, meanwhile, had returned from Rome, giving a glowing account of the reformation which the pontiff was effecting in the offices of the Roman court; the ambassador of the duke of Savoy was likewise received, heard, and answered.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Letters of Visconti.

This seems to be the fitting place for some interesting extracts from the contemporary epistles of Visconti, which, like those of Vargas, give us no little insight into the inward policy which dictated so many otherwise unaccountable proceedings of the pope and his legates. The learned and painstaking author of the "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," who possesses a fuller collection of these letters than the one published by M. Aymon,^k gives the following important selections and remarks.

"In a letter of the 7th of Jan., 1563, the legates begin with expressing their surprise to receive from the cardinal to whom their letters are directed, Borromeo, the advice to be more communicative on the affairs of the council with the cardinal of Lorraine; for that it had been reported from Trent that he complained of the legates as not only shunning all communication with him, but even guarding against him as an enemy. They did not wonder that there were gossips among them who would say such things, but that such things should be attended to. On the contrary, they say they had

noctu domos complicum circuirent, ac schedulâ quadam ac sigillo singulorum nomina literis obsignata exciperent, quibus nihil approbandum, nisi quod ex eorum esset sententia, conspirabant."

^h "E per dar qualche ripiego."—Sarpi, p. 642.

ⁱ Pallav. xx. 1, 2.

^k In two volumes, 12mo., Amst. 1719.

always felt the highest esteem for him, on account of his eminent goodness, religious and honourable aspect towards his holiness, and the Apostolic See ; and that in their letters they called him an angel of peace, and a man sent of God ; and they lament that he should be the subject of so much calumny. They would not therefore fail to continue most cordially their course of confidence with him.

“A curious circumstance is mentioned at the close of the letter, of a Genoese gentleman then at Trent, who had been in the Inquisition of Genoa, by means of whom it was hoped that many of his associates might be reduced to reconciliation with the Church. He seems to have been still under confinement of some sort ; for the ordinary of the place, the archbishop, was present, and is spoken of as the judge.

“A letter of the 15th of Jan. describes the perilous state of the council at the time, and its demand upon all the elasticity and patience which can be imagined ; for the legates had to do with those who felt it impossible to belong to their party, and who were neither simple, ignorant, nor imprudent ; then with those who were, as they ought to be of their party, but were, each individual, obstinate in their own opinion, and disagreeing with each other, so that they equalled the concord and unity among the first, by the discord and disunion among themselves, while each endeavoured to excel the other in demonstrations of devotedness to the Apostolic See, and the particular service of his holiness and the court. The mischief and disturbance which this would occasion, they say, may easily be conceived. They had received certain annotations from Rome, and a letter to be shown to Lorraine, with which he was little satisfied. With him they had consultations ; and a modification of the seventh canon was proposed. At an interview soon after, he appeared very conciliating, but intimated that the form would not be accepted either by the Spaniards or the French, nor by himself, if the Holy Spirit did not inspire him to the contrary—an expression which they found proceeded from a very ill will. The legates had two objects in view : the one was, to establish the power of the pope on surer foundations than was done even by the Florentine council ; the other, that if the French should be provoked to call for a free council, as they had heard with their own ears was intended ;

a dissolution would follow, of which they could not be charged as being the authors. We see by this plainly enough, that suspension or dissolution was always in view with the pontifical party as a desirable object; but that party must not have the credit of being the cause.

“The letter of the 18th contains a passage profitably descriptive of the scandal occasioned to the council from the differences discovered in it among Catholics, who ought to be all united against the heretics, and to lay aside what, instead of making against the heretics, makes for them, while they detect our imperfections and controversies. But if by the secret judgment of God, concord is denied, and the session cannot be effected, and a dissolution and rupture become necessary, let us have an express declaration of the will of his holiness, &c. The letter, about the close, has the curious proposition of a daily pigeon carriage or post between Rome and Trent, that the legates by this means might mitigate the distress which every day brought with it.”¹

CHAPTER XXIV.

Articles proposed respecting Matrimony.

On the 5th of February, 1563, after a stupid dispute about precedence had been adjusted, some articles on marriage were laid before the fathers. They were eight in number, as follows:—

1. That matrimony is not a sacrament instituted by God, but a human introduction in the Church, and that it hath no promise of grace.

2. That the parents may make void secret marriages, and that those, which are so contracted, are not true marriages, yea, that it is expedient that hereafter they should be made void in the Church.

3. That it is lawful, in case the wife be divorced for fornication, to marry another in the lifetime of the former, and that it is an error to make a divorce for any cause but fornication.

4. That it is lawful for Christians to have many wives,

¹ Mendham, p. 275, sq. A perusal of the whole chapter will well repay the reader's attention.

and that the prohibition of marriage at certain times of the year, is a tyranny which proceeded from the superstition of the Gentiles.

5. That matrimony ought to be preferred before chastity, and that God giveth more grace to those that are married than to others.

6. That the priests of the West may lawfully contract matrimony, notwithstanding the vow of ecclesiastical law; and that to say the contrary is to condemn matrimony; and that all those who have not the gift of chastity, may marry.

7. That the degrees of consanguinity and affinity mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus, ought to be kept, and neither more or less.

8. That inability to discharge the duties of matrimony, and ignorance in the contract of marriage, are the only causes to dissolve matrimony contracted, and that the causes of matrimony do belong to secular princes.

In order that they might speak briefly respecting these articles, they were divided into four parts, according to the four ranks of divines, and two appointed for each.

The discussion of these propositions, however, rather belongs to the business of the next session, and will therefore be deferred for the present.

CHAPTER XXV.

Letters from the French King.

On the 11th of February, the French ambassadors presented a letter bearing date the 18th of January,^m in which the king set forth, in glowing terms, his recent victory over the Huguenots, and his earnest zeal in defence of the Catholic Church. He then besought the assembled fathers to give their whole attention to a thorough reformation of manners, such as the necessities and expectations of Christendom now called for, and to the restoration of whatever losses the Church had sustained either by the ravages of wars or the evil condition of the times. Such a reformation, he added,

^m Some, however, believed that this letter was really written at a later period. See Pallav. xx. 2, 2.

was the only means of drawing back to the Church those who, out of pure levity, and without any sufficient cause, had fallen away.

The ambassador De Ferrier then spoke at some length. He declared that, although God had snatched victory out of the hands of the enemy, they yet remained in full strength, and that the only safe refuge was to the help of the fathers. He reminded them that Moses, when fighting against the Amalekites, required the aid of Aaron and Hur to support his hands ; and that, although Charles lacked not competent forces, he still required the aid of the synod. To them, therefore, as to the stone of support, the king had sent his petitions ; which, by means of his ambassadors, had been laid before the most illustrious legates, who had promised to propose them in the council. After urging the anxiety of the king to hear their decision upon the articles in question, he observed that they contained nothing peculiar to the interests of France, but belonging to the common benefit of the Church ; and that, if any one might think that important matters had been omitted, it had been done so intentionally, to the end that they might, step by step, proceed to questions of more serious import ; and that, unless the council at once showed its capability to deal with minor matters, the Catholics would lose their confidence in, and the heretics would openly scoff at, the whole assembly ; and it would be said, that the Tridentine fathers were wise men enough, but lacked the power to do anything, and that they had constructed excellent laws, but had been unwilling to touch them so much as with a finger. But if, in the demands put forth, it were thought that things were contained conformable to the writings of heretics, he held such an objection undeserving of an answer ; while, on the other hand, if they were charged with being immoderate, he could only say with Cicero, that it is absurd to desire mediocrity and measure in the best things, which are so much better in proportion as they are greater. He reminded them that the Holy Spirit doth denounce against such lukewarm lovers of mediocrity : "I will vomit thee forth ; would that thou wert either warm or cold !" He bade the fathers reflect how little good had been done by the too moderate reformations at the Synod of Constance,

and the one which followed it (which he would not name for fear of giving offenceⁿ), as well as in those of Ferrara, Florence, Lateran, and the first of Trent,^o denying that the Tridentine decrees hitherto passed had produced any fruits. He bade them consider how many kingdoms had meanwhile severed themselves from the Catholic faith ; that the safety of France was not alone concerned ; that the Italians and Spaniards measured their own danger by the troubles of their neighbours. After a farther exhortation to reform, he concluded by some compliments, which were too evidently at variance with the charges he had previously laid against the council, to be of much avail, or give much satisfaction.^p

However, a polite and laudatory answer was returned to the king's letter, and he was exhorted to follow the example of his ancestors, in holding up the authority of the Apostolic See, and maintaining the ancient faith and the precepts of the Church rather than following the advice of those, who sought only to meet present occasion, and preserve an imaginary tranquillity. But, observes Father Paul, "the biting language of the ambassador pierced the minds of the papal party, especially when he said that the articles of reform were addressed principally to the synod—words which they held to be contrary to the decree, that the legates only should propose—a principal secret for the preservation of the pope's authority. But they were still more vexed at his saying that he had reserved the proposition of more important matters until another time ; when they inferred serious consequences, especially having always been in doubt whether they had as yet fully penetrated into the designs of the French party." Moreover, a report prevailed, that the draft of this speech, which was submitted to the legates, differed in some respects, affecting the pope's authority, from the one which he had delivered.

ⁿ Meaning the Synod of Basle.

^o This sneer at the unity of the Tridentine assemblies deserves notice.

^p Compare the clever remarks of Pallavicino, xx. 2, 4.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Lorraine goes to Inspruck. Return of Commendone.

On the following day, the cardinal of Lorraine set out to Inspruck, to visit the emperor and the king of the Romans, accompanied by nine prelates, and four divines of eminent learning. He had first obtained a promise from the legates, that the question of the marriage of priests should not be handled in his absence, fearing lest anything might be determined or preconceived contrary to the commission he had received from the king, to obtain from the council a dispensation permitting the cardinal of Bourbon to marry. Cardinal Altemps went to Rome at the same time, to take the post of general over the forces which the pontiff was raising to counteract the rumoured levies in Germany in favour of the Huguenot party.^q

The account which Commendone gave of his mission to the emperor,^r was far from cheering. While asserting that the piety of the emperor seemed still so abundant, that, were it divided among the ecclesiastical and lay princes of Germany, it would suffice to restore their provinces to the Catholic faith, he at the same time expressed great doubts as to his disposition and future conduct towards the synod and the Apostolic See; alleging that the emperor seemed under an impression that both the council and the pontiff were defaulters in their work, and wanting in the application of the reform which was so necessary; that it therefore became him, as the first-born son and advocate of the Church, to lay them under a restraint, and that he had intimated as much in his letters to his ambassadors.^s He also stated, that

^q Much important matter follows in Father Paul, touching the disputes on the subject of matrimony; but I prefer leaving the whole subject until the next session, to which it immediately belongs.

^r Cf. ch. xxii.

^s Pallav. xx. 4, 3. For the rest, I follow Sarpi. The complaints of the inefficiency of the council are set forth with great power in the following passage of Paleotto, p. 481:—"Rediit interea episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis a Cæsare, narrans male synodum ab illius aula audire, quod nihil præclari ab ea agatur, disputationibus omnia turbentur, et quisque affectibus propriis magis quam publico commodo studeat, licebat majestatem suam literis ad S^{mm} D. N. hanc patrum cunctationem mire damnassee, eique resarciendæ id consilii proposuisse, ut

Delfino, the resident nuncio, had given great offence to the emperor, by hinting at the suspension or translation of the council; that there was an opinion in the court that the king was in communication with the emperor on the affairs of the synod, which he had reason to believe, being assured that the Spanish prelates had sent letters to him, complaining of the proceedings of the Italians, and proposing many articles of reformation,^t which they would scarcely have done had they not known the king's mind on the subject.

He also said that, when the too great freedom of the Spanish prelates was noticed, the Count de Luna had remarked, that nothing could be done, if they were to represent that they spoke according to their consciences. He further alleged, that he had little doubt that the propositions of reform already mentioned would shortly be brought forward by the ambassadors, and that his majesty had caused his divines to consult thereupon, as well as upon other conciliar affairs; but that himself and Delfino had as yet failed in their endeavours to learn the particulars of the questions to be discussed.

But, continues Father Paul, these came to light in a short time. For the Jesuit Casinios wrote to Lainez respecting the emperor's dissatisfaction with the council; and Lainez having conferred with Simonetta, they sent one of the fathers, by whom it was discovered that the articles in agitation were as follows:—

1. Whether a general council, lawfully assembled by the favour of princes, may change the order determined by the pope to be observed in handling the matters, and bring in a new manner.

2. Whether it be profitable for the Church that the council should handle matters, and determine them as it is directed by the pope or court of Rome, so that it may not do otherwise.

simul Tridenti congregiantur, atque in rem præsentem veniant: id, si sanctitati suæ placuerit, eum quoque quam primum hic adfuturum; sed et literis ex omnibus fere provinciis huc prolati significabatur, omnem synodi expectationem prorsus concidisse, postquam nihil non plenum contentionibus, indignationibus, atque prorogationibus huic quotidie ad eos deferebatur."

^t Cf. Visconti, *Memoirs of the 18th of February*, v. i. p. 39, which wonderfully confirms the accuracy of Father Paul's statements.

3. Whether, if the pope die in the time of the council, the fathers thereof ought to choose another.

4. Whether, when matters are handled concerning the peace and tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth, the ambassadors of princes ought to have a deciding voice, howsoever they have it not concerning matters of faith.

5. Whether princes may recall their orators and prelates from the council without imparting it to the legates.

6. Whether the pope may dissolve or suspend the council without the participation of princes, and especially of the emperor.

7. Whether it be fit that princes should interfere to cause more necessary and expedient matters to be handled in council.

8. Whether the orators of princes may expound to the fathers in person those things which the princes commit unto them to be expounded.

9. Whether a means may be found that the fathers sent by the pope and princes^a may be free in giving their voices in council.

10. Whether a means may be found that no fraud, violence, nor extortion be used in delivering the opinions of the fathers.

11. Whether anything may be handled, be it point of doctrine or reformation of the Church, before it be discussed by the learned.

12. Whether it be seemly that the emperor should personally assist in council.

Such were these articles, as given by Pallavicino, with the exception of an alteration pointed out in the note on the ninth article. But Father Paul gives us five more, as follows :—

13. What the emperor's power is, the See of Rome being void, and the council open.

^a Courayer, v. ii. p. 494. "Pallavicin rapporte cet article un peu différemment. Car on y demande, si l'on pourroit trouver moyen, que dans les suffrages qui se donnoient dans la concile, les pères fussent libres tant par rapport au pape que par rapport aux princes. Mais en rapportant cet article, ce cardinal calomnie Fra Paolo, en l'accusant de n'avoir fait mention que du pape, et non des princes. Car il parle de l'un et des autres de la même manière, et il n'a pas laissé sur cela le moindre lieu à l'accusation."

14. What course may be taken, that the pope and the court of Rome may not interfere in ordaining what is to be handled in council, that the liberty of the fathers may not be hindered.

15. What remedy may be found if the Italian prelates do continue their obstinacy in not suffering matters to be resolved.

16. What remedy may be used to hinder the combining of the Italian prelates, when the pope's authority is in question.

17. How the practices may be removed which hinder the determination of the point of residency.

Pallavicino is profuse in declaiming against the genuineness of these articles; but the contemporary testimony of Visconti^x renders his objections almost useless. There seems little doubt that they underwent many modifications,^y and that these latter ones were suppressed, as being too offensive in their character. But although thought unfit to be the exponents of the opinions entertained, their existence at any time is sufficient to prove the fading credit of the council, and the dissatisfaction which its juggling and constant delays had inspired.

CHAPTER XXVII.

State of Things up to the Death of the First Legate.

The aforementioned articles gave no small alarm to the legates, and Seripando exhorted the pontiff to make all the resistance in his power, and to address a breve to the emperor dictated in similar terms to the one sent by Paul III. to Charles, in the year 1544, directed against the diet of Spire. But the quiet and pious disposition of Ferdinand showed that their fear was little founded on reason, and

^x "Si à sparsa voce delli dieci sette articoli, che furono mandati d'Ispruch, e molti ne hanno già havuto copia."—Lett. of 1st of March, p. 84. This last-mentioned fact is sufficient to prove the difficulty of imposition or mistake as to the original number of these articles. Again, in a previous letter of the 18th of February, p. 40, sq. he mentions sixteen; clearly proving that changes had taken place. This has escaped the notice of Courayer.

^y Ch. iv. §§ 6-8.

Delfino laboured hard to free their minds from the supposition.

The cardinal of Lorraine, who had been engaged at Trent, now returned; but he found the first legate in a state of severe ill health, arising partly from age, and partly from a cold taken in consequence of being out in a north wind with insufficient clothing. Hosius too was ill, but not incapable of business. To him, therefore, and his two colleagues, Lorraine gave an account of his expedition, taking care to place his own share in the transaction in the best light.² He stated that, immediately on reaching Inspruck, the nuncio signified to him the change in the emperor's feelings with regard to the council, and besought him to act as became a cardinal in his position, and as his influence would enable him to act, to the great advantage both of the common weal and of the pontiff. He replied, that he would never give the purple reason to complain of his deficiency, or of his gratitude to the pontiff; that the emperor broke out into bitter reproaches touching the neglect and excuses with which his proposals for reform had been treated, which, even the legates confessed, contained many things fit to be laid before the council. He added, that the emperor declared that the pontiff was deceived, either by the Council of Trent, or by the other council he was holding at Rome, and that a mischievous ambiguity prevailed, to the great injury of the reform desired, in confounding abuses with the authority of the Apostolic See.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Death of the Cardinal of Mantua and of Seripando.

On the second of March, the proceedings of the council received a shock from the death of the first legate. He expired after a brief illness of seven days, and his loss was bitterly felt. Paleotto^a passes a short but sincere eulogy upon his probity, humanity, and virtue. He had been an ornament to the council, and his influence with princes was unrivalled. To the last day but one of his life, though worn out in mind, he celebrated mass with the utmost piety.

² Pallav. xx. 6, 4.

^a P. 481.

Before he departed this life, he received all the necessary sacraments, and made additions to the will he had already prepared, leaving funds to found a college of Jesuits (to which society he had always been warmly attached), in the city of Mantua, to which city his body was conveyed to receive the last honours.

Upon his death, the imperial and French prelates strained every effort to procure the election of the cardinal of Lorraine as first legate; but the pontiff was too well aware of his previous disposition in favour of the grant of the cup, and of other concessions unfavourable to the Apostolic See,^b as well as suspicious of the French nation in general. He accordingly appointed the Cardinals Morone and Navagero as his legates, assigning the precedence to the former.

It seems probable that, had the health of Seripando been less precarious, he would have taken the place of the deceased cardinal as first legate. But his health was declining rapidly, although his unfailing energy was sufficient to deceive the wishes of friends with hopes too soon to be frustrated. It is impossible not to feel respect for the memory of a man like Seripando.^c All that acuteness and vigour of intellect, steadfast and consistent enthusiasm in the cause of his master, and oftentimes a noble forgetfulness of self-interest, could achieve, was done, and done heartily and cheerfully by him. Throughout his last illness, his piety was conspicuous. A few days before his decease, when about to receive the holy eucharist, he discoursed respecting the sacraments, the Catholic faith, and his own previous life, in the presence of some prelates and other friends, with a devotional piety and good sense that moved all present to tears. He declared that his faith in the Catholic religion had ever agreed with the dictates of the Roman Church; that he never had departed,

^b Pallav. xx. 7, 4. Dr. Waterworth, p. ccxv. well observes, that the promptness of this election resulted from the pontiff's desire to cut short the intrigues which would be attempted in favour of Lorraine.

^c In the interesting "*Elogia Virorum Illustrium ex ordine Eremitarum*" of Corn. Curtio, published at Antwerp, 1636, p. 109, is a portrait of Seripando, of a most prepossessing character. The mixture of mild benignity and determinate firmness which it displays seems to tally well with what we read of the character of this great man. The character of both legates is tersely and neatly discussed by Botta, "*Storia d' Italia*," v. iii. p. 73.

still less now would think of departing, therefrom ; but had determined to die therein, as he had always lived. As to the most holy eucharist, he averred that he had never doubted, nor even been tempted to doubt, that the body of Christ is contained therein. He would fain rise from his bed, and receive the communion on his bended knees ; and when his friends dissuaded him from so doing, he replied, that this last act must not be denied him, and so received the eucharist, kneeling with the utmost devotion.

Finding himself at his last stage, he signified to the other legates, by means of his secretary, his earnest entreaties that they would preserve the affairs of the council with that care and faith which became them, remembering that the safety of the Christian commonwealth depended upon them, and that, if they only performed their part aright, the Almighty would take up their cause. He spoke with affectionate praise of his late colleague, and declared that, in a few months hence, when the mouths of the malignant and slanderous were silenced, his loss would be deplored by all good men. But his warmth was never so great as when he spoke of the heavenly glory, to which he now felt forewarned he was called by the boundless goodness of God, and he declared that he should have seemed to have learnt little in the seventy years he had spent in this life, and which he had devoted to profitable studies, if he now knew not how to end it equally well.^d Nay, so great was his firmness in this belief, that he sometimes condemned the care of physicians, who nourish the disease, and protract the mortal life for a few days by human medicines, while they retard the true life, which is Christ.

In his will, ample care was taken to prevent litigation, and to provide for such friends as had deserved his gratitude by their conduct during his life. He also ordered his body to be buried in the convent of Eremites, but not within the

^d " It is remarkable," observes Mendham, " that in this account of the last hours of Seripando, no mention or allusion is made to extreme unction, to the image of a crucifix, to invocation of saint, angel, or even deified Virgin ; nor even to confession or absolution. The system of Veron and Bossuet seems to have been present by anticipation to the mind of the auditor, and he, or his subject, had the prudence to pare down popery to something like true Christianity, and with purer notions than those of the modern dissemblers."

church, but in the cloisters or the cemetery, without any pomp, and with a simple mound of earth and bricks to mark the place of his last rest.^e But a crowning act of bigotry was not wanting to attest his violent antipathy to the reformists. Whatever heretical books he possessed for the use of the council, by permission of the pontiff, were ordered to be burned.

Before his death, however, other disasters happened, which added not a little to the general discomfort. News came that the duke of Guise, so staunch a supporter of Catholicism, had been assassinated, and, as was reported, by a private soldier, with the view of ingratiating himself with Admiral Coligny, and chiefly at the instigation of the heresiarch Theodore Beza, who proclaimed that those concerned in the deed would by that means earn celestial glory.^f This, as Father Paul observes,^g produced a great change in the state of the council. The cardinal of Lorraine, in losing his brother also lost the motives which had stimulated his previous zeal, and much of the comparative quiet which followed was doubtless due to the loss of so able and diligent a minister of the emperor and the French queen. The death of the duke caused much anxiety both at Rome and at Trent, and

^e Paleotto, p. 483, sqq. Great as were the talents of Seripando, eloquence does not appear to have shone amongst their number. See the *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xlii. p. 75.

^f Giulio Poggiano delivered an oration on the occasion of the duke's assassination, on the 29th of March, 1563, in the pope's chapel, to a large audience of cardinals, &c. It is in the usual style, and speaks of Beza in the following manner:—"The assassin," he says, "awed by the authority of the duke, repented and returned the hire of the crime, but," adds the orator, "quod gladiatoris natura non tulit, non persuasit pecunia, Bezæ religio probavit: is autem est Beza, homo ignotissimus genere, sed venditione sacerdotii, vitæque turpitudine, nunc etiam qui bestias vicit, feritate nobilis: qui condemnatus in Gallia nefariorum facinorum, unum habuit perfugium castra ista præclara," &c. Really when our people are accused, we examine and justify them if we fairly can; if not, we condemn them in proportion to the offence; and if it be nefarious, give them up. But such gratuitous and rhodomontade slander as Poggiano's, and that of Romanists in general, is too contemptible for notice."^g—Mendham, p. 263, *note*. Father Paul agrees substantially with the account of Paleotto; but Pallavicino makes no mention of the charge against Beza.

^g See letter of Santa Croce, in Courayer, p. 508.

the alarm was increased by the rumour of an anticipated reunion with the Huguenot party.

Just about the same time, the safety of Trent was threatened by a dangerous affray between some of the servants of the Spanish, Italian, and French prelates, which was attended by some loss of life, and was with difficulty appeased by the exertions of the legates. In the midst of all these misfortunes the death of Seripando came like a final evidence of the divine judgment, and seemed to portend no prosperous issue to the affairs of the council.^h Such were the difficulties which seemed to bid fair to put an end to the whole transaction. As Ranke has well observed, "the discordant opinions only met and combated in Trent; they had their source at Rome, and in the courts of the several sovereigns. If these dissensions were to be annulled, they must be dealt with at the fountain-head. Pius had once said, that the popedom could no longer subsist isolated from the sovereigns of Europe; this then was the very moment to act upon the maxim. He had once thought of receiving the demands of the several courts, and fulfilling them without the interference of a council; but this would have been but a half-measure. The grand object was, to bring the council to a close in harmony with the greater power; in no other way could it be done."

In fact, the pontiff had a double game to play,—to make concessions which might satisfy princes, and to procure a submission to the papacy which would render them untended with danger to his own prerogative. Such, at least, was the only plan of conciliation consistent with the vitality of the popedom. The death of his legates left him greater freedom for making changes without undergoing the charge of inconsistency from his immediate ministers; and in Cardinal Morone he was destined to find a man capable of terminating one of the most tedious and unsatisfactory synods that had ever debated on the affairs of Christendom.

^h Paleotto, p. 483.

CHAPTER XXIX.

First Proceedings of Cardinal Morone.

Although all public business was of necessity suspended by the recent deaths of two of the legates, the harassing questions of the institution and residence of bishops were still agitated. But all intrigues touching the future elections were completely silenced by the fact that the new legates were not only chosen by the pontiff, but already on their way to Trent. Nay, so complete had been the management of Pius in this respect, that Morone was not only fully established in his legatine office, but was likewise recommended to betake himself to Inspruck forthwith, in order to commune confidentially with the emperor.

On the 10th of April, Cardinal Morone made his entrance into Trent, accompanied by the wonted assembly of cardinals, prelates, and ambassadors. Two days after, the Count di Luna, who had come from Inspruck, arrived; and, although certain questions of etiquette as to his place in the council had not yet been defined, matters seemed in a fair way towards accommodation.¹ The reception of the new legate was highly ceremonious and respectful; but his colleague, Navagero, preferred a quieter and less obtrusive entrance to the seat of his future actions.

On the 13th of April, Cardinal Morone made his first speech in capacity of legate. He painted in strong terms the disturbed state of religion, the unsettled character of the times, and the advantages expected from the council as a means of reconciling opposed parties, and averting the impending ills. He next spoke in high terms of the persons assembled, and made honourable mention of the deceased legates. He then stated that, on returning from his intended conference with the emperor, he trusted to take such measures as would tend to the salvation of the people, the honour of the Church, and the glory of Christ. He concluded by exhorting the fathers to observe that humility and freedom from discord, which could alone extricate them from present troubles, and reward them for the many

¹ Paleotto, p. 488.

dangers, the long journeys, and the cares and losses they had undergone in the cause of the council. On the 16th, he set out for Inspruck,^k unaccompanied by attendants, in order that he might discuss the affairs of the council with greater freedom.¹

The session, in consequence of the change of legates, and other hinderances, was again prorogued till the 3rd of June, Morone being prevented returning from Inspruck by an attack of the gout.

CHAPTER XXX.

Conference of Morone and the Emperor.

In lieu of the lengthy account given by Pallavicino,^m I prefer presenting my readers with the masterly summary given by Rankeⁿ of the proceedings of the first legate in the delicate task intrusted to him by the pontiff. The certainty of his authorities renders his account more trustworthy than any other.

"Morone found the emperor soured, discontented, and offended, convinced that no serious intentions of reform were entertained at Rome, and determined, in the first place, to secure the freedom of the council.

"Extraordinary address, and great diplomatic skill, as we should say in these days, were requisite on the legate's part, to propitiate the incensed monarch.

"Ferdinand was angry that his propositions of reform had been put aside, and never made subjects of actual discussion. The legate had the art to persuade him that it had, for reasons not altogether to be despised, been judged hazardous to discuss them in form; but that the most important points they contained had, nevertheless, been considered, and even already adopted. The emperor further complained,

^k Just before his departure, Peter Soto, the Dominican theologian, who to the last had taken an active part in the debates of the session, died. Before his decease, he wrote a letter to the pontiff, containing some suggestions respecting the matters to be handled in the council.—Pallav. xx. 13, 1.

¹ Before, however, he set out, he had a sharp dispute with the Count di Luna on the subject of the clause, "the legates proposing."—Pallav. xx. 12.

^m xx. 13.

ⁿ P. 86.

that the council was led by Rome, and that the legates were governed by instructions received thence. Morone rejoined, and the fact is undeniable, that the ambassadors of the sovereigns were also guided by instructions from home, and were continually receiving fresh orders.

“In fact, Morone, who had already long possessed the confidence of the house of Austria, got happily over this most delicate matter. He glossed over the unfavourable impressions the emperor had taken up, and then applied himself to effect a mutual agreement on those controverted points that had caused the greatest discord in Trent. It was not at all his intention to give way on essential matters, or to suffer the pope’s authority to be in anywise weakened: ‘the great object was,’ he himself says, ‘to hit upon such conclusion, that the emperor might deem himself satisfied, without trenching too closely upon the authority of the pope or the legates.’^o

“The first of these points was the exclusive right of initiating measures vested in the legates,—a right which it was constantly asserted militated against the freedom of the council. Morone remarked, that it was not for the interest of the sovereigns to concede the initiative to all prelates,—a fact of which he could have had no difficulty in convincing the emperor. It was easy to foresee that the bishops, once possessed of that privilege, would not be slow to propose resolutions running directly counter to the existing pretensions and rights of the state. It was manifest what confusion would arise out of such a concession. Still there was a desire in some degree to meet the wishes of the sovereigns, and the device adopted to that end is worthy of notice. Morone promised to bring forward everything that the ambassadors should suggest to him with that intention, or on his failing to do so, to admit their right to propose the measures in person. This accommodation was significant of the spirit that gradually began to prevail in the convocation. The legates admitted an occasion on which they would forego

^o Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale che paresse all’imperatore di essere in alcuno modo soddisfatto, et insieme non si pregiudicasse all’ autorità del papa nè de’ legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso. —*Relatione sommaria del Cl. Morone sopra la legatione sua.* Bibl. Altieri in Roma, vii. F. 3.

their exclusive right to the initiative, but this not so much in favour of the fathers assembled in council as of the ambassadors.^p It followed thence that the sovereigns alone were accorded a share in those rights, which in other respects the pope reserved to himself.

"A second point was the demand, that the committee which prepared the resolutions should be constituted according to the several nations. Morone remarked, that this had always been the practice, but that for the future, since the emperor desired it, it should be more strictly observed.

"The third point was reform. Ferdinand conceded at large that the expression, 'reformation of the head,' and also the old question of the Sorbonne, whether councils were superior to the pope or not, should be avoided; in return for which, Morone promised a real searching reform in all other particulars. The plan agreed on to that end included even the conclave."^q

"These main points being set at rest, all secondary questions were easily arranged. The emperor desisted from many of his demands, and enjoined his ambassadors, above all things, to maintain a good understanding with the papal legates. Morone returned back over the Alps, having successfully accomplished his mission. 'As soon as the emperor's favourable determination was known in Trent,' he says himself, 'and the concord between his ambassadors and the pope's was fully ascertained, the council began to assume a different aspect, and to become much easier to manage.'"

^p "Summarium eorum quæ dicuntur acta inter Cæsaream majestatem et illustrissimum Cardinalem Moronum," in the Acta of Torellus; likewise in Salig, *Geschichte des Tridentinischen Concilium*, iii. A. 292, wherein this is expressed in the following manner: "Maj. S. tibi reservavit vel per medium dictorum legatorum, vel si ipsi in hoc gravarentur, per se ipsum, vel per ministros suos, proponi curare." [His majesty reserved to himself the causing measures to be proposed through the medium of the said legates, or, if they objected to this, by himself or his servants.] I confess I should not readily have inferred from hence such a negotiation as Morone reports, although indeed it is implied in it.—Ranke.

^q Ranke, pp. 84-5.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Letters from Mary Queen of Scots. Disputes in the Synod.

On the 28th of April, the second of the new legates, Navagero, arrived at Trent, having travelled privately, in order to avoid the usual disputes among the ambassadors about precedence. On the 10th of May, the proceedings were of a character somewhat interesting to ourselves. The cardinal of Lorraine presented letters from the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots; in which, after lamenting the calamities of the times, she apologized for her inability to send ambassadors to the council, at the same time declaring herself a faithful daughter of the Catholic Church, and her unceasing devotion to the Roman See. This epistle was accompanied by another to the pontiff, and a third addressed to the cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle. After the council had returned a suitable reply, the French cardinal added a speech containing many particulars touching the origin and birth of Mary, and the favourable demonstrations of the two pontiffs, Clement VII. and Paul III., decreeing to her, not only all the dignity belonging to English princes, but the title of Defender of the Church. He added other matters respecting the condition of that kingdom, and the goodwill of the French king towards Catholicism and the synod.^r Massarelli was deputed to answer in terms befitting a queen so stanch in her religious principles and so harassed by circumstances.^s

But a serious dispute arose on the 12th of May, when the deputies laid before the congregation a draft of the abuses, which had crept into the administration of the sacrament of Order, and it was at once perceived that the reformation, so much sought for by the ambassadors, was generally refused by them when it came to particular cases. But the cardinal of Lorraine, who seemed disposed to exhibit a reconstructive rather than a conservative principle in handling the matters of reform, expressed himself utterly dissatisfied with the system proposed, and advanced four chapters, drawn up by himself, as a more efficient remedy for existing abuses. He charged the fathers with having arrogated to themselves a

^r Paleotto, p. 493.

^s Pallav. xx. 16, 7.

power which did not belong to them, and with indefiniteness in laying down the qualifications which rendered bishops worthy of promotion. He condemned the nominations of princes and chapters, although confessing that such wise princes as Charles V. and Philip could not often be found. As to the Queen of Scots, he thought it absurd that, if women are not suffered to have a voice in the Church, they should be permitted to choose bishops. He did not even spare his own king; observing that, despite his long association with him as an old adviser, conscience compelled him to feel dissatisfied with his conduct respecting the distribution of bishoprics. With no small tact he expressed a virtuous indignation at having himself received such honours at the age of fourteen.^t He disapproved of elections held by the people, and required that some form should be sought for approaching as nearly as possible to the Apostolic system. After proposing four canons of his own composition, he inveighed bitterly against the titular bishops, especially in those cases where there are two bishops and two patriarchs to one and the same city, as at Constantinople, and other places in Greece, and where, although one of them was schismatical, yet confirmation and orders conferred by him were held valid. He observed that the titular bishops, although binding themselves by oath to preach to the people intrusted to their charge, were guilty of lying unto the Holy Spirit, in that they had no such intention; that they ought either to keep out of holy orders, or be sent to their own proper dioceses, even if those were subject to infidel masters; that it was the duty of bishops to be ready to endure martyrdom for the sake of their flocks, as those who were near the times of our Redeemer had done, and that such sham bishops ought to be removed from the Church establishment. He attacked the system of committing bishoprics to cardinal-deacons, and held that the intrusting of churches, under the

^t This was, comparatively speaking, moderate for those days. "Soon after he attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de Medici had received the tonsure, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father had applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living."—Roscoe's *Leo X.* b. i. p. 8. Leo became a cardinal at the age of about thirteen years. Pallavicino seems to speak of the present transaction in a dissatisfied tone.

title of *commendam*, to cardinal-priests, was little better. He also held that cardinals ought not to be created before the twenty-seventh year of their age, or, at all events, at the age prescribed for deacons.

After he had pointed out some other abuses, the archbishop of Granada spoke in a manner favourable to the same views. While admitting the high authority of the Roman pontiff, he declared that the synod had as much right to discuss matters respecting the election and duties of cardinals, as of bishops, observing that it was of no use to object, that the election of cardinals proceeded from the chief pontiff, as the same held good with regard to bishops. He attacked the use of titular bishops as unknown to the primitive church; the reservations granted by the Apostolic See as equally destitute of sanction; and urged the necessity of restoring the bishops to the proper enjoyment of their own rights.

On the following day the dispute was renewed by the bishop of Lanciano, who, in speaking respecting the third canon on abuses, which prescribed that bishops should confer orders themselves, and not by means of others, said, that if bishops would do their duty, the Church would be reformed, since they would both reside, and feed their flocks; but that now, on the contrary, the bishops of Germany openly derided their office. Then turning suddenly to the bishop of Five Churches, he exclaimed: "I ask you, most reverend lord, as the ambassador of the emperor, whence is the reason that the bishops of Germany, and especially the electors, do not come to the synod, either wilfully breaking or forgetful of the oath which they took at their election on this very subject If they are really hindered from coming, they ought to send their proctors, as has been done by the archbishop of Saltzburg, and by some other prelates." After he had spoken for some time, the bishop replied that the real cause of the absence of the German prelates was the fear that, if they were to leave their dioceses, their quarters would be seized upon by the heretics; that it was of no use sending proctors, unless they were allowed the right of suffrage in the council, as in the time of Paul III. ;^u privileges

^u The digression of Pallavicino, xx. 17, 8, is worth reading.

of which the proctor of the archbishop of Salzburg had availed himself even under the reign of the present pontiff.

In fact, during the life of the present pontiff, Massarelli, the secretary, bearing in mind a privilege which had been granted, under more or less restriction, during the reign of Paul III., had admitted the proctors of two prelates to the right of suffrage. This displeased the legates so much, that they exhorted the pontiff to repeal that privilege by a new enactment. The pontiff, in reply, expressed his dissatisfaction at the conduct of Massarelli, and said that a document had been ordered to be drawn up, denying any right of suffrage to the absent prelates, but that it was not yet completed. The breve was sent shortly after, but was not ostensibly published, although practically effectual. It was, in fact, a disagreeable document; and although the pontiff was bent upon enforcing the commands it contained, it was thought advisable to keep the real nature of those commands as much in the back-ground as possible. The legates wrote back, stating that this universal prohibition was insufficient to invalidate the peculiar concession made by Paul III. to the German prelates. Hereupon the pontiff declared, that it was to be understood that even that privilege was abolished.

Simonetta, who was the only legate who had been present at the council on both these occasions, recollected that the bull of Paul III. had never been really in use; that the instance of the archbishop of Salzburg's proctor arose from a mistake, which the proctor himself had taken care to prevent recurring. He did not, however, wish, without necessity, to mention the two briefs in which the afore-mentioned pontiffs had not so much annulled privileges formerly granted, as distinctly forbidden the proctors any right to deliver their opinions, as this would have seemed invidious. De Ferriers, winking at the cardinal of Lorraine, as if about to speak on some subject on which they were mutually agreed, said, that many most excellent French prelates would have come to the council, had they not been hindered by the necessary care in preserving their churches from the insidious snares of heretics; and that they had therefore sent their proctors, men of learning and integrity. He besought the legates to admit them to the right of suffrage. The legates, taught by the lesson already shown in the disputes regarding residence, that it

was better to decline invidious questions, than to refute them, made no answer, hoping that the matter would die away of its own accord.

But on the following day, the bishop of Philadelphia, after condemning the attacks made on the titular bishops, said that the abuse vented upon them was not such as he should have expected in an assembly composed of such prelates, and under the guidance of such legates. He then urged the propriety of allowing the proctors a right of giving their votes, in which he was supported by the French ambassadors. In this difficulty the presidents of the council, thought best to write to the pontiff, as touching a matter which not only depended upon his own briefs, but might cause no small commotion, either by alienating the minds of the tramontane party, or by giving them an immoderate and dangerous power.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Return of Morone from Inspruck. Prorogation of the Session.

Matters seemed to have relapsed into their old state of confusion and discontent, when the first legate returned from Inspruck. The nature of his conversation with the emperor has been already detailed; and it will be seen that much bad feeling, much taste for opposition, resulting from a want of confidence in the Tridentine assembly, had been softened down by the tact and diplomatic address of Morone. But, as Ranke has well observed, "other circumstances contributed to this result." For instance, the quarrels about precedence between the Spanish and French ambassadors had tended to break asunder the firm link by which they had hitherto been united, and the conscientious doubts of many an upright prelate were thus set at rest by a childish squabble—the spirit of the council smothered under a panoply of politeness and petty spite. The power of Philip in Spain was, as the same author^u remarks, "in a great measure founded on ecclesiastical interests, and these it was naturally his prime care to hold in his own hands. The Roman court was well aware of the fact; and the nuncios from Madrid often said that a quiet termination of the council was as desirable for

* Ranke, p. 87.

the king as for the pope. The Spanish prelates at Trent had already raised their voices against the burdens imposed on church property—burdens which in Spain constituted an important part of the public revenues. The fact had caused the king much uneasiness, and he entreated the pope to forbid such objectionable language. Under these circumstances, how could he have thought of securing his prelates a right to initiate any measure? On the contrary, he rather sought to impose restrictions upon them. Pius complained of the constant opposition offered him by the Spanish prelates: the king promised to adopt means for checking their disobedience. In short, the pope and the king were clearly convinced that their interests were identical. Other negotiations too must have taken place. The pope threw himself wholly into the king's arms, while the latter solemnly promised to aid the pope in every emergency with the whole strength of his kingdoms."^y

But, fair as these prospects seemed, and skilled as Morone was, not only in gaining interest, but in knowing how to avail himself of it as circumstances favourable for its employment presented themselves, he at once found on his return, that the present moment was unpropitious for the realization of his plans, and that the dispute, which the bishop of Lanciano had originated, might end in a serious dissension, if not in the dissolution of the synod. The old remedy, however, was at hand, and on the 19th of May the session was unanimously prorogued until the 15th of June.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Further Disputes. The Session again prorogued.

While the prelates were yet discussing the question of the suffrage of proctors in the council, a serious confusion arose in consequence of the contest for dignity of place between the Spanish and the French ambassadors.^z From the state-

^y But notwithstanding this coalition of forces, the meeting talked of between the pope and the emperor was abandoned. It had been supposed "that the council might be transferred to Bologna; at all events, that the emperor might there receive the sacred crown from the hands of his holiness, a ceremony which, if once intermitted, might through the prevalence of heresy never be repeated."—Mendham, p. 266.

^z I chiefly follow Mendham and Paleotto. It will be found more

ment of Paleotto, who was present at, and a party in the transaction, it appears that the Count di Luna had been tacitly allowed a seat in the council out of the usual order, which did not, however, prevent the French ambassador taking precedence of him in many public processions, and on other occasions ; hence the pontiff, better pleased with the putting down of heresy in the Spanish dominions, than with the disturbed and unsatisfactory state of France, in which there were rumours of an accommodation having been effected with the Huguenots, determined to pay equal honour to the Spanish ambassadors. The legates were thrown into great confusion by this request of his holiness. They at first hoped that the Count di Luna would abstain from attendance,^a when the contest had come to issue ; but they were disappointed in their expectation. On the 29th of June mass was begun, and the Spanish ambassador was seated at the side of the legates, on a seat prepared in front of the seats of the patriarchs, and nearly opposite the other lay ambassadors. The French showed no symptoms of offence, as the count's place was out of the usual order, and they retained their own near that of the imperial ambassadors. But the mischief began when the cardinal of Lorraine asked what was to be done with the thurible and the pax. They muttered something or other, and referred him to Morone. Morone advised that the German custom should be observed, and two thuribles presented. Lorraine answered with great bitterness, and the French ambassadors began to use indignant and threatening language. The legates, finding that matters could not be brought to a termination in quiet, proposed either that the thurible should be offered to neither of the ambassadors, or to the legates only, or to all alike. Neither the French nor the Spaniards would be satisfied ; nay, the Spanish ambassador insisted on the legates acting according to the pontiff's directions. The legates and others went into the sacristy to discuss

copiously detailed in Pallav. xxi. 8, sqq. Paleotto's evidence is admirably corroborated by Visconti, *Let. of the 1st of July*, p. 138. For some previous history referring to this dispute, see Pallav. xxi. 1, and Sarpi, viii. 2, sqq.

^a Visconti : " Questa mattina ci era speranza ch' il conte di Luna si dovesse contentare, che Domenica non si dovesse andare in duomo, alla messa e processione, secondo il solito, havendo pensato li signori legati questo rimedio, per levare ogni occasione di disordine."

the matter. When the sermon was begun, Lorraine and the French ambassadors showed the legates the directions of their king, declaring, that if any innovation was attempted in the matter, they would forthwith depart, and renounce their obedience to the pontiff. The imperial ambassadors in vain attempted to effect a reconciliation, and the archbishop of Granada expressed his fear that this scene might get noised abroad, to the great annoyance of his Catholic majesty. At length it was agreed that neither thurible nor pax should be offered to any one soever on this day.

On the same day, however, the count went to the legates, and still adhered to his demand, that the thurible should be presented to him according to the prescript of his holiness, and declared that he feared not the fury and threats of the French, and that they had more reason to dread his own king. The legates, having tried every expedient in vain, were just going to yield to his request, when a conference took place between Simonetta and the auditor, which ended in the expedient of altogether omitting the thurible and pax even to the legates themselves, and even on the day of session. Although Paleotto ascribes this expedient of cutting the knot, which could not be disentangled, to the divine clemency, common sense finds a better source for it in the paltry vanity and ostentation of power of one party, and in the uncertainty and vacillation of the legates.

The session had meanwhile been prorogued, as we shall hereafter see, for the last time, till the 15th of July.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Further Discussions on the Right of Proctors to Suffrage, and arrival of Birague. Other Events.

We must now retrograde to the latter part of the May previous, and take a brief view of the concluding discussions respecting the suffrages of proctors in the council, and the subsequent ones touching the abuses of order.

After a tedious dispute about certain points of canon law bearing on the duty of proctors, the legates determined to follow the plan which they had submitted to the pontiff. They accordingly stated to the ambassadors, that it was for

their sake that the proctors, and a few select theologians, had been admitted to hear the proceedings of the council, but not to speak therein ; that it was impossible to allow all the theologians to be present, as it would be unsafe for the proceedings of such a senate to be heard and seen by so mixed and large an assembly. The French and Spanish ambassadors, perceiving that no further concession would be made, and that, if made, it would not be agreeable to their own prelates, fell in with the wishes of the legates. But respecting the German prelates, especially those who were of princely rank, it was less easy to decide. Many of them were undoubtedly unable to be present ; and it seemed an invidious thing to debar them of the only means by which they could take a part in the proceedings of the council. The legates were inclined to strain a point in their favour ; but a limited indulgence was all that could be obtained from the pontiff ; and it seems doubtful, from Pallavicino's account, whether the malcontents really gained anything by the dispute.

At the end of May, Renatus Birague, who had been sent by the king of France on an embassy to the emperor and the council, reached Trent, bringing an apology for the recent treaty with the Huguenots, and instructions to treat of the transfer of the synod to some city of Germany. But the legates, feeling suspicious on this head, begged for a copy of the document prepared to be delivered to the council, to enable them to provide an answer. As it turned out, however, nothing was specified in the document respecting a translation, and Birague showed no disposition to enter upon the question with the emperor. In an oration delivered in the council on the 2nd of June, he laboured to show that peace had been made with the Huguenots only out of pure necessity ; and that the only fruits of war had been pertinacity on the part of heretics, destruction to religion, trouble to the Catholics, contempt of the throne, an immense waste of blood, and many injuries to Christ and his law ; but that it was hoped that peace would be the means of upraising the power and dignity of the throne ; that charity and the other social virtues would revive ; and that, in place of hatred, rivalry, and obstinacy, truth and a knowledge of the true faith would gain ground ; that the king and queen wished

to live and die in that faith, and in obedience to the Apostolic See; and that, with a view of farther spreading that faith, they craved for reform, that the Church might be purged of its corruptions, urging at the same time, that any delay only had the effect of blunting the remedy so much required; and that the fathers were therefore entreated by his most Christian majesty to bring the council to a termination in as honourable and as speedy a manner as possible.

It was difficult to give a reply. In the words of Pallavicino, "it was impossible to expose the ambassador, or the prince who sent him, and equally so to excuse a peace of so impious a character, and one which they well knew the Spaniards would oppose with words breathing fire itself." The legates, therefore, thought it better to avoid any direct reply; and having consulted with the cardinal of Lorraine, Madrucci, and a few other prelates, they proposed to draw up a reply, to the effect that "the sacred and holy synod had received the contents of the letters of his most Christian majesty; but, as there was need of further consideration, a reply should be sent in due time."^b

The French ambassadors felt little satisfied, and the legates were compelled to draw up a more expressive reply. They made the best of what had happened, treating the peace with the Huguenots as a virtue of necessity, but blending firm admonition with compliment. A general draft having been shown to Lorraine and Madrucci separately, and approved by both, it was brought before the assembly by Morone on the 7th of June, and some discussion ensued. The cardinal of Lorraine tried to excuse the conduct of the French in making peace with the Huguenots, and complained that, after the council had idled away eight months without passing a single decree, they should raise an outcry against the conduct of the king, who had not asked for their approbation of what he had done, but had merely sent them a narrative of his proceedings. In fact, his oration went far to charge the fathers with having brought upon themselves the mischief, of which they were now complaining.

Madrucci, who spoke next, simply said that if the draft

^b My account is, in brief, that of Pallay. xxi. 3.

of the reply met with the satisfaction of the majority, he also should be content with it. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Venice, and several bishops, asked for a copy of the reply, and time to consider it. Another party wished for the articles of the peace, which raised bitter complaints among the French prelates, and others wanted a copy of the king's letter and the speech of his ambassador. So various were the opinions, that the deputy who supplied the place of Massarelli, then sick, in order to distinguish accurately the opinions of all, began with Lorraine, asking him for a clear statement of his thoughts on the subject. He replied, that the proposed reply did not please him.^c At length the dispute was settled by the suggestion of the bishop of Aoustia, who advised that the drawing up of a reply should be left entirely to the legates, assisted by such advisers as they might think fit to employ. Accordingly, on the same day, a modified form of the reply was drawn up, and the harsher terms, in which the late peace with the Huguenots had been stigmatized, were omitted. Thus ended another dispute, in which bigotry was compelled to yield to the moderation which necessity rendered imperative.

This anecdote is chiefly valuable as showing the yet uncertain state of foreign powers in relation to the Tridentine assembly, and the growing influence of the reformed parties. The power of the Huguenots must have reached an alarming extent, when a synod assembled for the purpose of condemning the very words of heretics was forced, how reluctantly soever, to admit the compulsory character of their influence upon their most potent antagonists. But the power of the legates over the council—always the serious evil—was even more apparent on this occasion; and the habit of making the legates, and through them the pontiff, the chief court of appeal on all occasions, if not the arbitrator, judge, and executive officer, shone forth in a manner, that only adds one link to the chain of proofs that the idea of a free council was never contemplated, or, at all events, never carried out, at the assembly of Trent. Nevertheless, on this occasion the legates displayed a moderation in their wording of the reply,

^c This inconsistency was noticed by Morone, but privately. See the accurate observations of Pallavicino, *l. c.* § 12.

which was as creditable to their good sense, as it was doubtless due to the clear-sighted diplomacy of Morone, whose powers of accommodating himself to circumstances had already been amply shown in his management of the emperor.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Continued Discussions on the Abuse of Orders.^d

In the early part of the month of June, the subject of the abuses of orders had been resumed. It is almost unavailing to recount the disputes which ensued, especially if we reflect upon the dreary waste of dull repetition they present, and the small amount of really edifying matter. Many proposals were made, but few real resolutions come to, seeing that the former task is one belonging to private individuals, the latter rests with the decision of the majority.^e

While, as Pallavicino confesses, the legates were little troubled by the numerous proposals made by various individuals, there were at the same time certain points on which the sentiments of the fathers were more equally divided, and which consequently caused greater anxiety. The pertinacity of the French prelates in resisting any expressions calculated to admit the superiority of the pontiff over the council, supported as it was by the Spanish party, was met by the firm resolution of the Italian prelates to preserve the pontifical authority intact—a matter in which they had not only an ecclesiastical, but a national interest. The Spanish prelates felt jealous of the immense power of the cardinals, which was inaccessible to themselves; and believed that the abridgment of that obnoxious influence would be beneficial to the Church at large. In fact, they wished the cardinals to be limited to their own churches at Rome, and to the office of councillors to the pontiff. The French were more opposed to the pontiff, and to the assertion of the plenary

^d “According to Astolfo Servantio, in his *Diario*, these discussions lasted from April 13 to June 16, 1563. He has particularized each of the congregations and the speakers. There was little interruption during that period of more than two months.”—Mendham, note on Paleotto, p. 505.

^e Pallav. xxi. 4. This author does not seem to attach much value to these disputes, although, in this and the following chapters, he details them at length.

power of a general synod. As to the princes and their ministers, the same author well observes, that "more or less they wished to satisfy their own prelates, since they were less troubled at their influence than at the height of the pontifical power." In this they were confirmed by their detestation of the abuses of the court of Rome.

Many were the attempts made to arrive at a more satisfactory limitation of the pontifical power, but in vain. This, the point really involving the whole freedom of the council, was a question that men might ask, and then feel astonished at their own boldness. But the policy of the legates was shown in their avoidance, as far as possible, of such topics as were likely to be the signal for disturbance; and although, as we have seen, their efforts failed to prevent some even disgraceful outbreaks, it is to their influence that we must mainly attribute the preservation of the popedom from many awkward thrusts which zeal or sincerity might dictate.

The draft of abuses was meanwhile being discussed in the same manner as previously, and few remarks worthy of notice occur, till we come to the speech of the bishop of Cava, who, in speaking of the scheme for the establishment of seminaries, observed: "I am now forced to repeat what I formerly said at the time of Paul III., and to which many now present can bear witness, viz., that in monasteries the first degrees and offices are given to those who spend their days in reading the works of Thomas Aquina, Scotus, Gregory of Rimini, and other doctors and schoolmen. But those who read the Scriptures are treated as inferiors and juniors; a fact which prevents us wondering at their deficiency in sound knowledge of the sacred letters. Let, then, this system be changed, so that the chief care in monasteries be bestowed upon the sacred letters, and then about the schoolmen. I would also wish that a summary of Christian doctrine might be drawn up, whereby every boy might be instructed."^f

^f Paleotto, p. 531. Mendham, p. 271, aptly calls this speech "an oasis in the whole desert."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Proposal of De Ferrier. Liberty given by the Pontiff.

De Ferrier, who had long been anxious to deserve well of the pontiff, in the hope of meeting with a corresponding reward,^g suggested that the council should be dissolved at the end of the next session, and that each country should then convoke national synods, in which such reforms as seemed to be required by the peculiar circumstances of each should be carried into effect, but only after receiving the final sanction of the pontiff. The cardinal of Lorraine and two of the legates, with whom De Ferrier had communicated in the most cautious and secret manner,^h approved of this scheme as likely to lead to the suppression of obnoxious questions, and relieve them from the odium of measures which seemed, as far as giving universal satisfaction was concerned, hopeless.

Under this seeming prospect of ultimate success, it was proposed on the 15th of June, that the session should be postponed another month; and although the time was declared to be insufficient by the bishop of Segovia, the proposal met with universal approval, and, as has been stated, was destined to put a close to the vexatious and procrastinated work of this session.

The following day the legates received letters from Rome to the following effect:—

“The latter chapters of emendation of manners sent by you, in which the select fathers have comprised the principal demands of the princes, although, as you say, they are not as yet thoroughly settled by you, were nevertheless pleasing to the pontiff, in that he thereby perceived that you were taking care to promote the progress of matters in all directions. Wherefore the pontiff commends you, and wishes you all good things. As far as his own intentions are concerned, he declares, that since he has already oftentimes reposed these matters in your charge, he can only repeat the same remark on the present occasion, well knowing that, in what-

^g Pallav. xxi. 5, 1.

^h Pallav. § 4. The whole chapter is entertaining from its neat details of these intrigues.

ever shall be decreed by yourselves and the synod, the divine honour and the public good will be considered." After mentioning one matter as a subject of warning respecting the question of abolishing coadjutories and regresses, Pius adds: "Yet this, as all other matters, the pontiff wishes to be reposed in yourselves and the fathers of the synod, and trusts that they may be able to satisfy themselves. At the same time he entreats you, by the mercy of God, to look upon this his expressed will, by which he commits all things to yourselves and to the synod, as permanent for ever; and that, in accordance with that sincerity which befits the high opinion formed by the pontiff of your judgment and probity, you will use your utmost expedition in prosecuting the business on hand."ⁱ

A similar liberty was conceded to the legates in regard to the questions of doctrine. But it would appear, from the somewhat clever statements of Pallavicino, that they were afraid to use the freedom thus avowedly granted them; and that, even when the majority of the difficulties respecting the draft of reformation had been got over, they still felt unwilling to act except under the direct instruction of the Apostolic See. The pontiff complained, that while they seemed to mistrust the sincerity of his intentions in granting that liberty, they not only made a point of again referring to him, but, by publishing the transaction, threw the weight of blame upon himself, as well as the trouble, at the same time observing, that the synod was not willing to repose matters in his care, otherwise he would gladly have taken upon himself the onus. We cannot, however, fail to perceive that any movement towards giving the synod real freedom had been extorted from the pontiff by the continual and dangerous importunity of the French and Spanish prelates; and that, however specious might be the show of confidence in the council, it was confidence in the council only as ruled by the legates. Nay, the very diffidence of the legates in all questions at all affecting the interests of the papacy was a sufficient guarantee of the safety of confiding in their management and policy.

ⁱ Pallav. xxi. 6, 1. This epistle was written through Cardinal Borromeo.

But as regarded the question of reform, the power of the cardinals was the main point at issue. The cardinal of Lorraine had shown how urgently and unanimously some alteration was sought for by the emperor, and by the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal; and the legates, acting with their usual policy, and dreading that too vehement a system of reform might be insisted upon, had proposed a scheme to the pontiff for approval, which they thought likely to meet most of the difficulties. A letter in cipher from Cardinal Borromeo to Morone now made known the will, or at all events the wishes of the pontiff on this subject. As regarded a proposal that no one should be created cardinal, who had a brother yet living in the enjoyment of that dignity, he declared that such a system must be embraced with caution, as it would be the cause of doing personal injury to existing prelates, viz., the bishop of Parma and the cardinal Santa Fiore.^k His letter, however, concluded with leaving the reformation of cardinals, as well as of other ecclesiastical functionaries, to the discretion of the council.

Matters now seemed in a favourable train; but the legates were doomed to encounter a further annoyance in the inconsistent conduct of the cardinal of Lorraine. No sooner did they appear in a fair way to obtain the very reform which he had so earnestly advocated, than he declined to express an opinion on the subject, alleging that he had not yet come to a determination, and that he had doubts as to the expediency of imposing too severe restrictions upon the order of cardinals.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Speech of Lainez.

I now return to the discussions respecting the abuses of order, in order to notice the speech made by Lainez on the 16th of June, the day after the last prorogation of the session. In giving his suffrage, says Father Paul, he bent all his forces to answer whatever had been said by others at

^k From the narrative of Pallavicino, it seems probable that this demand arose from a rumour respecting a forthcoming creation of cardinals. He naturally observes, that much indignation would arise from the proposal to increase the number of those whom they wished to limit.

variance with the doctrine of the Roman court,¹ with as much earnestness as though his salvation had been at stake :—

“ In the matter of dispensations he was most copious, saying it was spoken without reason that there is no other power of dispensing but interpretation and declaration ; for so the authority of a good doctor would be greater than of a great prelate ; and that to say the pope cannot by dispensation disoblige him who is obliged before God, is nothing but to teach men to prefer their own conscience before the authority of the Church ; which conscience, because it may be erroneous, as it is for the most part, to refer men to that is nothing but to cast every Christian into a bottomless pit of dangers ; that as it cannot be denied that Christ had power to dispense in every law, nor that the pope is his vicar, nor that there is the same tribunal and consistory of the principal and the vicegerent, so it must be confessed that the pope hath the same authority ; that this is the privilege of the Church of Rome ; and that every one ought to take heed, in as much as it is heresy to take away the privileges of the Church ; because it is nothing but to deny the authority which Christ hath given it. Then he spake of reforming the court ; and said that it is superior to all particular churches, yea, to many joined together ; and if it doth belong to the court of Rome to reform each church, which doth appertain to every bishop in council, and none of them can reform the Roman, because the scholar is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord, it followeth by necessary consequence that the council hath no authority to meddle in that business ; that many did call those things abuses, which, if they were examined and sounded to the bottom, would be found to be either necessary or profitable ; that some would make the See of Rome as it was in the time of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, without distinguishing the times, not knowing what belonged to those and what to these ; that it is a plain case that by the providence and goodness

¹ Paleotto, p. 572. “Cumque hic summi pontificis auctoritatem vehementius extolleret.” His account is followed, but at greater length, by Pallav. xxi. 6, 9, sqq. These writers have both taken up a different portion of the speech from Father Paul, which accounts for their variation both in matter and language. A diligent comparison of both will reward the reader.

of God the Church is made rich; and that nothing is more impertinent than to say that God has given riches, and not the use. For annats, he said that it is *de jure divino*, that tithes and first-fruits should be paid to the clergy, as the Jews did to the Levites; and as the Levites paid the tenths to the high-priest, so ought the ecclesiastical orders to the pope, the rents of benefices being the tithes, and the annats the tithes of the tithes."^m

Whatever Pallavicinoⁿ may say to the contrary, it seems most likely that the conservative tone of this speech would be, to no small extent, ascribed to the influence of the legates. The very nature of the confidence reposed in them by the pontiff rendered the assistance of so clever a champion of the Roman court doubly valuable; while at the same time the very influence which made Lainez a powerful adherent to his own party, would excite no small jealousy in those who perceived that, whatever concessions Rome might feel disposed to make in favour of a fairer distribution of subordinate dignities and influence, she and her supporters were determined firmly to resist the slightest infraction of her own prerogative. It is a fault with Pallavicino, that the general probability of Father Paul's remarks, and his clear penetration into the petty motives of human nature, which lurk beneath the gauzy coverlet of every intrigue, too often escape his notice; too often meet with nought but dogmatical contradiction; while he gloats with eager and savage delight over some trivial peccadillo in the shape of a chronological inaccuracy; or a variation in particulars little affecting the general view of the subject. The more we read the works of these two great rivals, the more we are impressed with the consciousness that, whilst the inaccuracy of Father Paul's details can scarcely be excused, even by considering the earlier age in which he wrote, and the greater difficulty of always obtaining documents at first hand, the far greater minuteness and the regular system, which distinguish the work of Cardinal Pallavicino, are but an inadequate recompense to his want of broad views of history, his small perception of genuine motives, and his utter incapability of surveying any

^m P. 721. The remarks of Courayer, v. ii. p. 571, sqq. are somewhat useful.

ⁿ L. c. §§ 16-19.

subject save through the glamour of the Roman court. The more we read, the more we feel convinced that, while we must look to Pallavicino for details, it is in Father Paul that we must seek for the *history*, in its best and fullest sense, of the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Proceedings of Birague. Proposed Condemnation of Queen Elizabeth.

I now return, with Pallavicino, to the ambassador Birague. He had set out for Inspruck on the 13th of June, where, after excusing the late peace made with the Huguenots on the same grounds as he had advanced to the synod, he began to treat respecting the transfer of the council to Germany; although he was well aware of the opposition which the fathers and the pontiff, as well as King Philip, would offer to such a step. The reply of the emperor, as stated by the Count di Luna on his return from Inspruck, was to this effect:—He admitted the necessity of the obnoxious treaty; but alleged, that, were the council transferred, he would be unable to afford it his protection against any attacks of the Lutherans. Again he alleged, that, even were the council to be held in the very heart of Germany, the Lutherans would never attend it, except under such terms as were consistent neither with decency nor piety. Lastly, if they were to change its place now that it had begun to go on rightly, they would lose all the advantage which the pious hoped to reap from it.

Meanwhile the pontiff had written to his legates, recommending them, in open and distinct terms, to express their disapprobation of the propositions made by Birague; but his letter did not arrive in time, and he felt satisfied with the one which they had already prepared. But his rage against the French was aggravated to a degree that made him wish that a “higher spiced”^o document had been drawn up.

A matter of more immediate interest to ourselves was the wish expressed by the prelates of Louvain, that the queen of England should be declared by the synod a heretic and schismatic; since by letters from the English Catholic bishops

^o Pallav. xxi. 7, 3.

(many of whom were detained in prison), they had received instructions to that effect, those prelates hoping that their complaints would be a farther incitement to Catholic princes to drive out the pest of Protestantism. "But," alleges the contemporary historian, "it was thought by his holiness and the emperor, that if such a declaration were promulgated against the queen, she would be provoked to fury, and to a further slaughter of the Catholic bishops."^p

I will not enter into a defence of the often arbitrary acts, which disgraced the reign of Elizabeth. I will merely repeat the defence so frequently urged, namely, the perilous position of England in regard to foreign powers, the treachery and secret influence of the Roman court, and the difficulty of discerning between political and religious dissent, at a time when the whole kingdom was but doubtfully recovered from its degradation under Queen Mary. I am unwilling implicitly to advocate the broad assertion that political aggression always led to the deaths of Roman Catholics in England; and I am even disposed, with a recent writer,^q to treat some such deaths as "murders" in the worst sense of the word. But if such deaths, by the very decision of a Roman Catholic, were "murders," what becomes of the Roman slaughterhouse—the Inquisition? What can be said for the pomp, that adorned the morality of an *auto da fe*? that dressed up "murder" in priestly garments? or for the mild and benignant successor of St. Peter—the successor of him unto whom Christ once said, "Put up thy sword; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword?"

It has been well observed by Bishop Marsh, that, "although the religious liberty now enjoyed in this country originated with the state, the adoption of it by the Church has been a matter of choice, as well as a matter of necessity. It is congenial with the very principles of our religion, which

^p "His holiness," however, observes Mendham (p. 268, n.), "was not entitled to much thanks for his forbearance, according to the representation of Milledoni, who writes: 'Havera sua santita dato ordine al concilio, che procedessero contro la reina d'Inghilterra, ma intendendo, che questo dispiacera grandamente all'imperatore revocò tal ordine.'" —Cf. Pallav. xxi. 7, 5.

^q Dr. Waterworth, p. cexviii. "But upon the representation of the Spanish ambassador, that any such act would entail the murder of the few remaining Catholic bishops in England, the purpose was abandoned."

claims not the privilege of *exclusive* salvation. And if (what can neither be denied nor be justified) four instances have occurred in the annals of our Church, in which religious dissent has been punished with death, they bear no proportion to the similar examples in the annals of the Church of Rome. They occurred at a period when we were not wholly disengaged from the spirit of intolerance which distinguishes the church from which we seceded, and ever must distinguish a church which allows not the hope of salvation to other Christians. But though the Church of Rome has not changed, the Church of England has changed in its pretensions to spiritual authority. We are no longer what we were before the writ was abolished *de hæretico comburendo*; and it is unfair to argue from our former to our present state. Our ecclesiastical and our civil authorities go hand in hand; and as the authority of our Church *at present* exists, it certainly claims no jurisdiction in controversies of faith over any other than its own members. And this jurisdiction it must claim, or it loses the power of self-preservation."^r

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Discussions immediately preceding the Twenty-third Session.

I must now return to the more direct business of the council. At the advice of the legates, the select fathers resolved to omit the question of the election of bishops, as the opinions on that subject were so various, and also to avoid the intended condemnation of titular bishops, to recommend the restoration of the offices of the minor orders,^s

^r Bishop Marsh, *View of the Churches of England and Rome*, Append. p. 296, sq. Cf. Blunt, *Reformation*, p. 308. "And if at length Elizabeth's government proved that it bore not the sword in vain, but smote with somewhat of a ruthless hand, it was rather in self-defence against political agitators that it so acted, than in violation of the rights of conscience. For certainly the severity did not begin till after her subjects had been absolved from their allegiance by a pope's bull; neither did it ever manifest itself against woman or child: a distinction this, between the punishments of Elizabeth and the persecutions of Mary, sufficient in itself to point out that it was the disloyalty, and not the creed, of the parties that drew upon them the vengeance of the queen."

^s These are enumerated and described by Le Plat, v. vi. p. 134, sqq.

and to pay every possible attention to the formation and regulation of ecclesiastical seminaries. This last chapter was considered of such importance, that many unhesitatingly declared that, if no other advantage were to be expected from this session, its fruits would still be ample, and that the design of establishing such seminaries was the sole means left for the restoration of the almost desperate state of Christian morals.

The difficulties of the seventh canon were at length set at rest by the archbishop of Otranto, who suggested that, instead of declaring bishops to be *by institution of Christ*, as the Spanish prelates demanded, the words *by Divine ordination* should be substituted, thus leaving undecided the question as to whether ordination was derived *immediately* from God, or through his vicar. The legates were so delighted with this solution of the difficulty, that they commended the author to the court of Rome in the highest terms of praise—a kindness of which, owing to the indirect doings of some anonymous correspondents of the same court, the bishop appears to have stood in need.

Unwilling to encounter further delays, the legates on the 7th of July assembled a special meeting of two cardinals and of thirty of the most eminent prelates of various nations. After a lengthy debate, the form respecting residence, which had been proposed by the cardinal of Lorraine, was rejected, and that recommended by Mantua adopted, with some slight modifications. At the same time the other decrees and canons respecting the sacrament of Order were arranged, and received approbation.

On the 9th of June the result of these deliberations was laid before a general congregation; when two hundred and twenty-seven votes were registered in favour of the two decrees, a few slight alterations being suggested, and left to be carried into effect by Paleotto and three others. The Spanish prelates, however, still pleaded for the introduction of the clause, *by the institution of Christ*, alleging that the words *Divine ordination* might be taken to imply nothing more than the ordinary providence of God respecting all things.^t

and Paleotto, p. 575. sqq. from whom the present account is chiefly taken. What follows is from Pallav. xxi. 11.

^t So great, however, was the comparative unity now, that Massarelli

On the 10th, the decrees on the abuses of order were proceeded with, and were completed by the 12th, on which day the cardinal of Lorraine carried a measure declaring residence equally obligatory upon cardinals as upon other bishops—a measure which, says Pallavicino, got over two difficulties at once; for, on the one hand, it prevented cardinals from thinking hereafter that they were withdrawn from their necessary presence at Rome by the duty of residence on their bishopric; and on the other, the same duty could not any longer be objected against them, as being incapable of taking cathedral churches. An attempt was also made to proportion the age of cardinals to that qualifying for the other orders respectively, but in vain.

Just, however, as all seemed coming rapidly to a prosperous termination, a letter from the Count di Luna threw the legates into considerable alarm. He stated that his efforts to persuade the prelates of his own nation to waive the definition of the institution of bishops, had proved fruitless, and that it would therefore be better not to hold the expected session; since, were it to proceed with the disapprobation of the united mass of the Spanish prelates, severe mischief might be the consequence. But the legates were naturally spurred on to action by the provoking nature of the demand, and resolved not to relax in their efforts to bring the council to a speedy close. Accordingly, on the 14th of July, they held the last general congregation, in order to complete the necessary arrangements for holding the session on the next day, as had been determined. It had been rumoured, that unless the obnoxious clause was inserted in the canon, the Spanish prelates would either make a public demand to that effect, or protest against its omission; but the legates, trusting to the unanimous feeling of the rest, assembled cheerfully in session. Although, however, the malcontents were joined by six other prelates, not of Spain, they subsequently abandoned their design.

But the legates were not quite at ease even now, as they feared that the dissent of a nation of such magnitude, and of

remarks, p. 1379, "*Miraculo traditum est. Propter enim hujusmodi rem tam seriam, et de ordine et de residentia jam annus consumptus est totus, et eo magis, conciliumque illud propterea in partes divisum et protractum, nihil fere frugi usque nunc per dictum tempus conclusit.*"

so high a reputation for piety and learning, would detract much from the dignity of the council and its decrees; and Morone therefore did his utmost to persuade the Count di Luna to make every possible exertion to complete the harmony, which was likely, with this one exception, to attend on the assembly of the morrow.

CHAPTER XL.

The Twenty-third Session.

On the 15th of July, 1563, was at length celebrated the long-delayed twenty-third session of the council, being the seventh under the reign of Pius IV. Mass was chanted by the bishop of Paris, and the sermon preached by the bishop of Aliffé. The office of Massarelli, who was ill, was filled by the bishop of Castellaneta, who read the bulls appointing the two new legates, the credentials of the ambassadors who had arrived since the last session, and letters addressed to the council by the kings of Spain and Poland, the duke of Savoy, and the queen of Scotland. The bishop of Paris then read the decrees and canons touching the sacrament of Order.

When the decrees were recited, all expressed their approbation by the simple "placet," with the exception of six, among whom were the bishops of Segovia and Guadix, who wished that the sixth and eighth canons might be more fully explained. The latter also expressed a wish for the addition of the representing clause. The bishop of Austuni agreed with them as to the further elucidation of the sixth canon, while the bishop of Nicastro thought that a similar addition was wanted in the fourth chapter of the doctrine, in the shape of a distinct declaration of the supreme authority of the pontiff.

The decree respecting residence met with the approbation of all present, with the exception of eleven, who started various objections. Some thought that the wording of it left room for supposing that residence was declared to be of divine right. The bishop of Viterbo thought that it was too severe against minor canons. He of Orenze replied, that the decree pleased him, as it appeared calculated to hinder cardinals taking bishoprics. The bishop of Guadix dis-

approved of a longer absence from a diocese than three months, and required that cardinals should not be created before the age of forty years. But the only prelate who opposed the decree was Campeggio, bishop of Feltri, who declared that the matters proposed therein seemed to him full of falsehood and contradiction; that the right of the council had not been preserved, in that the judgment of the minor theologians had not been heard first; and that he would do all in his power to resist, as he had before done; at the same time professing himself willing to yield to reason, and to the explanation or opinion of the pontiff in favour of the decree.

With the exception of some trivial discussions suggesting further additions or explanations, the rest of the decrees of reformation were passed unanimously, as was the decree indicting the next session to be held on the 16th of September, of which the sacrament of Matrimony and some other matters, as yet undefined, were to form the subject. It is to be observed that neither the pax nor the thurible was administered during the session, to avoid the controversies likely to arise from disputes about precedence.^u

The numbers given by Servantio were simply four legates, two cardinals, twenty-nine ambassadors.^x Visconti, in a letter of the day of the session, says that two hundred and twenty voters were present, of whom two hundred and eight were bishops.

CHAPTER XLI.

Opposition of the Count di Luna. Conduct of the Legates.

The delight of the legates at the satisfactory conclusion of the last session was damped by the conduct of the Count di Luna, who began to urge them again to invite the attendance of the Protestants at the council. Considering that scarcely any business—at least of such a sort as to involve many of the material points at issue, remained to be done, and that

^u Paleotto, p. 532. My authority throughout the description of the latter proceedings of this session is Pallavicino, except where other references are given.

^x Mendham, p. 273, *note*, observes: "This must be a mistake for nineteen, for that is the entire number of the ambassadors given in Le Plat, as attending during the last meeting of the council."

the Protestants could therefore have had scarcely the shadow of a motive for coming under any circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the legates regarded this as a mere attempt to gain delay. They replied that the invitation recommended would not only be utterly useless, but would expose the council to contempt, as well as cause a dangerous loss of time.^y

The presidents of the council therefore resolved to proceed at once with the matters distinct from the sacraments; such as indulgences, monastic vows, and other similar matters. Accordingly, they proposed that a select body of theologians, viz. two from each of the kings,^z two from the pontiff, viz. Lainez and Salmeron, as well as two more from the leading moderators of monastic families, should draw up a statement both respecting doctrine and discipline, and that canons should then be formed by certain of the fathers, and submitted to the general assembly. But on the Count di Luna continuing his opposition, Morone wrote to the emperor, urging him earnestly to oppose the attempts of any, who, with a view to their own private welfare, should attempt to retard the progress of the council.^a

The resolution of the legates was confirmed by the opinion of the pontiff; who also publicly expressed his satisfaction at the termination of the previous session, and announced to his cardinals (probably with a view of excusing his recent apparent dereliction of their interests), his determination to leave all matters connected with the reformation of their body to their own discretion. Nevertheless, the count renewed his complaints, objecting to the means proposed for expediting the business of the council, by means of deputies, and making interest with the ambassadors of the Transalpine princes.

^y Subsequent events seem to make it probable that the count was acting at the suggestion of his royal master. See Pallav. xxii. 1, 2.

^z I scarcely know whether Pallavicino includes the emperor among the kings he mentions; but Mendham, p. 279, observes: "In the first letter of the 19th of July, the nuncio writes, that he was informed by the first president that he and his colleagues had deputed certain theologians to examine the subject of indulgences, invocation of saints, and purgatory; and had assigned two for the pontiff, two for each of the three sovereigns—the emperor is remarkably omitted—and two generals of orders."

^a The letter will be found in Le Plat, v. vi. p. 161.

In fact, it was obvious that there were still two parties at issue; the German and Spanish princes wishing to continue the council, while the pope and the French court wished it to be brought to as speedy a conclusion as possible. And the division among the Tridentine prelates was as easily observable, "some desiring that those matters should be exactly discussed, and the rather because very little or nothing was spoken of them by the schoolmen; and whereas for other things handled in the synod there were decisions either of other councils, or of popes, or an uniform consent of doctors, these were wholly obscure, and, in case they were not cleared up, it would be said that the council had failed in the most necessary things. Others said, that if there were so many difficulties and contentions in what was decided already, how much more might they fear, that in those things which are full of obscurity, where there is no sufficient light shown by the doctors, they might go on *ad infinitum*, because they had a large field, in regard of many abuses which had crept into them for matter of gain, and of the difficulty which would arise about the interpretation of the bull, especially of the words used in some, of penalty and guilt, and also of the manner of taking indulgences for the dead. Therefore in these, and the adoration of saints, the use only might be handled, and the residue omitted; and, as for purgatory, the opinion of the heretics should be condemned simply, otherwise there would be no end of the council, nor any resolution of this difficulty."^b

CHAPTER XLII.

Discussion on Clandestine Marriages. Forty-two Articles of Reform.

The legates, who were anxious, if possible, to shorten the period fixed for the next session, on the 22nd of July laid before the assembly certain propositions or anathemas on the subject of marriage, not differing materially from the form in which they were afterwards published. In a letter of Visconti, however, as early as the 19th, he mentions that as the sixth contradicted St. Ambrose, it was thought

^b Brent's Sarpi, p. 746. Compare the remarks of Visconti, quoted by Mendham.

advisable to convert the canon and its accompanying anathema into a simple decree.^c In these, it was proposed to render all clandestine marriages void, and various points respecting the age of the parties contracting alliance, and the fitting number of witnesses to be present, were discussed. The French prelates were more particularly anxious on this subject, as also that marriages formed without parental consent should be put on the same footing, but that at a certain age children should be free from such control. On the other side, it was doubted whether the Church possessed the right to annul such marriages; and, moreover, whether it was advisable to venture upon so important an enactment.

It will doubtless be remembered that, as early as February, 1563, the subject of matrimony had been laid before the theologians for discussion, and it was with the results of their deliberations that the council now had to deal. But before we enter into the disputes which followed, we must first observe, that the question of reform was by no means left at rest.

Agreeably to the wish of the pontiff, the legates laid before the cardinal of Lorraine and the ambassadors forty-two chapters of reformation, the importance of which was sufficient to remove from their minds the fixed impression that the work of the council would be comparatively inefficient. Of these, two points gave rise to most discussion, one being the subject of clandestine marriages—to which I have already alluded—the other, which was of a very awkward character, concerning the collation of benefices with cure of souls; several bishops objecting to the custom, by which, if benefices fell vacant during certain months of the year, their patronage was reserved to the sovereign pontiff; whereas they themselves had a better claim to the power of distributing them, as being best acquainted with the qualifications of the clergy of their own diocese. Pius clearly perceived how much influence would thus be lost to him, as well as that the fathers of the council, if the affair were mooted, would be certain to decree in their own favour. Being, however, unwilling to be a drawback to the progress of the council, he proposed three methods of meeting the proposed measure:

^c Mendham, p. 280.

firstly, that all benefices with cure of souls should, in whatsoever month they might become vacant, be left to the patronage of the bishops, but that the simple benefices^d should appertain to the pontiff. Another was, that benefices, as Borromeo had often suggested, should only be given *in forma dignum*, agreeably to the words of the Datary, *i. e.* that the person about to receive the benefice should prove his fitness before his ordinary. If neither of these were approved, a third proposal was made, that the pope should confer such benefices as fell vacant during his months, only on fit persons, and on persons chosen out of the diocese in which the benefice was, a list of which persons should be furnished him by the ordinary.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Discontent of Lorraine and De Ferrier.

But although the food thus offered had been greedily sought for, it did not seem to agree with those for whose palates it was designed.^e When the chapters of reform were communicated to the ambassadors, neither Lorraine nor De Ferrier was satisfied. Both saw that their desire of concluding the council was set at nought; and while Lorraine felt that he could not consistently repudiate what he had so often demanded, he could not find fault with the whole of the restrictions, because one article bore upon himself. On receiving the document, he languidly observed, that "there was still work for several years." But he was more plain with De Ferrier, who held the same opinions as himself, and complained that Morone was paying more regard to the desires of the Spanish prelates, than to the authority of the pontiff; that Navagero was the only one of the legates who really did his duty to his master; that the French prelates could not be detained much longer from their churches; and that, while Morone was canvassing the opinions of princes in all directions, all measures calculated to bring the council to a speedy termination were at a standstill.

The inconsistency of these men was almost amusing. The

^d *I. e.* benefices without cure of souls.

^e Pallav. xxii. 2, 1.

French party, who had ever been foremost in charging the pontiff with retarding reform in the Church, and in complaining that nothing was done without an appeal to Rome, now appeared on the opposite side, and thought that the pontiff was too careless of his own authority, that he trusted too much to his legates, and that the legates were too free in the use of the power given them, and too negligent of their master's prerogative.^f As to the cardinal of Lorraine, although he ascribed this change of feeling to the fresh commands of his queen, he rather had a view to the glory which would accrue to himself from the presidency of a synod to be held in his own country.

But the pontiff was too wise to convert a doubtful friend into a dangerous opponent. He directed Morone to treat with Lorraine as if with a fifth legate, and to confide in him in all matters of importance. The following letter sent to the legates well shows the anxiety of his holiness to secure so valuable a coadjutor.

"Such is the delight of the pontiff at the pious deeds of the cardinal of Lorraine in the business of religion, that, being unable to express it better, he has directed me^g to write to you, urging that you do nothing concerning the synod, of which he is not a partaker; that you communicate all matters to him, whether small or great, with full sincerity and confidence; and act with him, in all respects, as if he were nothing more or less than one of the legates. And if anything else should occur to you, by which you may render him certain of the good-will which the pontiff entertains towards him, and of his earnest desire to reward his great works in every kind of duty, you may be certain, that you will be acting in a manner most agreeable to the pontiff, if you do it with every appearance of a sincere and heartfelt good-will."^h

^f Pallav. § 2.

^g *I. e.* Borromeo.

^h An equally polite, but less complimentary letter, was also written to the legates respecting Cardinal Madrucci. A letter of Visconti, of the 22nd of July, "mentions certain honours offered to Lorraine, in order to induce him to concur in accelerating the council, and the resolution of the cardinal to go to Rome. That now important personage was ingratiating himself with Morone and the Roman see, by intimating to the president the hostility of a chapter of the decree of reform, and of the princes, to the authority of the pontiff, which authority he, not-

CHAPTER XLIV.

Further Proceedings of the Count di Luna.

About the same time, the pontiff sent to Morone a letter, in which he recommended conciliatory measures to be adopted with the Count di Luna, at the same time sending some letters in which that ambassador had attacked the conduct of the legates, and excused his own conduct. Meanwhile the count was ardently pressing a former demand, that two fathers of each nation should be appointed to draw up canons and collect the opinions of the fathers thereupon, while the legates urged the contrary example of almost all previous synods. They remarked, that, after the king had been so urgent that the three synods of Trent should be considered only as the continuous parts of one whole, it was incongruous for the royal ambassador to propose an innovation calculated at least to tacitly condemn the custom previously observed. They also remarked upon the great difficulty of such an arrangement in the case of Italy; which was not, like Spain or France, under the dominion of one prince, but of several, each of whom must receive his due share of honour in representations at the council. The count replied with some heat; and some of his expressions alarmed the legates as to the part likely to be taken by Lorraine. At length, finding their opponent persist in his demand, and make use of language that was deficient at least in circumspection, they replied, that, sooner than consent to so injurious an innovation, they would break up the assembly, and depart.ⁱ

Navagero was ill at the time of this conference, and the count resolved to speak with him privately. He complained that he himself was suspected of causing the delay of the council, which he denied was the case, provided that expedition was accompanied with prudence. Navagero expressed his satisfaction at his contradiction of the measure respecting his hinderance of the council; and the conversation turned upon the heads of reformation regarding the secular princes,^k

withstanding, was determined to maintain to the utmost, as well as favour the expediting of the council."—Mendham, p. 281.

ⁱ Pallav. xxii. 3, 1.

^k These will be given hereafter.

Navagero insisting upon the necessity of correcting lay, as well as clerical, abuses.

On receiving a copy of the letters, in which the Count di Luna had inveighed against the legates, the subjects of his animadversions at first determined to take him sharply to task, and to avail themselves of the opportunity for so doing, which was presented by the conveyance to him of the pontiff's reply. But finding that the pontiff himself had changed the tone of his letters to a milder form than that of the original draft, they resolved to sacrifice private wrath to the public welfare. Adopting, therefore, the same policy as with Lorraine, they declared that they shared in his own anxiety night and day; that all that continued and numerous assemblies and the most unflinching toil could effect was being done in order to bring matters to a satisfactory close. They complained of the bitter charges he laid against them, of perverting the opinions of others by indirect means, and of suppressing their real opinions.

The count replied, that he should never himself have formed unfavourable ideas of the uprightness of the legates, but for the report that private meetings had been held by them, at which the number of Italian prelates far outweighed those of France and Spain. The legates defended themselves from this ugly charge, by referring to the like disproportion of the members of the whole council—an excuse, by the way, more true than politic in the admission—and by showing that, so far from excluding the prelates of other nations, they would have invited himself to their assemblies, had he been an ecclesiastic. The conference broke up with a better disposition on both sides, the count promising that he would do his best to promote expedition, and that he would encourage his prelates to approve of moderate measures.

It is strange that, even when matters, with few exceptions, seemed favourable to the prosperous conclusion of the council, the pope should have, even for a moment, entertained an idea of suspending the synod; but it must be remembered, that the conduct of the French party, headed by Lorraine and De Ferrier, and the still more doubtful behaviour of the Count di Luna, were sufficient causes for hesitation. Moreover, any one who considers the importance of the points of reformation which were discussed and carried out in the two

last sessions of this council, will be struck by an apparent hurry in the proceedings of those who had so long sat debating the affairs of Christendom, and had done so little, but who now appeared to be nerved with a different energy—animated by a spirit of contradiction, which opposition rendered imperative. Much as Pius IV. may have doubted at times, he was one of those characters, in whom doubt is but the precursor of decision. If he hesitated, it was but for a brief period. He had enough of the adventurer, to strike a decisive blow when needed; enough of the well-tempered statesman, to wait the occasion. But even the vigorous mind of Pius was beginning to feel the influence of advancing years. The council had become irksome to him, and every instruction to his legates now abounded with exhortations to despatch. When they now communicated with him on the subject of his hint at a suspension of the council, he utterly silenced the very supposition. He declared that he had no opinion to offer on the points of reformation communicated to him; but he wished to leave all matters to the judgment of themselves and the synod, bidding them consider the feelings of the majority.

The Count di Luna, however, was evidently not satisfied with the explanation of the legates; and he declared, that, if they collected those private assemblies hereafter, he himself would assemble all the prelates subject to the king, whether Spanish or Italian, and would forbid their visiting the assemblies of the legates. "But," observes Pallavicino, "terrible as this threat was, the small probability of its being put in execution considerably lowered the fears of the legates. For such a measure would have led to the dissolution of the synod, contrary to the express wish of his Catholic Majesty; besides which, there would be an evident inconsistency between the complaint that so few Spaniards were at these assemblies, and a prohibition forbidding any of them attending at them. They therefore gave a quiet reply; and, although they really continued the assemblies, they transferred them from their own abodes to those of the prelates.

But the declaration of the Venetian ambassadors was far more encouraging to the legates. They set forth the goodwill of their republic towards Pius, and their desire to see

matters brought to a conclusion in a manner consistent with the common welfare, and with the dignity of the pontiff.

CHAPTER XLV.

Discussions respecting Marriage.

For months past the subject of matrimony had occupied the attention of the minor theologians and the fathers, and almost immediately after the termination of the previous session, the statement of opinions was commenced, and after fourteen days' labour, they were collected together on the last day of July. The question chiefly debated was the annulling of clandestine marriages; but the result was, that one hundred and forty-four votes were given in favour of annulling them, or of disabling all persons from contracting marriages under such circumstances; whilst the rest of the fathers, and among them the legates Hosius and Simonetta, were for abiding by the present practice of the Church. Morone remained neutral. But the new canon did not please even those fathers, who supported its principles; and the deputies were ordered to draw up a fresh one, to be afterwards submitted to the test of public opinion. Following the example of Pallavicino, I shall notice some of the most memorable features of the discussions in the congregations on this subject.

The debates were at first confined to the decree of reformation, which was to have been appended to the canons; and as one of these canons anathematized those, who should deny the validity of clandestine marriages previously contracted, it was declared in the proposed decree, that all marriages that should thenceforth be solemnized, without the presence of at least three witnesses, or without the consent of the parties contracting, if the bridegroom had not attained his eighteenth, and the bride her sixteenth year, should be considered null and void. To render the decree an easier matter, it had been proposed to exhibit it in the form of a correction of discipline, not as a point of doctrine; since no dogma had hitherto been defined by the council in opposition to any considerable minority; whilst matters of reformation were always decided by the mere number of votes. It is unnecessary to allude to the modifications which this

decree underwent, in consequence of various debates, as it was subsequently abandoned.

On the 24th of July the prelates began to deliver their opinions in general congregation. The cardinal of Lorraine took the lead, commending the labours of the minor theologians as having released them from considerable trouble, but at the same time advising that an additional canon should be framed in condemnation of Calvin's opinion, that the bond of marriage can be dissolved by difference of religion, or the affected and determinate absence of one of the parties, or of the parties disagreeing in their cohabitation. At first this proposal had only forty voters in its favour, but it was eventually carried into execution. After copiously setting forth the advantages resulting from the institution of lawful marriages, and the mischiefs proceeding from those contracted in an improper manner; and having dwelt upon the evils of clandestine marriages, he recommended that instead of *parents* (parentum) the word *fathers* (patrum) should be substituted in the decree—an alteration which was warranted by the civil law, in the enactments passed by Christian princes.

Madrucci was of a contrary opinion, and could not see why the Church, after the continued practice of so many ages, should adopt so new a course, and thought that all changes should be confined to the reformation of abuses.

The patriarch of Venice embraced the same opinion, denying not only the expediency of the proposed alterations, but the power of the Church to make them. He argued that the nature of a sacrament, which is perfect in all its essentials, cannot be rendered void by the absence of the necessary rites; as, for instance, if the priest confer it without the customary sacred vestments. For since the essence of matrimony consists in the mutual consent of the parties, and the other rites appertain merely to decorum, or proof, the deficiency of those could not affect the validity of the contract. Again, it was still less justifiable to attempt to invalidate marriages contracted without the consent of parents, as it would tend to deprive men of the natural liberty which belongs to the age of puberty. He concluded by observing, that there were certain heretics who denied the validity of marriage under either of the aforementioned cir-

cumstances, against whom canons and anathemas were being prepared; and that to pass such a measure as the one proposed, would be to give the assent to those whom they were about to condemn.

Different was the opinion of the archbishop of Granada. He declared that the Church, by divine right, possessed the power of annulling marriages, which before were contracted and firm, such as were those between an infidel and a Christian, and that it much the rather had that power in respect to marriages to be contracted. Among other examples, he instanced penance, remarking, that although it is a sacrament, the Church has declared that absolution is declared void by the Church, if it be administered by any other than the proper pastor of the recipient. As to its being an innovation, he considered that a small objection, when the circumstances of the times warranted a change.

Castagna, archbishop of Rossano, alleged that it was doubtful whether the Church possessed the power of making the change in question; and that although the more general opinion of the theologians was in the affirmative, he thought it expedient for the council to avoid the matter altogether. As to the examples of other hinderances imposed by the Church, they did not, he considered, remove the doubt; for, in the other instances, persons previously able were disabled from validly contracting; but in the present one it was proposed to make certain things essential to a sacrament, which had not been previously considered necessary, and this, he held, was nothing less than to change the nature of the sacrament—a matter which would give opportunity to the heretics of destroying the sacraments, especially as, although the same reasons existed for the change, no such attempt had been made in former ages. He was answered by Fuscario, who said that the authority of so many and so eminent prelates, as composed the synod, was sufficient to prove that the Church possessed the power. His arguments were sophistical, but not convincing.

Antonio Cerronio, bishop of Almeria, was for declaring clandestine marriages void, arguing, that if the Church possesses the power of rendering two persons unfit to contract marriage under any circumstances (as is the case in certain impediments of the ecclesiastical law), it must possess a far

greater power so to do under particular reasons. He alleged that by this decree marriages would not be rendered null after they were sacraments ; but that obstacles would be thrown in the way, calculated to prevent their being true and proper marriages, and thereby they would not be sacraments at all. He disapproved of the priest forming one of the witnesses, and thought that the words "witnesses worthy of credit" might render many marriages of doubtful genuineness, and ought therefore to be omitted.

Martin Rythovius, bishop of Ypres, dwelt much upon the doubtful right of the Church to interfere in the matter, and discouraged the fathers from attempting any such measure. He was followed by the bishop of Oviedo, and many others ; but as their speeches are little else than a repetition of one or other of the above arguments, there will be little advantage in detailing them. The disputes lasted to the 13th of August.

A canon had also been prepared anathematizing any one who held that marriage once consummated is rendered void by adultery. But on the 11th of August, the Venetian ambassadors, after respectful protestations of fidelity to the Apostolic See, and obedience to its decree, remonstrated on the proposed canon, alleging that, unless it were altered, much scandal would be produced in several of the islands dependant on their state ; such as Candia, Cyprus, Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, in which it had been customary not only to allow divorce in cases of adultery, but also to allow the parties to marry again. They also urged, that, although the Greek Church dissented from them in some respects, there was no reason to despair of its ultimately returning to the communion of the Apostolic See, and that the canon should therefore be modified. It was therefore changed into the one as it now stands, anathematizing those who allege that the Church has erred in teaching that marriage is not dissolved by adultery,¹ but not condemning those who hold

¹ Cf. Canon 7, Sess. xxiv. "This doctrine of the indissolubleness of marriage, even for adultery, was never settled in any council before that of Trent. The canonists and schoolmen had, indeed, generally gone into that opinion, but not only Erasmus, but both Cajetan and Catharinus declared themselves for the lawfulness of it ; Cajetan indeed used a salvo, in case the Church had otherwise defined, which did not

that it is rendered void by that crime. This was not, however, passed without considerable opposition, especially by Andrea Cuesta, bishop of Leon.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Archbishop of Toledo liberated from Censure.

In a letter of Visconti of the 29th of July, we meet with ample corroboration of the following statement of Father Paul. The deputies for the formation of the Index Expurgatorius had given the work of Bartholomeo Caranza, archbishop of Toledo,^m to some divines to be examined, and they having declared that nothing worthy of censure was contained therein, the congregation publicly stated their approval of it. But since the book and its author were under the ban of the Inquisition, the Secretary Castellane complained to the Count di Luna, who in turn applied to the fathers of that congregation, calling upon them to retract. They were, however, unwilling to swerve from what they believed to be a just decision; and the bishop of Lerida, either influenced by the count, or from some other reason, began to attack the book in question, bringing forward certain passages, which, by a misplaced ingenuity of misconstruction, were made apparently deserving of censure, and went to condemn the judgment and conscience of the fathers who had approved them. The archbishop of Prague, as chief of that congregation, defended himself and his colleagues, and called upon the legates to interfere, declaring that he would not assist in any public transaction, until his congregation had received satisfaction. Morone made peace, upon condition that no other copy of the faith made in favour of the book should be taken, and that Lerida should apologize, especially to the archbishop of Prague. The Count di Luna, by means of persuasion, got the copy of the faith out of the hand of Toledo's agent, and the quarrel was appeased.

then appear to him. So that this is a doctrine very lately settled in the Church of Rome."—Burnet, p. 289.

^m This prelate was present at the death of Charles V.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Further Delays.

The pontiff, anxious to secure the cardinal of Lorraine to his interests, sent Ludovico Antinoro to Trent, chiefly with the view of preventing the cardinal's departure, unless the synod were brought to a conclusion, and to declare to the legates his anxiety for that consummation. While exhorting them to pay all possible attention to Lorraine, he declared that the Count di Luna was of less importance, as he well knew that the intentions of King Philip were different from what he represented.

The legates replied by pointing out the dangerous influence possessed by the count over so many prelates and ambassadors, especially of the imperial party, and also urged the impropriety and danger of sinning by excess, as well as by deficiency, of attention to the cardinal. They furthermore denied the safety of hinting at the cardinal's remaining at Trent after the session was over.ⁿ

The letters from the emperor of Germany proved anything but satisfactory, and seemed well calculated to divert the ambitious mind of Lorraine to a course more conducive to his own aggrandizement.^o The articles on reformation had meanwhile undergone various changes; and partly from the pressure of time, partly from the dissatisfaction which some of them excited, they had been considerably reduced in number. The last chapter, in particular, respecting the impediments of seculars, gave great offence to the emperor, who alleged that it contained many things calculated to disturb the German states, and that, being then engaged in the diet of Vienna, he wished for time to deliberate. The legates at length consented to defer that and another chapter on the right of patronage for a few days. Sharp disputes ensued, and some accused the pontiff and his court of having purposely introduced an article, which must evidently displease the princes, and thereby lead to the whole question of reform being quashed. Another party thought that this opposition

ⁿ Pallav. xxii. 5. I am compelled to touch upon these matters very briefly, as the volume is rapidly expanding.

^o Cf. Pallav. § 10.

on the part of the secular princes showed that they were desirous of reform only as far as it did not concern their own interests. At length, finding that the appointed time for the session was rapidly approaching, the number of articles was reduced to twenty, and it was determined to delay the consideration of the abuses caused by the interference of secular princes till the next session.^p

Private meetings were held respecting the twenty articles in the houses of the cardinal of Lorraine, the archbishop of Tarento,^q and the bishop of Parma, in order to bring them to such a state as to be passed speedily when laid before the congregation. The canons and decrees of doctrine were also remodelled.

When they were brought before the fathers in their amended form, the Count di Luna complained, but in moderate terms, that these articles, in their present state, had not been shown to him first, and that he had not been asked whether he had any proposal to make on the part of his own king. The legates excused themselves on the ground of forgetfulness, arising from fatigue and anxiety, and the count succeeded in obtaining an additional article, about which the king had been very anxious, referring all causes, in the first instance, to the ordinary, of what dignity soever he might happen to be.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Renewed Discussions on Marriage.

On the 7th of September a general congregation was held, and the discussions on marriage commenced anew. The cardinal of Lorraine started an objection against the third canon, which affirmed that the Church has the power to prescribe not only the same impediments which are contained in Leviticus, but neither more nor less. He recommended the

^p With Dr. Waterworth, I have been forced to omit much interesting matter relative to the intrigues which tended to delay the session, as well as the remarks made upon different points of the previously proposed scheme of reform. It may be observed, that a vain attempt to establish the Inquisition in Milan was made about this time. Cf. Sarpi, p. 757, sqq.; Courayer, v. ii. p. 638.

^q Sarpi adds the archbishop of Otranto. Cf. Courayer, p. 641; and Mendham, p. 288, *note*.

omission of the words "or less," and the canon was altered accordingly. After some discussion, the alteration in the seventh canon, proposed by the Venetian ambassadors, was also agreed to.

But the chief matter of dispute was clandestine marriage; and with the view of facilitating the determination thereupon, another form was proposed of a milder character, making two witnesses sufficient; but this being thought unsafe, it was thought proper to require the presence of a notary, or of the parish priest, and ultimately it was determined to make the latter a necessary witness to the marriage contract. The French bishops, who had all along been remarkably anxious about the matter, wished it to be declared, not only that the presence of the priest was necessary to, but likewise that he *presided*^r at, the marriage; but this was rejected, it being thought that all that was signified by the presence of the priest was a valid and undeniable proof of the marriage. Pallavicino remarks, that the refusal of this proposition evinces not only the desire on the part of the council to throw no unfair restraints upon the parties contracting, but likewise their wish to check too great assumption on the part of the clergy.

But the discussions on this matter were conducted with considerable warmth. Three patriarchs and the archbishop of Otranto opposed it, and two of them wished the matter to be referred to the pontiff, while another exclaimed, that it wanted a yet more powerful assailant; that it was against the divine law, and that he would resist it even to the shedding of his own blood.

On the other side, the archbishop of Granada expressed his surprise that any should maintain that the question ought either to be let slip, or be remitted to the pontiff; for where, he continued, could a difficulty be better discussed and disentangled, than in an œcumenical synod, which was assembled not to consider things evident, but things doubtful, and which was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit? Could any like assembly of theologians and jurisconsults be found elsewhere, with whom the pontiff could deliberate? In fine, the question was one of such importance, as to have

^r "Præfuerit."

^s § 17.

deservedly required a council to be called for its settlement, not one that the council had a right to shift to another jurisdiction. He approved of rendering such contracts void, alleging that the Church had the power so to do, and that none of the ancient schoolmen or canonists had any doubt on the subject. He went on to say, that the objections on the score of the freedom of matrimony being hereby impaired, or those founded on the sacramental nature of marriage, were irrelevant; and that, so far from this decree inclining to the doctrines of Calvin, it actually condemned two of his errors, the one stating that clandestine marriages are void by the law of nature, the other, that the Church has not the power to sanction new impediments.

The bishop of Segovia wished that those who denied the Church the power in question might be compelled to state their reasons in writing, to the end that they might the better be confuted. He thought it unsafe for such an opinion to get abroad, and for a decree so useful to the Christian commonwealth to be hindered. As to committing it to the pontiff, he held that it would not be doing him honour, but offering an offence, as though he were a judge set apart from the council, when, on the contrary, the council derived its whole authority from its convocation by the pontiff, and from his assisting therein by means of his legates; and that therefore to remit such a matter to the pontiff would be to remove the weight from the pontiff, supported by the councils of the whole Church, to the pontiff alone and unaided. He declared, in conclusion, that clandestine marriages were against justice, charity, and honesty, and that they were condemned both in the eastern and western churches.

On the 10th of September, the votes, having been all given, were found to be divided into four classes. The first asserted that the Church possessed the power to annul such marriages. The second denied it. The third granted that the Church possessed that power when a sufficient cause existed for its exercise, but that that cause was wanting. The fourth held that, whereas the power of the Church is maintained by some, denied by others, the question was reduced to one of dogma, and that no determination ought to be made on either side, when so many were found on the

opposition. However, after a lengthy disputation, before the session was celebrated, almost all agreed on two points, viz., that the deliberation involved dogma ; that the dogma was true in as far as it did not oppose the decree, since the Church really had that power in question, when a fitting cause was at hand—an opinion in which nearly all the minor theologians agreed. The question thus resolved itself into whether a fitting cause existed in the present instance. One hundred and thirty-three were in favour of the decree, and fifty-six were against it ; the rest inclining to various modifications of either opinion, probably of little importance, and lacking any consistent support.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Further Disputes.

The pontiff, observes Pallavicino,^t was by no means averse to the discussion of lay abuses, and that for two reasons. He hoped that the necessity of self-defence would absorb the energies of the ruling power, and turn away their attention from the Roman court. Again, there was a kind of “tu quoque” in retorting from the Church upon the secular princes ; which, however illogical in its conclusions, and unjustifiable as a defence of the compromising system of the Romish court, was nevertheless not to be despised by those, who had few better resources to fall back upon.^u But the state of Christendom was such as to make the pontiff desirous of seeing disputes at an end, and of rather hushing up and compounding for a difficulty, than running the odious chance of a new series of doubts and squabbles. Accordingly, his advice to his legates was to avoid coming to any decision on a subject so complicated and unsatisfactory as the question of the annulling of marriage.

Although the legates felt disposed to take the same view of the question, and were as anxious as the pontiff to be freed from the discomforts of a long and unsatisfactory discussion, they nevertheless resolved to make one more

^t xxii. 9, 1.

^u Certain transactions between the Spanish ambassadors and the pontiff gave reason to dread a suspension of the council, which, however, proved a groundless suspicion.—Pallav. §§ 3, 4.

attempt to settle the point at issue, and, on the 13th of September, they called together a general meeting of prelates and theologians. Those selected for the disputation were divided into two classes,—those who opposed, and those who advocated the decree rendering clandestine marriages null. In the former class were Adriano Valentino, a Venetian, Francisco Torres, Salmeron the Jesuit, who appears to have changed his views from those he formerly entertained,^x John Peletier, and an English divine, whose name is unknown. In the latter class were Francisco Foriero, a Dominican, Diego Payva, Simon Vigor, Richard Dupré, and Peter Fonditonio.

Hosius, who had throughout opposed the decree with great earnestness, opened the debate. He briefly recommended the theologians to avoid mere subtilties, and look only to the discovery of the truth. He reminded them, that although the presidents relied greatly on the judgment of the fathers, they did not stand in the synod like trees, devoid of sense, and which only bent themselves according to the pressure of outward force; and that they themselves in like manner ought to be influenced by the inward power of thought. He alleged that the previous disputes had not removed the doubt as to the power of the Church to introduce this new hinderance; since in all previous impediments, some reference had been had to a previous act, which had been the cause of the impediment arising between the parties contracting; but that such a cause was wanting on the present occasion. He therefore exhorted them to deliver their opinions quietly and moderately.

The main point of dispute was the possession of the right. Those who favoured the decree alleged that the onus of pleading lay on their opponents; whilst they themselves, as possessing that right, thought it sufficient to reply in defence thereof. Their opponents rejoined, that the right of possession rather favoured the defenders of the ancient practice of the Church, and those who resisted innovation. Others, on the contrary, said that the Church possessed the power of constituting impediments rendering marriages invalid; and therefore that he, who denied such jurisdiction to the Church,

^x See Waterworth, p. ccxxxi, note.

took upon himself the *onus probandi*. The first legate then expressed a wish that those, who supported the measure, would state their reasons for so doing. A fresh dispute arose between those who contended for the power, and those who held for the propriety of the act. Peletier held that any confession of the inability of the Church was to be avowed as odious, and threw his argument upon non-expediency. Adriano took up the opposite view, and inpuigned the power of the Church, declaring that there was nothing improper in her judgment respecting the sacraments, even if she willed that rose-water should be used in baptism. Payva replied, that the Church had the power of changing the nature of marriage, by taking away the validity of the contract, as was evident in the impediments it placed between the parties contracting; and that it had that power, because the condition of the parties interfered with some one of the express advantages, for the sake of which marriage was instituted. Finally, it was certain, that the obscurity of a clandestine marriage did more mischief to those advantages, than affinity in the fourth degree. The other replied, that the evils resulting from clandestine marriages were accidental, and arose out of the vice of men; and that there was therefore no parallel between those impediments and natural ones, such as are those in a marriage between relations. Payva replied, that the only point to be considered was, whether the evil was a frequent one, either by accident or by nature; since under either circumstance it is equally mischievous, and stands equally in need of a remedy. Lainez, who wished to exclude at least the exercise of this power from the Church, maintained the previous usage of the Church for fifteen centuries; although the same evils had always existed, and therefore the same plea for a change in the prevailing system. But it was replied, that this reason, if carried out, might have been used to prevent any of the many changes that had taken place during that interval.^y By degrees the disputes grew more and more violent, and the meeting ended in little else than an arbitrary confusion.

^y These arguments are neatly and lucidly summed up by Waterworth, p. ccxxxi. Compare Paleotto, p. 599, sqq.

CHAPTER L.

Revival of the Dispute about the Representing Clause. Prorogation of the Session.

Just about this time, the Count di Luna, having received a message from his royal master, thought fit to revive the uncomfortable dispute about the representing clause, demanding either its omission or explanation. "The real object," says Dr. Waterworth, "was to throw obstacles in the way of reforming the evils occasioned by secular princes in ecclesiastical matters; the ambassador imagining that, by taking out of the hands of the legates the sole power of proposing, such confusion might be created, as would render it impossible to pass any scheme of reform on that head."²

The legates, in answer, referred to the liberty of proposing enjoyed by others than the legates, especially to the demands made by the French respecting clandestine marriage, and those of the Venetians respecting the customs of the Greeks. They also showed the necessity of laying the whole of the articles before the fathers, especially the one respecting the lay princes, agreeably to their own promise and that of the sovereign pontiff.

Finding that it was in vain to hope for the celebration of the session on the appointed day, Morone, in a meeting on the 15th of September, after pointing out the difficulties which had hindered so desirable a consummation, proposed that it should be postponed till the 11th of November. The cardinal of Lorraine expressed his regret at the necessity which compelled the postponement of the session; but at the same time he felt persuaded that the intermediate time would be well spent, and that the much-wanted reform would be rendered perfect. But many of the fathers thought so long a delay wholly unjustifiable, and that nothing else was sought for but to detain them till the depth of winter, so that the Spanish and French prelates would not be able to leave before the approach of the following spring. But, as Paleotto^a observes, this delay could scarcely be dispensed with; since, among the legates themselves, Hosius and Simonetta both persisted that they would never consent to

² P. ccxxxii.

^a P. 603, sq.

a decree rendering such marriages void, unless they were convinced by stronger reasons than had been yet brought forward. Again, all the royal ambassadors were opposed to the idea of terminating the session without the articles of reform being handled, fearing that, when once the sacrament of matrimony was arranged, the council might be broken up, leaving the reformation as yet incomplete. Moreover, the cardinal of Lorraine was just upon his departure for Rome, whence he could not be expected in less than a month. These reasons certainly seemed sufficient to exonerate the legates from the charge of driving off the session, in order to curry favour with the princes.

“As to the Count di Luna,” continues Paleotto, “it was reported that he was doing all in his power to retard the council; for in the previous session he had demanded that it should be delayed some days; and he was also said to be continually urging the emperor to send some German heretics to Trent, to treat with the fathers respecting doctrine, and who, under a safe-conduct, might be able to repeat all that had been done previously, and lead them into a lengthy dispute. It was also said, that, even at Rome, the imperial ministers were opposed to precipitating the affairs of the council, and thought that all matters should be maturely discussed, all which was thought to tend to this—that no end to the council should be found for many years.”

CHAPTER LI.

Departure of Lorraine and other French Prelates.

Whether Father Paul is right in attributing the delay of the session to the direct suggestion of the pontiff, seems doubtful; but it seems more certain that the length of the prorogation was contrived chiefly with a view of giving him the benefit of his favourite statesman's advice. But the cardinal's errand was an important one, being to propose to the pope a conference between his holiness, the emperor, and king of Spain, and the queen's own son, in whose train she herself would be. The pope received Lorraine with the highest honour, but seemed better disposed to the meeting suggested than the cardinal. But the main business, as

Sarpi asserts,^b was doubtless the expectation of the termination of the council. Without entering into the question of the accuracy of the remarks, which Father Paul has made upon the supposed conference between the pope and the cardinal, we may refer to them as a happy specimen of natural political inferences, which, if not actually representing what was spoken on the occasion, are at least very like what might have been.

Nine French bishops followed the cardinal; and a report prevailed that there was a purpose, at the persuasion of the Huguenots, to recall the others, in order that, as the end of the council was now approaching, no Frenchman might be present when they should be anathematized.^c

CHAPTER LII.

Discussions respecting the Propositions of Reform.

The twenty-one^d articles of reform had meanwhile been under discussion. In the first article, on the election of bishops, the cardinal of Lorraine suggested that, instead of *worthy*, the words *more worthy* should be used, in describing the qualifications of those to be endowed with the episcopal dignity. This was accordingly altered, and various disputes, which Father Paul only mentions "for the order of the story,"^e and minute suggestions and modifications took place. A new draught was also prepared of the decree respecting clandestine marriages, in which, among other alterations, the clause annulling the marriage of children without the consent of their parents was omitted.

After the cardinal of Lorraine had left Trent, the discussion was renewed. Father Paul here introduces an abridgment of the obnoxious chapter respecting the reformation of abuses resulting from secular influence, which I

^b P. 70.

^c So Father Paul. But Paleotto ascribes their departure simply to their being worn out with the prolixity of the council.

^d See Courayer, p. 646, sq., and Mendham, p. 289. It is not worth while to mark the different dates on which the changes and additions were made.

^e P. 762. The next few pages are taken up with discussions on these propositions.

make no apology for introducing in the present place. It is to the following effect :^f—

“ The synod, besides the things constituted concerning ecclesiastical persons, hath thought fit to correct the abuses of the seculars, brought in against the immunity of the Church, hoping that the princes will be content, and cause due obedience to be rendered to the clergy. And therefore it doth admonish them to cause their magistrates, officers, and temporal lords, to yield their obedience to the pope and constitutions of the council, which themselves are bound to perform. And for facilitation hereof, it doth renew some things decreed by the holy canons and imperial laws, in favour of ecclesiastical immunity, which ought to be observed upon pain of *anathema*.

1. “ That ecclesiastical persons may not be judged in a secular court, howsoever there may be doubt of the title of the clerkship, or themselves consent, or have renounced the things obtained, or for any cause whatsoever, though under pretence of public utility and service of the king ; nor shall be proceeded against there as cause of murder, if it be not truly and properly a murder, and notoriously known, nor in other cases permitted by the law, without the declaration of the law going before.

2. “ That in causes spiritual of matrimony, heresy, patronage, beneficial, civil, criminal, and mixed, belonging in what manner soever to the ecclesiastical court, as well over persons as over goods, tithes, fourths, and other portions appertaining to the Church, or over beneficial patrimonies, ecclesiastical fees, temporal jurisdiction of churches, the temporal judges shall not meddle, neither in the *petitory* nor in the *possessory*, taking away all appeal upon pretence of justice denied, or as from an abuse, or because the things obtained are renounced ; and those who shall have recourse to the secular magistrate, in the causes aforesaid, shall be excommunicated, and deprived of their rites belonging unto them in these things. And this shall be observed also in causes depending in what instance soever.

3. “ That the seculars shall not appoint judges in causes

^f I follow the brief account of Paleotto, p. 292, sq., with Mendham. Pallavicino, xxiii. 2, is fuller.

ecclesiastical, though they have apostolic authority, or a custom time out of mind ; and the clerks who shall receive such offices from the laity, though by virtue of any privilege whatsoever, shall be suspended from their orders, deprived of their benefices and offices, and made incapable of them.

4. " That the seculars shall not command the ecclesiastical judge, not to excommunicate without license, or to revoke or suspend the excommunication denounced, nor forbid him to examine, cite, and condemn, or to have serjeants or ministers for execution.

5. " That neither the emperor, kings, nor any prince whatsoever, shall make edicts or constitutions, in what manner soever, concerning ecclesiastical causes, or persons, nor meddle with their persons, causes, jurisdictions, or tribunals, no not in the Inquisition, but shall be bound to afford the secular arm to ecclesiastical judges.

6. " That the temporal jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics, though with mere and mixed power, shall not be disturbed, nor their subjects drawn to the secular tribunals in causes temporal.

7. " That no prince or magistrate shall promise by brief, or other writing, or give hope to any to have a benefice within their dominions, nor procure it from the prelates, or chapters of regulars, and he that shall obtain it by those means shall be deprived and incapable.

8. " That they shall not meddle with the fruits of benefices vacant, under pretence of custody or patronage, or protection, or of withstanding discords, nor shall place there bailiffs or vicars ; and the seculars who shall accept offices and custodies shall be excommunicated, and the clerks suspended from their orders and deprived of their benefices.

9. " That the ecclesiastics shall not be forced to pay taxes, gabels, tithes, passages, subsidies, though in the name of gift or loan, either in respect of the church goods, and of their patrimonial, except in provinces, where by ancient custom the ecclesiastics themselves do assist in public parliaments, to impose subsidies both upon the laity and the clergy, to make war against the infidels, or for other urgent necessities.

10. " That they shall not meddle with ecclesiastical goods, moveable or immoveable, vassalages, tithes, or other rights, nor in the goods of communities or private men, where the

Church has any right ; nor shall rent out the pasturage or herbage which groweth in the lands and possessions of the Church.

11. " That the letters, citations, and sentences of judges ecclesiastical, especially of the court of Rome, so soon as they be exhibited, shall be intimated, without exception, published, and executed ; neither shall it be necessary to require consent or license, which is called '*Exsequatur*,' or '*Placet*,' or by any other name, either for this, or for taking possession of benefices, though upon pretence of withstanding falsehoods and violences, except in fortresses and those benefices in which princes are acknowledged by reason of the temporality ; and in case there shall be doubt of falsity, or of some great scandal or tumult, the bishop, as the pope's delegate, shall constitute what he thinks needful.

12. " That princes and magistrates shall not lodge their officers, servants, soldiers, horses, or dogs, in the houses in monasteries of the ecclesiastics, nor take anything from them for their food or passage.

13. " And if any kingdom, province, or place, shall pretend not to be bound to any of the things aforesaid, by virtue of privileges of the Apostolic See, which are in actual use, the privileges shall be exhibited to the pope, within a year after the end of the council, which shall be confirmed by him, according to the merits of the kingdoms or provinces ; and in case they be not exhibited before the end of the year, they shall be understood to be of no force. And for the epilogue, there was an admonition to all princes to have in veneration the things which concern the clergy, as peculiar to God, and not to suffer them to be offended by others, renewing all the constitutions of popes and holy canons, in favour of ecclesiastical immunity, commanding under pain of *anathema*, that neither directly nor indirectly, under any pretence whatsoever, anything be constituted or executed against the persons or goods of the clergy, or against the liberty, any privileges or exemptions, though immemorial, notwithstanding."

" Had the compilers of this inflammatory chapter," observes Mendham, " confined themselves to the argument that, if the secular princes were so hard upon the papacy for its offences in the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage and

government, and required suitable reformation, it was but reasonable that the secular princes, who have a considerable portion of such patronage and government, and were guilty enough in their degree, should acquiesce in, if they did not even voluntarily propose, proportionable reformation on their own part, they would have stood on ground comparatively solid. But reckoning probably upon the fact, that the spirit which animates the whole body of the system, whether in the secular or ecclesiastical division, is callous to all perceptions of equity, it was felt useless to take a position which they were conscious would only lead to endless recrimination; and therefore they adopted the broad and open course, which has so often succeeded, of arrogant and overbearing assumption."

The reception of this chapter by the French king was anything but favourable; and in a letter which reached Trent just before the cardinal of Lorraine set out, he declared that his hopes in the council were quite disappointed, and that such a measure as the one proposed was "to pare the king's nails, and make those of churchmen longer." He also alleged, that he had heard that it was their intention to annul the marriage of the deceased king of Navarre with Queen Joanna, and thereby render his son Henry a bastard, incapable of succession; by which means that kingdom would be left a prey to others. He declared that he would never suffer such enormous detriment, and commanded his ambassadors and prelates to protest against and resist it with all their might, and, if they failed in so doing, to leave the council, lest they should seem to sanction those decrees even by their presence.

Although Lorraine expressed himself surprised at the doubts of the king, it is difficult, if we consider his subsequent behaviour, to believe that he was not perfectly aware of their existence long before. The legates were already employed in softening down the harshness of the obnoxious chapter; but the ambassadors seem to have determined to take advantage of the king's letter to pick a fresh quarrel. Concealing their real intentions, they first endeavoured to exonerate the court of France from being the cause of the departure of some of the bishops who had recently left Trent, declaring that they had done so against the will of the queen,

who would probably command their return. They then stated that the king was delighted with the news of the excellent reform which was in agitation, and had directed them to make certain demands. These proved trivial enough; and the legates, dreading a renewal of the demand for omitting the proposing clause, consented to them forthwith.

But on the 22nd of September De Ferrier^g delivered a spirited but querulous oration, in which he observed that they might say to the fathers as did the ambassadors of the Jews to the priests: "Ought we also to continue weeping and lamenting?"^h that more than a hundred and fifty years have passed since the most Christian kings demanded of the popes a reformation of the ecclesiastical discipline, and that with that view only have they sent ambassadors to the synods of Constance, Basle, Lateran, and Trent. And in the demands thus made nothing was sought for but a reformation of the manners of the ministers of the Church; yet must they still fast and lament, not seventy years, but two hundred, and God grant they be not three hundred, and many more. "And," pursues the quaint translator of Sarpi, "if any should say that satisfaction hath been given them by decrees and anathematisms, they did not think that this was to satisfy, to give one thing in payment for another. If it shall be said, that they ought to be satisfied with a great bundle of reformation proposed the month before, they had spoken their opinion concerning that, and sent it to the king, who had answered, that he saw few things in it befitting the ancient discipline, but many things contrary. That it was not the plaster of Isaias to heal the wound, but of Ezekiel, to make it raw, though healed before." His next observations are especially valuable, when we consider how nearly the presumptuous claims of the Roman pontiffs have touched upon the boundaries of our own church and state. The ambassadors continued to state, "that these additions of excommunicating and anathematizing princes were without example in the ancient Church, and did make a way to rebellion; and all the articles concerning the reformation of kings

^g I follow Father Paul's account of this speech, which is more accurate than Pallavicino's, as is evident from Paleotto, p. 606, sqq.

^h An allusion to Zech. vii. 3: "Should I weep in the fifth month, separating myself, as I have done these so many years?"

and princes have no aim but to take away the liberty of the French Church, and offend the majesty of the most Christian king . . . who have not only not displeased the popes, but they have inserted some of them in their decrees, and judged Charles the Great and Louis the Ninth principal authors of them, worthy of the name of saints." After speaking of the practical realization of the ecclesiastical law in France, he sneered at the proceedings of the council, and made a spirited attack upon numberless financial abuses of the Church, and went on to say, "that the king marvelled at two things: one, that they, the fathers, having assembled only to restore ecclesiastical discipline, not regarding this, should bind themselves to reform those whom they ought to obey, though they were stiff-necked; another, that they should think they can and ought, without any admonition, excommunicate and anathematize kings and princes, which are given by God to men, which ought not to be done to any ordinary man, though persevering in a most grievous offence. He said that Michael the Archangel durst not curse the devil, or Micah, or Daniel, the most wicked kings, and yet they, the fathers, were wholly conversant in maledictions against kings and princes, and against the most Christian, if he will defend the laws of his ancestors and the liberty of the Gallican Church." In conclusion, he declared "that the king did desire them not to decree anything against those laws; or, if they should, that he commanded his ambassadors to oppose the decrees, as then they did oppose them. But if, omitting the princes, they would attend seriously to that which all the world expecteth, it would be most acceptable to the king, who did command them, the ambassadors, to further that enterprise."ⁱ

The reader will almost naturally foresee the dissatisfaction to which such unmeasured freedom of speech would give rise. But the vexation was increased by the fact, that, as the obnoxious chapter had not yet been proposed in congregation, and could not therefore be made the subject of public disputation, all the suspicions respecting the disaffection of De Ferrier towards the council were renewed and strengthened; in fact, a way was being rapidly paved to the alienation of the French power, lay and ecclesiastical, from the whole affair.

ⁱ Brent's *Sarpi*, p. 772, sq.

On the following day, the bishop of Monte Fiascone; a prelate who ultimately rose to the cardinalate, answered the attack made by the French ambassador, throwing upon the French the whole blame of what they had alleged against others. The main gist of his discourse was, that the synod ought to compel ambassadors to show their commission; since their words appeared to be strangely at variance with the letters they laid before the public assembly. An anonymous apology was also published, De Ferrier having been requested to furnish a copy of his own speech for the purpose.^k But he took care to publish a rejoinder, which, so far from doing away with the bad impression formed upon his first speech, rather increased it.

CHAPTER LIII.

Renewal of the Dispute respecting the Proposing Clause.

The Count di Luna, who seems to have required little stimulus, when harassing the legates and the synod was to be thought of, received some letters from his royal master, calculated to stir up his most mischievous capabilities for aggression. In a word, the old squabble about the right of the legates to initiate measures was revived, and so urgently pressed on the present occasion, that they were compelled to comply with his requests. After a lapse of two months, the king of Spain wrote to Di Luna requiring that a decree might be published, calculated to leave perfect liberty to the council, and inclosing a form which he wished to be published by the legates, declaring that it was free both for the prelates and their princes to propose measures. The legates replied, that, so far from princes having any right to propose, they were only permitted to be present by courtesy; and that prelates were excluded, because that right belonged peculiarly to the presiding legates. After some forms had been proposed, the count presented one which he stated was

^k It may be observed, that some said he had pronounced it otherwise than it was written. Whereunto he replied, that that could not be said by any that had any mean understanding of the Latin, and that, howsoever it was the same pronounced and written, yet if they thought otherwise, they must remember that the style of the synod was never to judge of things as they were delivered in voice, but as they were exhibited in writing.—Sarpi, p. 774, sq.

agreeable to his king's orders. The legates consulted the fathers, who thought it derogatory from the credit of the synod that what it had once determined should be made a subject of fresh consideration, besides expressing their objection to certain clauses in the form proposed. In this dilemma, the legates referred to some letters which they had formerly received from Pius; and, in one of May, they found that he empowered them to make the declaration, as from himself, that, if the words "*proponentibus legatis*" should seem to detract from the liberty of the synod, they should either reject or explain them away.

On their making an explanation to this effect, the count replied, that he could not be satisfied therewith, as he should thus transgress the commands of his sovereign. The legates replied, that they were equally bound by their obedience to the pontiff; and they therefore resolved to refer the matter to the free voice of the council; and observed, that the king of Spain, although so careful of the liberty of the council, was the first disturber of that liberty in the person, and late act, of his ambassador, who had lately expelled a canon from the council for speaking his mind. "The count was still more irritated by this reply, and he charged the legates with want of good faith, and with having broken their promise under cover of the pontiff's letters, and wasted his own time in mere empty forms of consultation. He also asserted, that they had used indirect means to secure the voices of the fathers in favour of the obnoxious clause. The legates attempted to justify themselves by a reference to the letters of the pontiff, and denied that they had employed any improper influence. The count then prepared another protest, in which he had hopes that the fathers would join; but the legates, through the mediation of the emperor's ambassadors, persuaded him to desist from presenting it. He therefore wrote to his holiness, expressing a hope that he would both abide by his own promise and compel the legates to be more observing of theirs."¹

¹ I follow the brief account of Paleotto, p. 613, sq., which, as a contemporary document, gives a better idea than any abridgment of the lengthy chapters devoted to these disputes by the other historians.

CHAPTER LIV.

Discussions on Reformation. Remarks of Ranke.

Meanwhile the disputes respecting reformation were being pursued with considerable diligence. But little occurs worthy of particular notice,^m except the animated and bitter speech of the bishop of Guadix, who attacked the officials of the Roman court, denouncing their avarice and cupidity, and enumerating the outrageous charges to himself in particular, "for issuing bulls to his church, amounting to 4,856, of some unnamed, but, it may be presumed, familiar and intelligible species of money."ⁿ "This speech," says Pallavicino, "seemed to proceed rather from mental excitement than from a care for religion, and therefore gave no small dissatisfaction to the rest of the Spaniards, and even to the Count di Luna, since it seemed a likely means to place their nation in an invidious light."^o The bishop of Nocera, however, gave the speaker credit for conscientious intentions; but added, that if it was treason to withdraw the revenues of temporal princes, how much the more serious offence was it to interfere with those of the sovereign pontiff?

I have, from time to time, laid before my reader the bold and masterly remarks of Ranke, on the different changes in the working of this council, and, on the present occasion, as his observations bear immediately upon the history of the two last sessions, I shall beg leave to anticipate a little, in order to avoid disconnecting matters which he has thought fit to consider together. If we consider that the last session was but the completion of the work left undone from the previous one, this anticipation of certain points will be more excusable.

I have already shown the quiet diplomacy pursued by Morone, and the system of avoiding or explaining away offensive terms, which became so fashionable towards the end of the council. While we must feel that the unconscientious cha-

^m For the right understanding, however, of the decrees and canons in their present state, the third chapter of Pallavicino's twenty-third book is very important. Paleotto is meagre on the subject.

ⁿ Mendham, p. 293.

^o Pallav. xxiii. 3, 25.

racter of this mode of cutting the knot admits of no apology, and while we must perceive the gross inconsistency of an *infallible* Church sheltering itself in a good-natured ambiguity, what has been already written will, I trust, convince the reader that Rome had no other terms left her. The constant opposition of ambassadors, the dissensions of prelates, and the languor and sickness with which the very name of the council was now associated, were sufficient reasons to make all determined to get rid of it as quickly as possible. It had become a necessary evil ; and there was a kind of pleasure in knowing that it was all over, a feeling with which too many persons in power are doomed to regard those movements, which they have either themselves originated, or to which they have succeeded through the miscalculation or misfortune of their predecessors.

Summing up the difficulties which met the pontiff and his ministers in the year 1568, Ranke, after noticing the old controversy respecting the subject of residence, and the divine right of residence, observes :—" For a long time the Spaniards held out in defence of their doctrine on this head, declaring it, so late as in July, 1563, as infallible as the ten commandments . . . Nevertheless, when the decree came to be drawn up, they submitted to the omission from it of their favourite opinion. A form, however, was adopted, that still left them a possibility of arguing in favour of their own views. This very ambiguity in the decree Lainez made the subject of his special praise.

" The same course was pursued with respect to the other contested point, the initiative,—the *proponentibus legatis*. The pope declared that every one should be at liberty to ask and to say whatever he had a right, in accordance with the usages of ancient councils, to ask and to say ; but he cautiously abstained from employing the word propose.^p An expedient was thus hit upon, with which the Spaniards were satisfied, although it did not involve the slightest concession on the pope's part.

" The obstacles," continues this thoughtful historian, " arising out of political considerations being removed, the

^p Pallav. xxiii. 6, 5.

questions which had given occasion to bitterness and wrangling, were dealt with, *not so much with a view to decide them, as to get rid of them by some dexterous accommodation.*

"In this disposition of the council, the less serious affairs were got through with so much the greater ease. Never did the council's proceedings make more rapid progress. The important dogmas of clerical ordination, the sacrament of marriage, indulgence, purgatory, the adoration of saints, and by far the weightiest measure of reform it ever adopted, belong to the last three sessions in the second half of the year 1563. The congregations on every one of these topics were composed of different nations. The project of reform was concerted in five separate assemblies, one of them French, presided over by the Cardinal de Guise, one Spanish, at the head of which was the archbishop of Granada, and three Italian.⁹

"They easily agreed on most questions: only two real difficulties presented themselves,—the question as to the exemption of chapters, and plurality of benefices, in which private interests again played an important part.

"The former question particularly affected Spain, where the chapters had already lost something of the extraordinary freedom they had once possessed. Whilst it was their wish to regain this, the king conceived the design of still further curtailing their privileges; for the nomination of the bishops being vested in himself, he had an interest in extending this authority. The pope, on the other hand, was for the chapters, the absolute subjection of which to the bishops, would have not a little diminished his influence over the Spanish Church. On this point, therefore, these two great powers were again in collision, and it was a question which of them would command a majority. The king, too, was exceedingly strong in the council. His ambassador had succeeded in excluding from it a delegate sent by the chapters, to watch over their rights. He had so much ecclesiastical patronage at his disposal, that every one was reluctant to break with him. The opinions pronounced orally were unfavourable to the chapters; but they deserve the device adopted by the papal legates to

⁹ "The best accounts on this," observes Ranke, in his note, "are to be found where they would be least expected, in Bainti, *Vita di Palestrina*, i. 199, derived from authentic letters."

counteract that result. They decided that the votes should, on this occasion, be taken in writing: the *viva voce* declarations alone, made in the presence of so many of the king's adherents, were shaped in compliance with his views, not the written ones, which were placed in the legate's hands. By this scheme they at last obtained an important majority for the papal views and for the chapters. Encouraged by this, they then entered, through Guise's mediation, into negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who, in the end, contented themselves with a much more moderate extension of their immunities than they had contemplated.^r

"Whilst the pope thus successfully maintained the subsistence of the Roman court in the form it had hitherto worn, he also manifested his readiness to drop the project that had been entertained of a reformation of princes. On this head he yielded to the emperor's representations.^s

"The whole of the proceedings were actually like those of a peaceful congress.^t While questions of subordinate interest were discussed to general conclusions by the divines, those of more importance were subjects of negotiation between the courts. Couriers were incessantly flying to and fro, and one succession was requited with another.

"The pope's foremost object was to bring the council to a

^r Sarpi, viii. 816, does not give a very clear account of this matter. Morone's authentic explanation is very acceptable:—"L' articolo delle cause e dell' essenze di canonici fu vinto secondo la domanda degli oltramontani: poi facendosi contra l' uso, che li padri tutti dessero voti in iscritto, furono mutato molte sententie, e fu vinto il contrario. Si venne al fin alla concordia che si vede nei decreti, e fu mezzano Lorena, che gia era tornato da Roma, tutto additto al servitio di S. Beatitudine et alla fine del concilio." [The article of the causes and essential attributes of the clergy was passed in accordance with the views of the ultramontanes: afterwards the order being broken through, according to which the assembled fathers should have given their votes in writing, many opinions were changed, and the contrary resolution was adopted. At last the council came to that agreement which is seen in its decrees, the mediator being the cardinal of Lorraine, who had now returned from Rome, entirely devoted to the service of his holiness, and to the ends of the council.]—Ranke.

^s "That a rigid reform of the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave did not take place, was in close keeping with the omission of a reformation of the princes."—Ranke, *note*.

^t Compare the opinion of Ranke's countryman, Danz, quoted above, ch. viii.

speedy close. For a while the Spaniards held out against this: they were not satisfied with the reforms that had been effected; and the king's ambassadors once even made a show of protesting; but as the pope declared his readiness to call a new synod in case of urgency,^a as every one was alive to the inconvenience that would ensue, were the papal see to become vacant pending a council; and lastly, as every one was tired and longed to return home, even the Spaniards gave way in the end."

CHAPTER LV.

Last Congregation previous to the Twenty-fourth Session.^x

From the remarks of this acute historian of the Popedom, it will be seen that the main difficulties, which had worried the legates throughout the present session, were in a fair way towards a satisfactory solution, while the activity of the

^a Pallav. xxiv. 8, 5.

^x See Mendham, p. 296, for some important remarks respecting the manner of taking the votes, which seems to have excited some very ugly opinions about this time. The same author also refers to some MS. instructions given to Visconti, on the last day of October, with regard to obtaining an interview between his majesty the most Christian king, and his Catholic majesty. He observes: "Of all the individuals in the council, there were none with whom the legates had so much uniform trouble as with the Spanish, both ambassador and prelates; and it could not be doubted that, as they represented, they acted with the approbation, if not command, of the sovereign. It was, therefore, highly important to the council and its real rulers, that the views of the Spanish monarch should undergo some alteration in their favour, and this was the object of the embassy of the bishop of Ventimiglia. He was instructed to impress upon the mind of his Catholic majesty the purity of his holiness's views and acts, and to obtain his concurrence to the progress and prosperous termination of the council. He was to suggest that, as the proceedings of his holiness were applauded by all the other princes, he had the more reason to expect the assistance of that prince, who had shown such an affection for the Catholic religion, and whose dominions were less infected with heresies than any other in Christendom. His holiness's dependence was upon the sovereigns, and particularly upon him, not less zealous of the universal good than of his own Catholic name. France, in particular, excited his commiseration; and he was anxious that, himself forming one, there should be a personal conference of the three principal parties; and, in indulgence to his own age and infirmities, he proposed that Nice, in the south of France, should be the place of meeting." The remaining points of the letter are both important and interesting.

congregations had gradually succeeded either in preparing the decrees in a fit form for ratification in session, or—what was of equal importance—in smothering the opposition which had arisen upon obnoxious points. Despite, therefore, the many differences that existed respecting some of the decrees, matters seemed rapidly on the road to a comfortable adjustment.

It had been also privately agreed, that, in the event of the question of clandestine marriages not being satisfactorily settled, it should be referred to his Holiness for decision. On the morning of the 9th of November, two private meetings were held, in order to put the final touches to certain clauses in the decrees, and on the following day they were submitted to the last general congregation.

With the view of securing to each prelate a more perfect liberty in declaring his opinion, all persons were excluded from the congregation who did not possess the right of voting; as, at other meetings, many proctors and leading theologians had been allowed to be present.

The canons and decrees of matrimony were first proposed. The cardinal of Lorraine, who had now returned^y from his agreeable sojourn with the pontiff, objected to the anathema pronounced, in the sixth canon, against those who deny that matrimony, not consummated, is dissolved by subsequent religious profession. He also recommended that the epithet *ecclesiastical* should be omitted in the ninth, and *law* simply retained. In this he was supported by Madrucci, who also opposed, in the decree on abduction, the impediments created, or rather renewed, *inter raptorem et raptam*, as also the law depriving clandestine marriages of validity.

Before proceeding to the decrees of discipline, the first legate stated, that many had wished the words “ saving

^y On the 5th. “Mira prædicans de sanctitate, religione, ac pietate suæ beatitudinis.”—Paleotto, p. 623. The council had previously been “staggered with the news from Rome, of various promotions, at the instance of the cardinal. All were astonished and grieved that such measures should originate with a man, from whom they had great expectations in the business of reform—measures both so opposite to his own professions, and so repugnant to the decrees which had been passing, and were being prepared, in the council. So that all hopes from him were at an end, and his best friends allowed that he betrayed the infirmity of human nature.”—Mendham, p. 295.

always the authority of the Apostolic See" to be prefixed to them, but that others more judiciously thought that it would be better to append them to the laws of the whole subject of reform, when completed. This suggestion was afterwards agreed to in session. The decrees of reformation were then accepted with but little dissension; and the question by Cardinal Morone, as to whether the explanation of the proposing clause was satisfactory, met with a unanimous "*placet*." It was also determined that the next session should be held on the 9th of December, being the Thursday after the Conception of the blessed Virgin.

But even now a fresh difficulty arose from the complaints of the Neapolitan bishops against the archbishops, and more especially against their own vicars. Their chief cause of complaint was, being obliged, under pain of excommunication, to attend the metropolis of their own bishopric once every year, which answered no other purpose than ostentation. They also, pursuant to the wish formerly expressed by the archbishop of Zara, desired that they should not be subject to the visitation of their metropolitan, except for reasons approved by a provincial synod. The legates did all in their power to compose the difference, dreading the scandal that would arise, if it were known that the archbishops and bishops were disputing about their private rights and interests. The archbishops pleaded custom from time immemorial, and contended that the gradual subordination of the different ranks forming the hierarchy was a conclusive argument in favour of their claim. The bishops wished it to be put to the vote, hoping to succeed by dint of numbers. The legates vainly strove to appease the disturbance; but, to their surprise and delight, the opposing fathers were found in a minority. This, however, was found to arise from the haste with which the votes were registered, and the Neapolitans determined to spare no efforts to procure a decree in their favour at the next session.²

² Paleotto, p. 626, sq. ; Pallav. xxiii. 8.

CHAPTER LVI.

The Twenty-fourth Session.

On the 11th of November the twenty-fourth session was held, and Paleotto dwells at length upon the many strange features that distinguished it from previous assemblies. Firstly, it lasted for a whole day and part of a night; secondly, all the legates and cardinals who were present disagreed on the subject of clandestine marriages; thirdly, changes were made in three articles; fourthly, many prelates followed the opinion of the archbishop of Zara, although they scarcely knew what he had maintained; and that, even in the very time of divine worship, bishops might be seen canvassing others, and transmitting private papers—a matter that gave no small offence to the more upright portion of the assembly. Again, he remarks that when Morone declared the votes aloud, according to custom, he stated his own, Simonetta's, and another legate's dissent on the subject of clandestine marriages; which it was thought would prevent any sanction respecting the matter being passed by the session. Lastly, when in previous sessions all had held that change or addition in the canons already drawn up was impracticable, a greater number were found in the present one, who dissented from, than who agreed to, even one of the measures proposed.

On this occasion mass was celebrated by Giorgio Cornaro, bishop of Trevigi, and the sermon was preached by François Richardot, bishop of Arras. After letters had been read from Margaret, regent of Flanders, from the grand duke of Tuscany, and the grand duke of Malta, the canons and decrees on matrimony were read by the celebrant.

Various expressions of dissent greeted these canons. Morone found fault with an anathema being appended to the twelfth canon, and thought that, as regards clandestine marriages, it would be better to follow the judgment of his Holiness, since, amid so many contending opinions, the infallibility of the pontiff was the only quarter whence unity could be hoped for.

Hosius being ill, sent, on the following day, a writing, in which he also expressed his wish to leave the matter to his holiness; and also stated, that he received the ninth canon

in the sense of the council, which did not intend to define that the celibacy of the clergy results from an ecclesiastical law, but simply to condemn the very words of Luther.

Simonetta declared, that he approved of all the decrees, except the one rendering clandestine marriages void, which he declared his conscience would not allow him to approve, unless the pontiff should determine in its favour. Navagero gave his unqualified sanction to the whole. The cardinal of Lorraine repeated his objection to the sixth canon, and the word *ecclesiastical* in the ninth. Madrucci found fault with the fourth and sixth canons, and agreed with Lorraine in opposing the word *ecclesiastical* in the ninth; he also renewed his protest against the decrees on clandestine marriages, and on abduction. The patriarch of Jerusalem sharply attacked the decree respecting clandestine marriages, and declared that, as various reasons seemed to render it impossible to define on the subject, it would be best to leave the matter to the pontiff. Not to enter into further detail, almost every prelate of any eminence for learning or authority spoke on the subject, more especially the archbishops of Otranto, Verallo, Castagna, Matera, and Nicosia. After the votes had been collected, the first legate said aloud, after the usual form: "The doctrine and canons touching the sacrament of matrimony have been approved by all, but some wished that some addition or omission should be made therein. The decree on clandestine marriages has satisfied the majority of the fathers, but has displeased fifty-two; among whom is the most illustrious Cardinal Simonetta, legate of the Apostolic See, who approves not the decree, but refers himself to our most holy lord the pope. I also, as legate of the Apostolic See, approve of the decree, if it shall be approved by our most holy lord."^a

The decrees on general reformation were next read, and here an unusual event happened. It was found that the votes of the fathers required many alterations in what had been already determined in the congregations, and these objections were read aloud by the celebrant. Great confusion arose, as has already been stated, both on the preceding evening and on the very morning of the day of the

^a Pallav. xxiii. 9.

session; for the bishops, finding that their demands had not been sufficiently considered in the congregation, as they expected, took every means in their power to obtain their wishes in the session. The alterations required were in the second, third, fifth, and sixth chapters, and turned upon exempting the bishops from some of the surveillance of their metropolitans. Bishops were to be freed from the necessity of annually visiting the metropolitan church, except on such occasions as the convocation of a synod; churches, in which suffragans were resident, and their dioceses, were not to be visited by the metropolitans, except for a cause to be approved by a provincial synod; minor causes against a bishop were to be withdrawn from the metropolitan to a provincial synod; lastly, bishops were to have the power to absolve from every secret sin, even from heresy, not excepting those places in which there are inquisitions.

Many other objections were started, but of minor importance; and, at a late hour, Morone proclaimed the result of the debate, as follows:—"All the decrees are approved of by nearly all; many, however, have added appendices and explanations to various decrees, which do not change the substance thereof. In the second, third, fifth, and sixth, some matters have been noticed, which will be arranged according to the will of the majority, and will be held in as much account as though they had been arranged in the present session."

The celebrant then read the decree indicting the session for the 9th of December, with power to shorten the time if advisable. It was unanimously approved, as was also the one stating that the consideration of the sixth chapter, relative to the exemption of *chapters*,^b should be deferred till that session.^c

^b See the extract from Ranke, quoted in ch. liv.

^c No list of the assembled prelates is found in any of our authorities, but the number present was probably much the same as usual. I give the following important passage from a letter from the bishop of Ischia to Don Giovanni Mauriquez, Nov. 14, 1563, respecting the doings of this session, in the words of Mendham, p. 303:—"The writer is well pleased at the quiet and harmonious passing of the session, so much beyond expectation, although he dwells a little on the prolixity and fatigue attending it. The session, he says, was remarkable for the number and importance of the things established in it, and which, pre-

CHAPTER LVII.

Remarks on the Previous Session. Attempt to Excommunicate the Queen of Navarre.

"There was not," observes Father Paul, "such expectation of the issue of this session as of the last, as well because the general curiosity was then satisfied, as because it did not seem that the matter of matrimony could afford anything worthy of great observation. The world was more attentive to see what issue the protestation made by the French ambassadors would have, which was read with a variety of affections. Those who were ill affected to the court of Rome did commend it as true and necessary. But the pope's adherents

ceded as it was by so much controversy, could hardly have been anticipated to conclude so completely to the satisfaction of all parties. Many good reforms were resolved upon; which, chiefly referring to his holiness, plainly discovered the zeal and sincerity both of himself and his legates in the general measure. Adverting to the future session, the writer proceeds to observe, that France, in particular, stood much in need of an authentic determination on the subject of images, purgatory, and indulgences, but that it was desirable to avoid disputation, and consequent loss of time, on such subjects. It was therefore thought most expedient that certain decrees, under the head of reform of abuses, should be prepared. Disputations and subtleties, he adds, are resorted to more for ostentation of ability than for edification; since it is settled that there is a purgatory, and that the Church has power to grant indulgences; and these foundations, which are by no means to be called in question, being laid, nothing remains but to remove abuses without entering into discussion. The cardinal of Lorraine, he observes, was quite in this way of thinking; and matters were put in such a train, that if even the legates were disposed to promote disputation, it could not be done without strong expressions of repugnance. The Count di Luna, although he was in the habit of representing it as his sovereign's desire that the discussion of the theologians should precede the establishment of decrees, was yet now contented with the remedy of abuses. Controversies could only prolong the council, without credit or benefit; and the Huguenots would take advantage of such prolongation to call for national synods, which could not be done when the present council was closed and had concluded everything. Addressing the nationality of the person to whom he was writing, he says that nothing more was wanting to complete the satisfaction and joy of the council than that the king of Spain should cordially unite his endeavours with those of all the other princes in bringing the council to a speedy and prosperous termination, and his holiness would feel more indebted to him than to all the other crowned heads."

thought it as abominable as the protestation formerly made by Luther."^d

With still greater quaintness, the same author shows the reception with which the trifling and unsatisfactory attempt to explain away the representing clause was treated by those who chose to exert a little honesty and freedom of judgment. "In this last point," he observes, "which was in expectation so many months, touching the essential liberty of the council, seeing it was declared that the meaning of the synod was not to change the manner of proceeding, nor to make any addition or diminution of the old constitutions, wise men said that, concerning the council, it was a declaration contrary to the fact, and published when it did no good ; neither was there any more use of it than of medicine applied to a dead body. And some mocked, and said, that it was as much as the consolation of an honest man, whose wife had brought him children by other men, and said she did it not to do him wrong. But, by an example given to all posterity, it did teach how all violence and exorbitance might be used in council, from beginning to end, and all inconvenience done excused by such a declaration, yea, justified and maintained for lawful."^e

Nothing could be worse than the state of affairs in France. Setting aside other matters, the reception of the protestation was sufficient to bring both the pontiff and the council into great unpopularity. But, although the danger of meddling too much with the secular princes had been abundantly proved by the retirement of the protesting bishops from the council, the pontiff had, on the 22nd of October, solemnly proclaimed the queen of Navarre a heretic, and had summoned her to appear before him on that charge, under penalty of being declared to have escheated her dignities, estates, and domains, and of having her marriage declared null, and her children bastards. "The cardinal of Lorraine," observes the most recent writer on the subject,^f "had vainly tried to make the pope comprehend that this summons, particularly in the terms employed, was only a dangerous anachronism. He detested the queen ; but felt also that

^d Brent, p. 789.

^e Brent, p. 793.

^f Bungenier, *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 499 (Scott's translation).

the pope was about to compel Charles IX. to undertake her defence, and that this was not quite the way to put her down. Under this form, in fact, her cause was that of all crowned heads; heretic or not, the question was, whether she meant to return to her ancient omnipotence over states and sovereigns."

Two days previous to the holding of the twenty-fourth session, the king of France wrote to his ambassadors, commending the spirit with which they had protested against the decree respecting the reformation of princes, and their subsequent retirement to Venice; and, in a letter to the cardinal of Lorraine, he declared "that his ambassadors had protested upon great and just occasion. For as he would continue in the union and obedience of the Church, so he would preserve inviolable the rights of his crown, without suffering them to be questioned or disputed, or himself forced to show them." But his directions to Henri Clutin, Baron d'Oisel, were still more disagreeably explicit. In reference to the citation of the queen of Navarre, he bade him tell the pontiff, "that he had understood, with great displeasure, that which he did not believe by report, until he had seen a copy of the monitories affixed in Rome, that the queen was so proceeded against as that he was bound to defend her. First, in regard that the cause and danger were common to all kings, who therefore were obliged to protect her, and the rather because she was a widow; and his own obligation was the greater in respect of the near kindred he had with her by both lines, and by a greater with her husband, who had died but a little before in the war against the Protestants, leaving his sons orphans. He could not, therefore, abandon her cause, following the example of his ancestors; and the rather because he ought not to endure that any should make war against his neighbours under colour of religion; adding, that it was not pious to put the kingdoms of Spain and France, lately joined in friendship, in danger of a bloody war for this cause." . . . After further complaints, he proceeded to lay one on the grounds of the inconsistency of the pontiff's conduct, remarking, "that so many kings, princes, and cities having departed from the Church of Rome within forty years past, he had not proceeded in the same manner with any other; which showed well that he did it not for the good of the queen's

soul, but for other ends." He wished his holiness to consider, that power was given to popes for the salvation of souls, not to deprive princes of their states, nor to order anything in earthly possessions, which, having been formerly attempted by them in Germany, did much trouble the public quiet. He entreated the pope to revoke all his acts against the queen, protesting that, in case he did not, he would proceed to those remedies which his predecessors had used. He also complained of the cause of the bishops, and commanded his ambassador, that, declaring unto him the ancient examples, the liberties and immunities of the French church, and the authority of the kings in causes ecclesiastical, he should pray the pope not to make any innovation."^g

The remonstrance of the Spanish king, supported as it was by a press of circumstances against which papal diplomacy could avail but little, proved successful, and the display of papal fireworks was given up. Indeed, it may perhaps be doubted whether the proposed citation of the queen was not rather the necessary concomitant of some foregone measures, than a new scheme in which the pontiff felt vehemently interested. At all events, the papal fulminations against the queen of Navarre may be looked upon in the same light as those directed against Henry VIII., or those contemplated against Queen Elizabeth,—as a mere display of stage bombast, which, while it assumed a dignity not its own, lost the credit which it was its first duty to support.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Desire for a Conclusion of the Council.

I have so often of late adverted to the evident anxiety of all parties to see the council brought to a conclusion, that I can do little else than detail a few of the proximate events which led to, or the means which brought about, that consummation. Much as we must regard the conclusion of this council as a hurried proceeding, we cannot help perceiving and admiring a degree of energy in its latter proceedings, which, had it been applied at an earlier period, might have rescued it from much of the charge of incompetency which

^g See the continuation of Visconti's instructions, in Mendham, p. 292.

must ever cling to its remembrance. But whilst we admire the despatch with which long-pondered questions were now dismissed, we are more and more impressed with the fact, that hasty conclusions are no conclusions at all; and that in the often intemperate, often unfairly obtained, declarations of the Council of Trent, we behold the skeleton of an outgrown and obsolete monster, which, while we marvel at the ingenuity and magnitude of its physical complications, defies our speculations as to its utility; and, while it hangs midway between conventional falsehood and revealed truth, makes us lament over the ingenuity that could adapt itself to the aggrandizement of the Church, at the expense of religion—of the temporal to the obliteration of the spiritual; and which, while it could forget Christ on but too many occasions, never lost sight of his worldly representative, who claimed the keys of that heaven which was so often practically denied.

But although the pontiff was foiled in his attempt to assert the presumptuous and unscriptural prerogative, which formed one of the main abuses of the papal scheme, he nevertheless found the king of Spain a valuable adherent, whose ambition was fostered, while his pride was occasionally wounded, by the conduct of the pontiff. Great as was the opposition maintained by his prelates, his support of their views was far from consistent; and the pontiff, however he might be vexed by their fierce and daring opposition, still felt too secure of his interest with royalty, to dread any serious results from conscientious struggles.

On the evening of the day of the last session, the legates despatched a messenger to Paris, informing him of the satisfactory conclusion of their long-prorogued labours. His failing health and spirits seemed to derive a new impetus from this favourable news; and he urged the legates to bring the council to an immediate close. He at the same time despatched letters of thanks to the cardinal of Lorraine and the Count di Luna, for their share in the prosperous termination of a matter which had been to him rife with so great anxiety.

The legates, however, stood but little in need of any stimulus to action; for on the 12th of November, the day after the session, they had assembled a meeting for this very purpose, consisting of Madrucci, Lorraine, and twenty-five prelates of various nations. The French cardinal urged the

necessity of bringing the council to a termination at once, chiefly on account of the exigencies of France, alleging that that nation had been the chief cause of its convocation; and, after enumerating subsequent events, he stated that, if the present synod were not terminated, the result would be a national council, from which all manner of mischief would naturally arise. If, therefore, they had any regard for the safety of France, they must put a finishing stroke to the labours of the council.^h

Others were of the same opinion, dreading the mischiefs which might arise, should the pontiff or the emperor die while the council was yet sitting, and likewise perceiving the evils which resulted from the absence of the prelates.ⁱ As to the manner of concluding the council, they held that it would be sufficient to propose such points as had been left undecided respecting the subject of reformation and the regulars; since the remaining doctrines of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the use of images and indulgences, had been sufficiently explained and settled in previous councils, it would be sufficient to state these doctrines briefly, and to correct any abuses thereupon. "The majority," observes M. Bungener, "felt that such an omission would be very strange. They refused, but, as we have seen them do before, they promised to abandon all the points on which the members should not be immediately agreed, or on which disagreement might be apprehended."^k In a word, all parties looked upon the council as a bugbear, that must be smothered out of the way as soon as possible; and those, who felt how much reason popery had to be thankful to the doctrine of general indistinctness, revelled in the delightful hope of being spared the necessity of giving a clear account of what they either held or disbelieved. Our own times have witnessed a parliamentary session sleeping through two-thirds of its time, and then hurrying through measures which necessity forced upon them, but for which their previous inactivity rendered them but doubtfully prepared. With the Council of Trent the fact

^h Paleotto, p. 631.

ⁱ All the prelates agreed in the necessity of hastening the conclusion of the council, except the bishops of Lerida and Leon, who wished first to ascertain the opinion of the king of Spain.—Pallav. xxiv. 2, 4.

^k History, p. 501 (Scott's translation).

was the same, but the reasons were different. They had foreseen the evil, but shrunk from meeting it. They had perceived that, once engaged in the attack, their means of resistance were but doubtful, and they had sought to strengthen them by a cautious delay, while they had never ceased to look out for means of defence in all directions. When the Council of Trent was inactive, it was inactive not from an unwillingness to proceed, but from doubts as to the expediency of proceeding. It did not forget questions likely to prove awkward, but it strove to evade them. Above all, it knew how little its own advocates were to be trusted on many points; and it preferred leaving open a breach to the attacks of an outward enemy, to springing a mine within its own walls, and, by mooted points on which Catholics differed, leaving room for Protestant conviction to work its way. Yet there is an appearance of languor in the last proceedings of this council, that seems the characteristic of an imperfect work, of a measure which had outgrown its own proportions, and which had but half satisfied those who were so vehemently urgent for its consummation.

CHAPTER LIX.

Preliminary Meetings to the Twenty-fifth Session.

On the 13th of November, five prelates were chosen to draw up articles on the remaining matters of doctrine, and the results of their labours were laid before a general congregation on the 15th. So earnest was the attention also paid to the fourteen remaining articles of discipline, that by the 18th all the fathers had stated their opinions. The two most important changes recommended in these latter were, that bishops should everywhere take precedence of those in the inferior orders; but this was modified upon a suggestion of the cardinal of Lorraine as to the inconvenience that would result from this, when bishops did not appear in pontifical robes. It was also proposed to abolish coadjutor bishops; but the same prelate represented, that by their means many monasteries in France were kept in existence, and that they seldom gave rise to complaints. He, however, recommended that they should not be appointed without serious reason,—a measure in which he was supported by

seventy-eight prelates, as well as by others who took a more modified view.

Four additional chapters were also proposed, and met with approbation. The first of these, at the advice of Frà Bartolomeo de' Martiri, archbishop of Braga, prescribed the method of life which prelates ought to follow, and the manner of spending their revenues; the second referred to lay tithes; the third regulated the use of excommunication; and the fourth ordered archives to be instituted in each church, for the preservation of records. This was at the instance of the archbishop of Granada.

Twenty-two chapters of reformation of regulars were likewise proposed, eight of which concern nuns. The votes on these subjects only occupied four days, and the illness of the pope rendered even the efforts of the Count di Luna to retard the progress of the council wholly fruitless. In the examination of the present decrees, the fathers were considerably assisted by the examination which had been made during the secession to Bologna.

On the 2nd of December, the fathers laid before a general congregation the result of their investigations regarding purgatory, images, relics, the invocation of saints, as well as certain matters of discipline. On indulgences, however—the original cause of the convocation of the council—no decree was forthcoming!

And how was this difficulty met or evaded? The imperial party felt annoyed at the absence of a decree on a subject of so much importance, and one which had been the main point at issue when secession began. But they preferred doing without this, to suffering the French prelates to depart before the conclusion of the council, which seemed likely to be the inevitable consequence of a further protraction. Morone briefly endeavoured to impress upon them the necessity of haste; he bade them keep God only before their eyes, and remember that the synod was free, adding, in the words of St. Paul, "I would that those who trouble us were not destroyed, but converted."

The decree respecting purgatory passed without opposition, although some discussion took place as to the propriety of making mention of the place of purgatory, and of the fire, as had been done by the Council of Florence. "Others said,

that this being hard to do, and impossible to find words to express it which might give satisfaction to all, it was better to say only that the good works of the faithful did help the dead for the remission of their sins." The archbishop of Lanciauo observed, that "in handling the mass mention was made of sacrifice being offered for those who are deceased in Christ, not entirely purged; by which words the doctrine of purgatory was sufficiently defined; so that nothing remained to be done but to enjoin the bishops to cause it to be preached, and to take away the abuses, taking care also that there be no want of prayers for the dead."¹

It is far from my intention to attempt a fresh refutation of doctrines, upon which our greatest divines have exhausted all that learning and reason can advance; but we cannot but be surprised at the readiness with which all these points of doctrine were hurried over, and how confidently Rome thought fit to assume what she could not prove.^m

As to the matter of the invocation of saints, the fathers speedily agreed; but as to the worship or reverence due to images, there was much more doubt. Lanciauo maintained that no worship was due unto them, but by relation to the thing signified. "But Lainez, the general, who was also one of the composers of the decrees, added, that when they were dedicated and put in place of adoration, a worship did belong unto them, besides the adoration due to the saints worshipped in them, calling this adoration *relative* and the other *objective*. He proved his opinion, because the vessels and vestments consecrated deserve a reverence belonging unto them, by virtue of the consecration, though they do not represent any saint; and so an adoration is due to the image dedicated by virtue of the dedication, besides the reason of the representation. The cardinal of Worms, for the satisfaction of both, concluded that the opinion of the archbishop

¹ Sarpi, p. 798, sq., Brent.

^m I need scarcely remind my readers of the apologetic treatise of Bossuet, "Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les Matières de Controverse," in which all these points are briefly and neatly handled. The answer to it, by Archbishop Wake, or the oft-quoted "View," by Bishop Marsh, should be read at the same time. Much that is useful will also be found in Cox's "Protestantism and Popery."

ought to be expressed, as easier and plainer, but without expressions calculated to prejudice the other."ⁿ

We may observe, that as the mode and character of the worship to be paid to images was left wholly undefined, so the practice of Roman Catholics is in this respect remarkably inconsistent. It would be as absurd to lay (as is too often the fashion) a wholesale charge of idolatry against the members of that church, as it would be to attempt to deny the idolatrous tendency of such worship. Excess of symbolism becomes a substitute for, not a medium of, the silent and earnest devotion by which the soul should best commune with its Creator.

I have so often dwelt upon the effects of a taste for art in promoting this exaggerated admiration of religious symbols, and upon its liability to paganize Christianity, that it seems almost superfluous to say much in the present instance. Yet it is painful to reflect, that—setting aside the minute yet manifold differences of faith or observance which are found among Roman Catholics on this subject—almost all that the early Christian apologists brought to bear against the Pantheon of ancient mythologies, is more or less applicable to different features of the Roman ritual. The lover of art cannot turn with disgust from the splendid missals, the glorious illuminations, or even from the quaint and incorrect drawings of the Middle Ages. Many may long to behold the Poppedom at an end; but few would not sigh over the ruins of St. Peter's. The religion of Rome is a religion of effect, of outward appeal; but the means it employs too frequently supersede the end; the Deity is too often for-

ⁿ "The Council of Trent did indeed decline to give a clear decision in this matter, and only decreed that due worship should be given to images, but did not determine what that due worship was. And though it appears by the decree that there were abuses committed among them in that matter, yet they only appoint some regulations, concerning such images as were to be suffered, and that others were to be removed; but they left the divines to fight out the matter concerning the due worship that ought to be given to images. They were then in haste, and intended to offend no party; and as they would not justify all that had been said or done concerning the worship of images, so they would condemn no part of it; yet they confirmed the Nicene Council, and in particular made use of that maxim of theirs, that the honour of the type goes to the prototype, and thus they left it as they found it. So that the dispute goes on still as hot as ever."—Burnet, p. 239.

gotten in the painter or the sculptor; and the example of some saint, whose greatest glory was his humble poverty, is forgotten in the brightly-illuminated effigy, which heads the tale of his martyrdom.^o

The decrees on reformation were settled without much discussion, even the obnoxious question of the exemption of chapters being suffered to pass unnoticed. It was then proposed^p that the concluding session should be begun on the 3rd of December, and finished on the 4th, to which all the fathers except fourteen assented.

As the canons and decrees of this session are readily accessible, it will be useless to repeat them here; but a few observations, calculated to show their tendency to interfere with the *civil* power, deserve to be introduced here.

In the fifth article of the first decree of reformation, magistrates and princes are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to aid bishops in confining within the cloister nuns who should attempt to escape. "Now governments," observes M. Bungener, "the most disposed, by being Roman Catholics, to act in this spirit, have never admitted that the Church had the right to require it at their hands."

Again, observes the same writer, the "fixing sixteen years as the minimum age required for the validity of vows, was a

^o Compare the following interesting passage on the motives for the introduction of images:—"The Synod of Arras, in 1025, declared, as Benedict Biscop had done, that the illiterate contemplated in the lineaments of painting what they, never having learned to read, could not discern in writing. An ecclesiastical chronicler of Auxerre supports, in an interesting passage, the texts which precede and confirm the religious dogma concerning images. It is stated in his "*Histoire des Evêques d'Auxerre*," that under Bishop Geoffrey, son of Hugh, count of Nevers, in the time of Henry I., the cathedral of Auxerre was partially destroyed by a conflagration. The bishop, in the space of one year, caused it to be repaired, the stained glass replaced, and the whole covered with a roof of timber and tiles. He commanded the circular wall of the inclosure, surrounding the altar, to be filled with fresco portraits of the holy bishops his predecessors. He desired by this means, not only to divert the eye of the officiating priests from the contemplation of all vain and profane objects, but, above all, to assist those who were likely to be distracted by vanity or weariness, that in the presence of these images, and at the recollection of all those pious persons, disinterred as it were by painting, the mind of each was recalled, as by a living counsellor, to the courage of piety."—Didron's *Christian Iconography* (Millington), p. 4.

^p Cf. Pallav. xxiv. 4, 12.

compromise between the custom that prevailed of pronouncing them much earlier, and the term eighteen, twenty, and even thirty years, generally asked by the princes; but this regulation, so inadequate in itself, has never been seriously observed. Girls destined to the cloister continued to enter as children, and their liberty was, in point of fact, engaged long before they took the vows. Another enjoined, it is true, that before admitting them to the solemn profession, the bishop should ascertain that they came to it with their full consent; but what was there to fear from those wills so fashioned and impressed? The council had no need to excommunicate whosoever should *force* a girl to embrace the religious life; the field remained, and will ever remain, open to indirect compulsion, to skilful circumvention. It was said, in fine, that the renunciations and donations of the novices in favour of their convents should not be valid till after their vows. A very wise regulation; but no more had that any effect but to redouble the eagerness of the monasteries to retain those whose patrimony they coveted.”¹

I shall conclude this subject with another equally apposite extract from Bishop Marsh.

“There is a decree of the Council of Trent, in which ‘the emperor, kings, dukes, princes,’ etc., are specifically named. It relates not indeed to heresy; it relates to duelling; but it is no less an invasion of *temporal* rights. For, all who fight duels, as well as their seconds, are by this decree not only excommunicated, but incur the forfeiture of all their goods. Now, whatever punishment may be due in such cases, it is not the province of an *ecclesiastical* council to punish by the confiscation of *private property*; and the very attempt is a gross violation of the temporal rights vested in independent states, to which alone the subjects of those states are amenable, and not to any foreign *ecclesiastical* power. But this is not all. For, ‘the emperor, kings, dukes, princes,’ etc., are in the same degree declared ‘*eo ipso* excommunicated,’ if they suffer duelling in their territories. And moreover, the city, castle, or place in which the duel was fought, is withdrawn from their jurisdiction. It may be argued, indeed, that such a law, made merely by *ecclesiastical* authority,

¹ History of the Council of Trent, p. 535 (Scott’s translation).

which has not the power of *enforcing* it, is nothing better than a *brutum fulmen*. But it must be remembered, that the Church of Rome commands obedience, not by the sword of civil justice, but by the dread of spiritual censures. And as long as either kings, or their subjects, have the weakness to believe that excommunication from the Church of Rome is *exclusion from salvation*, unless atonement be made, such as satisfies the Church, they will be willing slaves of its authority."^r

CHAPTER LX.

The Twenty-fifth Session.

On the 3rd of December, the session was opened by mass being celebrated by Zambeccaro, bishop of Salmona, and a sermon preached by Hieronymo Ragazzone, bishop of Nazianzum.^s The decrees of doctrine were then read, and were unanimously approved, except by Marano, bishop of Monte, and by the bishop of Guadix, who made a very natural protest against the hurried manner in which they had been prepared and passed. The chapters on reformation passed with equal freedom from interruption, with the exception of the twentieth chapter, on secular princes, and the twenty-first, which many thought useless and inefficient.

A decree, proroguing the session till the following day, on account of the lateness of the hour, was then read and approved, and the meeting broke up with the customary hymn. As soon as divine service was concluded, the legates busied themselves in preparing a decree on indulgences, as, although Morone objected to touching upon so contentious a subject altogether, or, at all events, to treating of it in an incomplete and hasty manner, the general voice was urgent in demanding it. The cardinal of Lorraine observed, that, unless some mention were made of indulgences, the error of the heretics might be confirmed, and that every omission made an excuse for convoking a fresh council.

The decree was finished that night; and, at an early hour

^r Marsh, *l. c.* p. 248, sq.

^s This discourse is appended to my edition of the "Decrees and Canons." Its author was an excellent scholar, and seems to have been the first who carefully inquired into the chronological arrangement of Cicero's epistles, on which he published a commentary.

the following morning, laid before the ambassadors and several prelates. Morone still confessed his dissatisfaction at anything being defined on the subject; but all the others seemed unanimous in favour of the decree. "There were, however, withdrawn from it some words, which expressly prohibited the paying of any certain sum of money for indulgences, not even when what are called suspensions are given; and these words were withdrawn in favour of the Count di Luna, because they appeared to be industriously selected to designate the Spanish cruzada."^t

In consequence of this delay, the session was opened at a later hour than usual, and mass having been celebrated by Niccolo Maria Caracciolo, bishop of Catanai, business was at once proceeded with.

The decree on indulgences was read first, and after it, the decrees touching the choice of meats, and festivals; on the Index Expurgatorius, the catechism, breviary, and missal; on the places to be occupied by ambassadors, and on the reception and observation of the decrees passed by the council. In this last decree, a few words, intimating the right of appeal to a future council, were added at the instance of the Spanish ambassador. The decree on indulgences was opposed by about twenty bishops, chiefly Spanish, who remonstrated against the clause omitted respecting the cruzada. It was then determined, that all the decrees, both on doctrine and reformation, which had been passed under Paul III. and Julius III., should be read. After this, the fathers were asked whether it seemed good that the council should be closed, and that the sovereign pontiff should be requested to confirm all the decrees passed since the opening of the council. All were unanimous in favour of both proposals, except the archbishop of Granada, who replied: "It pleases me that the synod be terminated, but I ask not a confirmation thereof." Three Spanish bishops, on the contrary, exclaimed: "I seek a confirmation, as being necessary."

Those historians^u who were eye-witnesses of the scene, dwell with enthusiasm upon the heartfelt delight and triumph which was displayed by the assembly. But it may

^t Mendham, p. 312, from Paleotto. Cf. Pallav. xxiv. 8, 1.

^u See Mendham, p. 314.

be questioned whether the greater portion of this feeling was not traceable to the fact of being delivered from a bugbear of eighteen years' standing, and whether the fathers had not more reason to be thankful for what they had escaped from doing, than satisfied with what they had really done.

The acclamations of the fathers, which had been composed by the cardinal of Lorraine, upon the model of those used in ancient synods, were then given; and the legates, having forbidden, under pain of excommunication, any of the fathers leaving Trent, without first subscribing their assent to the decrees of the council, or leaving an authentic statement of their approval, the solemn blessing was given, and the council broke up.^x

CHAPTER LXI.

Reception of the News at Rome. Confirmation of the Council.

A copy of the decrees was drawn up and authenticated by Massarelli, and the notaries of the council, and signed with the names of two hundred and fifty-five prelates.^y It was also proposed at first to add the signatures of those ambassadors, who were still present; since, although the absence of the French ambassadors would detract from the value of that addition, still, as they were the representatives of their respective princes, it would be a kind of guarantee for the reception and observance of the decrees in different nations. But here the Count di Luna was again the opponent of the legates, refusing to sign, unless the clause, "provided his Catholic majesty consent," were added. However, two days after, the ambassadors, with the exception of the count, unanimously tendered their acceptance and subscriptions in distinct documents, according to their order of sitting in the council—a

^x Compare Pallav. xxiv. 9, 14, 15.

^y *I. e.* the four legates, two other cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine proctors of absent prelates, seven abbots, and seven generals of orders. We may observe that the abbots of Clairvaux and Clugny approved of the decrees of doctrine without reserve or qualification; but as regards those of reformation, they merely expressed their willingness to obey them. After the words "I subscribe," all added "defining" (*definiendo*), except the proctors, who, as far as their proctorial office was concerned, had no definitive voice in the council.]

measure well calculated to prevent any disputes about precedence. Thus four instruments were drawn up; one containing the assent of all the imperial ambassadors, together with those of Poland, Savoy, Florence, and Jerusalem; the second, the abbot of Vaudois, as representing the Swiss Church; the third, the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors; the fourth, the approval of Melchior Lussi, ambassador on behalf of the Swiss Catholics.

The news of the termination of the council did much to restore the health of the pontiff, and, as Pallavicino² quaintly admits, "he could ill have spared that illness, which had proved so beneficial to the Church." Not being, however, well enough to hold a consistory, he gave orders, in a consistorial congregation on the 12th of December, that public thanks should be returned to God, and a solemn procession made from St. Peter's to the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, for which he grants ample indulgences.

Morone and Simonetta reached Rome very shortly; but Navagero and Osius were so anxious to return to their dioceses, that they craved and obtained leave to waive the triumphal rejoicings which would have greeted their entrance into the Capitol. But with the officers of the court of Rome, matters were far different. Pallavicino cavils at Father Paul for some minute differences of statement; but in reality their opinions on this subject are identical.^a However inefficient the council may have been in reaching the offences of great sinners—a deficiency, be it remembered, common to most legislative movements—it had brought many minor offences to light, and threatened to sweep away, or abridge, the peculations of many a sinecurist and impostor. It is wholly unfair to deny the superiority of the latter sessions of the council in this respect; and we can well imagine that the known activity and firmness of Pius IV. left few consolatory doubts as to such reforms being carried into execution with most disagreeable promptness.

It is of little use to detail the attempts made to prevent the confirmation of the council, as they proved wholly fruitless. Neither political discontent nor querulous cupidity could stagger the pontiff in the resolution he had formed;

² xxiv. 9, 1.

^a See this well argued by Courayer, v. ii. p. 751.

and on the 30th of December he appointed Morone and Simonetta to enforce the execution of the decrees; commanded all prelates to return to their churches forthwith; and the cardinals to resign such bishoprics as they could not personally attend to. The decree respecting the establishment of seminaries he praised as divinely inspired, and declared his determination to set the first example of carrying out so admirable a scheme. To expedite business, he empowered the cardinals Cicala, Vitelli, and Borromeo, to assist the legates in devising the best means of confirming the council, and carrying out its decrees to the fullest extent.^b

In a consistory, held on the 26th of January, 1564, after speaking of the conduct of the legates and the piety of the fathers in the highest terms of praise, the pontiff received the formal request for the confirmation of the council.^c The bull of confirmation was accordingly prepared on the same day, and signed by all the cardinals then at Rome. A letter of Cardinal Borromeo also states that copies of the decrees were printed, and sent to the prelates in every province, and that the pontiff intended to depute trusty messengers to all the princes, exhorting them to practise and enforce their observance, while he busied himself with the reformation of the Roman court.

Some controversy had arisen as to the time, after which the decrees of the council should come into operation. The pontiff therefore issued a bull, declaring, that, although the decrees had been observed at Rome from the very first period of their promulgation, they should not be held obligatory until the 1st of May, 1564. One of the reasons of this lenity was, the desire to obtain a sufficient number of correctly printed copies for distribution throughout Christendom. On the 2nd of August, he issued a third bull, empowering a congregation of eight cardinals to enforce the execution of the decrees.

^b Pallavicino, *l. c.* § 7, also mentions some good resolutions of the pontiff, with regard to the election of fit persons as bishops, but they do not seem to have amounted to anything very definite. On the conclusion of the council, the reader may compare v. ii. p. 454, sqq., “De la Historia Pontifical y Catholica, compuerta y ordenada por el Doctor Gonçalo de Illescas.” MDLXXVIII.

^c The form of petition and the reply, together with the bull of confirmation, are given at the end of the “Decrees and Canons.”

CHAPTER LXII.

The Interpretation of the Decrees forbidden.

But amidst the progress of Tridentine business there is one point which tempts us to digress for a brief interval—we mean the following passage in the bull for the confirmation of the council.

“ We, by apostolical authority, forbid all persons, as well ecclesiastics, of what order, condition, and rank soever they may be, as laymen, with what honour and power soever invested ; prelates to wit, under pain of being interdicted from entering the Church, and all others, whosoever they be, under pain of excommunication incurred by the fact, that they presume, *without our authority*, to publish, in any form, any commentaries, glosses, annotations, scholia, or any kind of interpretation soever touching the decrees of the said council ; or to settle anything in regard thereof, under any plea soever, even under pretext of greater corroboration of the decrees, or the execution thereof, or under any other colourable pretext soever.”

So much for the *liberty* of the council ; now for a little bit of papal modesty !

“ And if anything therein [*i.e.* in these decrees] shall seem to any one to have been expressed and ordained obscurely, and it shall, on that account, appear to stand in need of an interpretation or decision, let him *go up to the place which the Lord hath chosen* ; to wit, to the Apostolic See,^d the mistress of all the faithful, whose authority the holy synod also has so reverently acknowledged. For if any difficulties and controversies shall arise touching the said decrees, we reserve them to be by us explained and decided, even as the holy synod has itself in like manner decreed ; being prepared, as that [synod] has justly expressed its confidence in regard of us, to provide for the necessities of all the provinces, in such manner as shall seem to us most convenient ; decreeing that whatsoever may be attempted to the contrary touching these

^d I do not know to whose ingenuity we are indebted for this splendid interpretation of Deut. xvii. 8. Its modesty, however, is only equalled by its probability.

matters, whether wittingly or unwittingly, by any one, by what authority soever, is, notwithstanding, null and void."

If papal innovation ever proceeded to extremes, it was on this occasion. After fettering the council with the supervision of legates, who not only proposed the subjects of debate, but did so with the immediate knowledge and approval of the pontiff—after making a decree explaining away that measure with a compliment to the freedom of the council—the fathers are forbidden to interpret the decrees which, we are taught to believe, they had themselves drawn up. Of a truth, this was indeed the last pack laid on the camel's back, and it is difficult to say whether the effrontery of the pontiff, or the abject prostration of so large an assembly, is most worthy of surprise.

I have already dwelt on the gradual influence acquired by the scholastic philosophy over the theology of the Catholic Church, and the disputes, occurring at almost every important discussion in this assembly, fully show how greatly the study of the schoolmen operated in producing differences, even upon essential points of Catholicism, among those whose orthodoxy was little questioned even by their opponents. Furthermore, we have seen how cautiously many proposed decrees and canons were omitted, shortened, or modified, in order to meet the contending views, and flatter the inconsistencies, of rival parties in the Church. But who knows to what consequences these two-sided enactments might have led, if divines had once begun to pamphlet one another on this subject? Who will say what awkward revelations might not have been made by those who had given a half-faced, half-qualified assent in the council, and who might have inundated Rome with explanations and manifestoes? Might not a few high-spirited prelates have again indulged in a few mutual anathemas; which, however diverting to the lookers-on, might engender a belief that the unity produced by the Tridentine code was a fiction? The pontiff knew well how far to trust the synod, and equally well knew how to trade in their implicit belief in, and constant references to, himself. The council had given him quite trouble enough; and he was resolved that a paper war should not spoil the small amount of quiet which its conclusion had procured. Whilst, therefore, we feel surprised at the assumption of the representative of

St. Peter, we cannot help feeling, that, if, to this very day,^e it has prevented the honest Roman Catholic from attempting to understand and expound what he is taught to believe, it has at the same time spared us many leviathan volumes of verbiage and contradiction.

There is something almost grand in this anticlimax to an assembly of eighteen years' duration. There is a stern sublimity, an abrupt solemnity of the ridiculous, which cannot be laughed at. Let us, for the sake of illustration, fancy the sovereign of this country gravely forbidding the two houses of Parliament, and the gentlemen of the bench, to understand or interpret what they had themselves enacted. Let us briefly figure, in our own minds, the exalted opinion which our neighbours would form of the efficiency of our ministry, and the intelligence of our public. Alas ! to play with puppets is no prerogative of childhood. Great men, and popes among their number, have sported with delight amidst the gaudy frippery and brittle furniture of an intellectual doll's-house. Pope Pius IV. consummated the analogy. *He* would have no speaking puppets, save those who spoke through his own mouthpiece ; and his example has been followed by more recent rulers in Catholic countries.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Reception of the Decrees of the Council.

The details of the reception of the decrees of this council belong rather to the history of a subsequent period, than to that which is the object of the present work.^f I shall there-

^e For example, Dr. Waterworth, my learned predecessor in the history and decrees of Trent, says in his preface : "Many notes, and especially numerous references to previous councils, had been prepared, to elucidate the meaning of the council, but, after much reflection, they have been, almost entirely, suppressed, for fear of infringing on a *wise and extensive prohibition*, issued in the bull of confirmation, against glosses, and other such attempts at illustrating the decrees of the council" (p. vii.).

^f Out of many works and tracts on the subject, I may recommend to the perusal of my readers the two following :—"Histoire de la Réception du Concile de Trente dans les différens états Catholiques ; avec les pièces justificatives, servant à prouver que les décrets et réglemens ecclésiastiques ne peuvent et ne doivent être exécutés sans l'autorité des souverains." By the Abbé Mignot : Amst. MDCCLVI. His earlier

fore confine myself to a very brief sketch of matters bearing on the reception of the decrees just after their enactment, merely observing, that the progress of their influence, and the various favourable or opposite circumstances under which they have gained or lost ground, must be sought for throughout the vast mass of ecclesiastical literature, whether doctrinal or historical. Scarcely a book has been, or can be written on a religious subject, without some reference, more or less direct, to the proceedings and decrees of this council.

As might be expected, the Italian party were foremost in demonstrations of their approval. The republic of Venice, in particular, ordered the decrees to be solemnly published in the church of San Marco, and enjoined their observance throughout their whole dominions. The pontiff, according to Pallavicino,^g was not wanting in showing substantial acknowledgment of their obedience, appointing a magnificent house near the church, built to the memory of the same saint by Paul II., as a dwelling for the Venetian ambassadors, and eulogizing, in high terms, the fidelity of their senate towards the Apostolic See.

Equally satisfactory to the pontiff was the reception of the decrees in Portugal. But the king of Spain caused some anxiety; for, although, on the 2nd of July, he issued a decree, commanding the observance of the decrees in the Spanish dominions, and on the 17th, in Sicily, and subsequently in Flanders and Naples, he was evidently dissatisfied with the conduct of the pontiff, and appears to have, at all events in the first instance,^h enforced obedience to these decrees in his own name, and without any reference to the pontiff. But the doubts of Pius were soon consoled by a change of conduct; and the beneficial influence of the Spanish and Portuguese princes was felt in the reception of the council in their dependent provinces in America, the Indies, and Africa, as far as they were adapted to the natural requisitions of those churches.

materials are chiefly drawn from Sarpi. The other work, which chiefly concerns its reception in France, is by Courayer, at the end of his translation of Father Paul. § xxiv. 11.

^h See the passage of Du Thou quoted by Courayer, p. 759, *n.* 79. From Pallavicino, xxix. 12, it seems that whatever opposition the king may have offered in the first instance, he smothered his resentment, and even apologized for the withdrawal of his ambassador from the assembly.

With regard to Germany, the emperor and his son Maximilian expressed their willingness to receive the council, if the pope would permit the use of the chalice, and the marriage of priests. To the latter demand Pius gave a firm refusal ; but permitted certain bishops to administer the communion under both kinds, but under certain restrictions. It is, however, obvious that there was then as little chance as there is in the present day for the reception of the decrees of this council in a country where Protestantism had taken such firm root.

With the French nation matters were different ; but it is sufficient to observe, that while the decrees respecting discipline have seldom been enforced either by civil or ecclesiastical authorities, the doctrines have been maintained with a consistency greater than might be expected from the variable character of that people.ⁱ

CHAPTER LXIV.

Further Remarks on the alleged Freedom of the Council. Position of England in relation thereunto. Letter of Bishop Jewell.

After what I have said on the subject of the bull forbidding the interpretation of the decrees and canons, it seems almost superfluous to discuss the oft-mooted question of the freedom of the assembly, more especially as I have taken ample care to point out the subjection of the council to the legates, and, through them, to the pontiff. The following observations of Father Paul, although partly impugned by Pallavicino, give us some insight into the views which people entertained on that subject even at the conclusion of the council.

“The consistorial act of confirmation, and the bull, were printed together with the decrees, which gave matter of speech, it appearing by the tenor of them that the decrees had not vigour as constituted by the council, but as confirmed by the pope. Whereupon it was said that one had heard the cause, and another had given the sentence. Neither could it be said that the pope had seen the decrees before he confirmed them ; because it did appear by the consistorial act that he

ⁱ This point is well urged by Waterworth, p. cexlv. sq. But Courayer's tract on the subject well deserves the reader's attention.

had only seen the decree for desiring the confirmation. They said also, that the decrees made under Paul and Julius were read in Trent, and that it was fit they should be confirmed by those that heard them, rather than by him that did not know them. But others avowed that there was no need that the pope should then see them, because nothing was done in Trent which was not first resolved by him. In many consistories following, the pope spoke for the observation of the decrees of the council, saying he would observe them himself, although he was not bound, and gave his word that he would never derogate from them but for evident and urgent causes, and with consent of the cardinals. He charged Morone and Simonetta to be diligent in advertising him, if anything contrary were proposed, or handled in the consistory, which was but a small remedy against the transgressions; because not a hundredth part of the grants made in Rome are despatched in consistory. He sent the bishops to their residence, and resolved to make use of the protonotaries and referendaries in governing the city of Rome and this ecclesiastical state."^k

There is, however, a point in which we are more immediately interested, namely, the position of the English nation in reference to this council. It cannot be denied, that Roman Catholics had little reason to thank Henry VIII. or Elizabeth for the part they took; nor is it easy to acquit either of these princes of the charges of persecution brought against them, especially when the brutal inconsistencies^l of the former are taken into consideration. But the truth is, that the influence of the Council of Trent upon this country was, at the time of its conclusion, nullified by the defiance shown to the papal authority by our monarch.

^k Brent, p. 818.

^l "Henry VIII. was so far from being a friend or favourer of the Protestants, that he was a most bitter persecutor of them—(after this, the pope himself, though he was not well pleased to lose so sweet a morsel as England was, so well approved of Henry VIII.'s rigorous proceedings against the Protestants, that he proposed him to the emperor as a pattern for his imitation);—inasmuch as some strangers in those days coming into England have admired to see one suffer for denying the pope's supremacy, and another for being a Protestant, at the same time; so, though they looked divers ways, yet, like Samson's foxes, each had his firebrand at his tail."—Arch. Bramhall, v. i. p. 117.

No council convoked by the pope could be attended by a country which had determined to legislate for itself in matters of religion, and which treated the very head of that council with derision. Almost from the very first convocation of the council, England seems to have been too much for the Roman pontiff, and such measures of aggression as were agitated against the religious liberty which she had vindicated to herself soon fell to the ground.

But in her resistance to the council, and in the determination of her prelates to absent themselves from its assemblies, England only copied the example of other continental states. Nor was our insular position without its influence in preventing communication with the Tridentine meetings. Even had those in power been willing to sanction their visits, prelates would have been unable and unwilling to leave their dioceses for an indefinite period, especially when their minds were by no means satisfied as to their personal safety in so doing.

A letter of Bishop Jewell, appended to most of the English translations of Father Paul, contains some curious remarks on the council ; some of which, as showing the doubts entertained as to the œcumenicity of the assembly, deserve a place in this chapter. It is described as "a letter written by John Jewell, bishop of Sarum, unto one Signor Scipio, a gentleman in Venice, in answer of an expostulatory letter of his concerning the Council of Trent."

After some general remarks on the charge of schism made in the letter to which he is replying, he observes : "We wonder, say you, that no ambassadors from England come to the council. I pray you, sir, do Englishmen only not come to this council ? Were you yourself present at the council ? Did you take a muster of them ? Did you count them by the poll ? Did you see that all other nations were met from all parts, except only the English ? If you have such a mind to wonder, why do you not wonder at this too, that neither the venerable patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, nor Presbyter John, nor the Grecians, Armenians, Persians, Egyptians, Moors, Ethiopians, or Indians come to the council ? For do not many of these people believe in Christ ? Have they not bishops ? Are they not baptized in the name of Christ ? Be they not Christians and

so called? Or did there come ambassadors from all these nations to the council? Or will you rather say that the pope did not call them, or that your ecclesiastical decrees take no hold of them?

“But we wonder more at this, that the pope would afterwards call such men to a council, whom beforehand he had condemned for heretics, and openly pronounced them excommunicated, without hearing either them or their pleas. For that men should be first condemned and punished, and afterwards brought to their trial, is absurd, and as we say, ‘the cart before the horse.’ But I would fain be resolved of this, whether the pope’s meaning be to advise in the council concerning religion with us, whom he accounts heretics, or rather that we should plead our cause at the bar, and either change our opinions presently, or out of hand be condemned again. The former is without example, and denied heretofore by Julius III. to those of our side; the other is ridiculous, if he thinks so, that the English will come to the council, only to be indicted, and to plead for themselves, especially before him, who long since is charged with most heinous crimes, not only by our side, but also by their [his?] own.

“Now, if England only seem to you thus stubborn, where then be the ambassadors of the king of Denmark, of the princes of Germany, of the king of Sweden, of the Switzers, of the Grisons, of the Hans Towns, of the realm of Scotland, of the dukedom of Prussia? Seeing so many Christian nations are wanting in your council, it is absurd to miss in your reckoning only the English. But why do I speak of these? The pope himself comes not to his own council; and why do you not wonder at that also? For what a pride is this for one man for his own pleasure to assemble together all Christian kings, princes, and bishops, when he listeth, and to require them to be at his call, and himself not to come in their presence!”

After inveighing against the failures and inconsistencies of previous councils, he proceeds as follows:—“And why should we hope for better success at this present? With what expectation or hope can any one come to the council? Do but think with yourself what manner of men they be, upon whose fidelity, learning, and judgment the weight of this whole council, the discussing of all questions, and the

whole state of all things must lie and rest. They are called abbots and bishops, grave persons and fair titles, men (as it is believed) of great importance for the government of the Church of God. But take from these men their titles, the persons they bear, and their trappings, there will nothing that belongeth to an abbot or a bishop remain in them. For they are not ministers of Christ, dispensers of the mysteries of God; they apply not themselves to reading, or to preaching the gospel; they feed not the flock, they till not the ground, they plant not the Lord's vineyard, nor kindle the fire, nor bear the ark of the Lord, nor are the ambassadors of Christ; they watch not, nor do the work of an evangelist, nor perform the duty of their ministry: they entangle themselves with secular business; they hide the Lord's treasure, they take away the keys of the kingdom of God; they go not in themselves, nor suffer others; they beat their fellow-servants, they feed themselves and not the flock; they sleep, snort, feast, and riot; they are clouds without water, stars without light, dumb dogs, slow bellies, as Bernard saith, not prelates, but helotes; not doctors, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors. The servants of Christ (saith he) serve Antichrist. The popes will allow none but these to have place and suffrage in the council: the care and charge of Christ's Catholic Church must depend upon their power and judgment; upon none but such as these doth Pope Pius rely. But (good God!) what manner of persons are they? They hold it ridiculous to ask that question. It is no matter (say they) how learned or how religious they be, what their aim is or what they think. If they can sit upon a mule; if they can ride through the streets with pomp and with a noise; if they can come into the council and say nothing, it is sufficient. If you believe me not, and think that I speak in jest, hear what the Faculty of Divinity and the whole Sorbonne have determined concerning this matter. That which our great masters affirm (say they) concerning the due assembling of a council, is to be understood thus: that for the lawful calling of a council it is sufficient that the form of law be solemnly observed. For if it should be disputed whether the prelates there assembled have a good intention; whether they be learned, especially in the Scriptures, and are willing to obey wholesome doctrine, it would prove an infinite business.

Those, forsooth, who sit mute, like the statues of Mercury, not knowing what belongs to religion, will determine well concerning all points of religion, and, whatsoever they say, they cannot possibly err.

"These are obliged to the pope, not through error and ignorance, but by oath and religion; so that, although they should understand the truth, they cannot without perjury make profession of it, and are necessitated to break faith either with God or man. For this is the formal oath which they all take.^m The popes have dealt . . wisely; for they have chosen such judges, whom they know neither will (because it is their own case, in regard they refer all to voluptuousness and gluttony) nor can, if they would (because they are sworn) decree anything contrary to his will and pleasure. They set the Holy Bible in the midst, as if they would do nothing against it; they look upon it afar off, and read it not. Indeed, they have a prejudicated opinion with them, not regarding what Christ hath said, but decreeing whatsoever they please.

"Therefore that liberty which ought to be in all consultations, especially sacred, and which is most proper to the Holy Ghost, and the modesty of Christians, is quite taken away. Paul saith, If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace; but these men apprehend, imprison, and burn whosoever dareth but whisper against them. Witness hereof the cruel death of two most holy and resolute men—John Huss and Hierom of Prague, whom they put to death contrary to their safe-conduct,ⁿ and so brake their faith both with God and man. . . . Therefore these men alone domineer in councils, all others being excluded. They alone give voices and make laws, like unto the Ephesians in times past: Let no man (say they) live here

^m The well-known oath of fidelity to the pontiff will be found, in a milder form than as here exhibited by Bishop Jewell, in the creed of Pope Pius IV., which I shall give shortly.

ⁿ "But Bossi has sufficiently shown, that although Huss was dragged to execution in defiance of an imperial safe-conduct, his death gave rise to a dreadful civil war, in which his followers, to the number of 40,000, spread slaughter and devastation throughout all Bohemia. 'It cannot, therefore,' adds Bossi, 'be correctly said by the Roman theologians that the efforts of Huss were defeated by the vigilance of the Council of Constance.'—Roscoe, *Leo the Tenth*, v. ii, n. 158.

who is wiser than the rest, except he have a mind to be cast into banishment. They will not hear any of our men speak. In the last convention of the Council of Trent, ten years since, the ambassadors of the princes and free cities of Germany came hither with a purpose to be heard, but were absolutely refused. For the bishops and abbots answered, that they would not suffer their cause to have a free hearing, nor suffer controversies to be discussed out of the Word of God; that our men were not to be heard at all except they would recant, which if they refused to do, they should come into the council upon no other conditions but to hear the sentence of condemnation pronounced against them. For Julius III., in his bull of indiction of the council, declared plainly that either they should change their opinions, or else should be condemned for heretics before they were heard. Pius IV., who hath now a purpose to reassemble the council, hath already prejudged for heretics all those who have left the Roman Church, that is to say, the greatest part of the Christian world, before they were ever either seen or heard. They say, and they say it often, that already all is well with them, and that they will not alter one jot of their doctrine or religion. Albertus Pighius saith, that without the authority of the Roman Church one ought not to believe the clearest and plainest Scripture. Is this to restore the Church to her integrity? Is this to seek the truth? Is this the liberty and moderation of councils?"

CHAPTER LXV.

Charge of Ignorance against the Members of the Council untenable. Remarks of Ranke on the General Bearing of the Council. Its Inefficiency in Restraining Papal Encroachments.

I have brought forward the preceding passages of Bishop Jewell, not as exhibiting my own views of the character of the prelates assembled, but as an evidence of the jealousy with which previous experience caused it to be regarded in this country. In reading the too vehement language of the bishop, we must bear in mind that the Roman Catholic clergy in this country were, with but few exceptions, anything but favourable specimens of the profession, and that men would be naturally apt to form their estimate of the

assembly from their unpleasant experience of certain of its members.

But the charge of ignorance brought by the worthy bishop against the members of the assembly can scarcely be justified even on these grounds. There was, even in his time, sufficient reason to thank the taste and spirit of the Medicis for snatching the great and good things of antiquity from the gloom of neglect and decay. Whilst our libraries were gradually being filled with the reprints of works, many of which we owed to their zeal alone, and which were to be the future means of ripening our thoughts and increasing our powers of expression—the charge of ignorance will not hold good against the conclave that surrounded Leo X.

It has, however, been remarked that the tastes of Leo were not of a theological character; and this fact, saving certain conspicuous exceptions, must have tended to depreciate the standard of divinity among the higher class of clergy, while the ignorance and incompetency of the inferior orders was scarcely questioned. But, even in the time of Leo, it was not of such men that the council was composed. In every session, first and last, we meet with the names of men, few of whom have not held their sway over the intellectual and moral world. Men skilled in the severe and liberal arts—stern schoolmen, and many who in leisure hours could unbend to the graces of poetry—scholars who rivalled the Latinity of Cicero, and disputants who imitated the dryness of an Aquinas—rough and daring speakers pitted against courtly and eloquent men of the world; such were but a few of the manifold elements in this vast assemblage.

Again, great as were the errors of the scholastic theology, the reformed churches grounded theirs upon the same stem. In fact, the difference between the reception of the scholastic system by Catholics and Protestants, seems to be in extent only. Whilst the former clung doggedly to the whole system of the schoolmen, and felt it their duty to shape their creed to meet its inconsistencies, the Reformers contented themselves with retaining such phraseology as could not readily be supplied by a better. At the same time they looked with a jealous eye upon matters merely scholastic; although we find, even in the Articles of our Church, a large number of expressions which were employed with a specific

reference, and in which the language was of necessity borrowed from that of the opponents they were intended to refute. This fact is too often overlooked by dissenters, when they charge the Church of England with imitating the language of Popery.

I will now return, once more, to a critic of more enlarged views, and one whose modern experience of the state of the world, since the council, makes him a fit judge how far it has contributed to the intellectual and religious emancipation of mankind,—I mean Ranke. It will be interesting to compare the different details of thought, by which two men, differing widely both in the views they took, and in the times and circumstances under which they formed those views, yet arrived at the same conclusion.

“The Council of Trent must ever be regarded as the most important, if not of all councils, yet assuredly of those of more modern ages.

“Its importance is compressed into two great crises.

“In the first, which we touched on in a former place, during the war of Smalcalde, the doctrines of Rome after many fluctuations broke for ever with the Protestant opinions. Out of the doctrine of justification, as then set forth, arose forthwith the whole system of dogmatic theology, such as it is professed to the present day in the Catholic Church.

“In the second of those crises and the last we considered, after Morone’s conference with the emperor, in the summer and autumn of the year 1563, the hierarchy was established anew, theoretically by the decrees respecting clerical ordination, and practically by the resolutions touching measures of reform.

“These reforms are, to the present day, of the greatest moment.

“The faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising discipline of the Church, and in urgent cases to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded, where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances, and the corporation of the regular clergy subjected to determined laws. The bishops were held rigidly to the duties of their office, especially to the superintendence

of the clergy, according to their various grades of consecration. It was a regulation attended with weighty results, that the bishops solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn to by them, to an observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to submissiveness to the pope.

“ But the purpose undoubtedly entertained at first in this convocation, of limiting the power of the pope, was not fulfilled : on the contrary, that power issued from the struggle even augmented in extent and cogency. As the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of the Council of Trent was reserved to the pope, it was always in his power to prescribe rules for faith and conduct. All the cords of the restored discipline centred in Rome.

“ The Catholic Church owned the circumscription of its dominion ; it gave up all claims upon the Greeks and the East, and Protestantism it repudiated with countless anathemas. In the earlier Catholicism there was involved an element of Protestantism ; this was now for ever cast out. But Catholicism, in thus limiting the field of its operations, concentrated its strength, and braced up all its energies.

“ It was only, as we have seen, by means of a good understanding and agreement with the foremost Catholic princes that so much was achieved ; and in this alliance with monarchy lies one of the main conditions of all Catholicism’s subsequent development. This is in some degree analogous to the tendency of Protestantism to combine episcopal with sovereign rights. It was only by degrees it exhibited itself among the Catholics. It is obvious that it involves a possibility of new divisions ; but of this there was, in the times we are speaking of, no immediate danger. The decrees of the cardinal were promptly received in province after province. The claims of Pius IV. to importance in the world’s history rest on his having effected this event ; he was the first pope who deliberately abandoned the tendency of the hierarchy to set itself in opposition to the authority of sovereigns.”^o

^o Ranke, p. 89, sq.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Creed of Pope Pius IV.

In December, 1564, Pius IV. published a brief summary of the doctrines ratified by the council. This document "was immediately received throughout the universal Church; and since that time has ever been considered, in every part of the world, as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith. Non-Catholics, on their admission into the Catholic Church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification.^p

Such is the language of a Roman Catholic writer of the present day, and it is amply sufficient to show that the faith promulgated at this council is as binding on the Catholic conscience as ever. It would be impossible to dismiss the subject without furnishing a translation of this "Creed of Pope Pius IV."^q

"I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

"I also admit the sacred Scripture according to that sense which holy mother Church, to whom it appertains to judge concerning the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred Scripture, hath holden and doth still hold: nor will I ever receive and interpret them, otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

"I profess, likewise, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary unto the salvation of the human kind, though not all of them to every one; namely, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these sacraments, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

"I receive also and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

^p Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 5. See other Romanist authorities in Mendham, pref. p. xxiii.

^q I omit the first part, common to the Apostles' Creed.

“ I embrace and receive all things, and every thing, which have been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“ In like manner, I profess that in the mass is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead ; and that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is really, truly, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood ; which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.

“ I confess also, that under one kind only is received the whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament.

“ I strenuously maintain, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the prayers of the faithful.

“ Likewise, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, are to be venerated and invoked ; and that they offer prayers for us to God ; and that their relics are to be venerated.

“ I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ and of the ever virgin mother of God, as also of the other saints, are to be had and retained ; and that due honour and veneration are to be shown to them.

“ I affirm also, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in his Church ; and that the use of them is very salutary to Christian people.

“ I acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all churches : and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor of the prince of the apostles St. Peter, and the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ.

“ Further I do, without doubt, receive and profess all things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and oecumenical councils, especially by the sacred and holy Council of Trent ; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies of whatsoever kind, which have been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize.

“ This true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved,

which by these presents I profess and verily hold, I, N. N. do promise, vow, and swear (by God's help), entire and inviolate to the last breath of my life ; and that I will take care, as far as in me lies, that the same be holden, kept, and preached by all who are subject to my control, or who are connected with my charge.

“So help me God, and these holy gospels of God.”

And such is the *supplementary* faith which Rome has bequeathed to her disciples. But by what steps she arrived at those conclusions, the reader is by this time enabled to perceive. Recent events have shown that she has remitted nought of her wonted energy ; while the falling away of too many learned and once faithful members of our own Church, bears sad witness to the strength of her influence. We have a deep and solemn lesson to learn from the history of a council like the one whose history we have just attempted to portray. Its manifold disputes and hair-splittings should teach us to avoid the use of words, which, by a convenient ambiguity, may be interpreted by one party or another according to their own views. The current danger of the Church is the taste for adapting Popery to popular use ; and it is to be feared, that many recent secessions are attributable solely to the mistaken teaching of those, who are themselves as remote from Romanism as from dissent. A habit of accustoming people to Roman Catholic language and practices, however they may claim admiration on the score of intrinsic excellence or outward impressiveness, has already led to evils which must henceforth be looked upon with increased suspicion, and which, if it be not abandoned, may ultimately inflict a still deeper and a more lasting wound upon the fair body of our Church of England.



CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.^a

IN the year 1516, Tetzels appeared in Germany, either as a direct emissary of Leo X. or as the agent of the papal delegate Albert of Brandenburg, in order to recruit the papal coffers by the sale of indulgences.

In 1517, his proceedings had become so offensive, that Martin Luther, whose mind had been in an unsettled state as to the Church, beholding its abuses, began to cry out against it. Hence, on July, 1517, he addressed letters to the bishops of Meissen, Feitz, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, in which he entreated them to abolish, or, at least, modify the evil. Receiving, however, no answer, he felt himself bound, as a teacher in a considerable university, to bear witness against the abuse. On the 31st of October, he therefore wrote to the archbishop of Mainz, and also posted his ninety-five propositions against the church-doors. In the evening he preached a sermon, in which he explained these propositions. By some, he is stated to have sent copies of the same to the bishops whom he had addressed in July, and Brandenburg alone replied, and even then in an unbecoming manner. By the 14th of November the questions had become known throughout the whole of Germany. About this time Tetzel replied to the propositions of Luther; but the students at Wittenberg burnt it in the market-place without the knowledge of Luther. In the course of December, Sylvestro di

^a In the translation of this useful summary, which is condensed from the erudite "*Geschichte des Tridentinischen Conciliums*" of Salig, vol. iii., I have been greatly assisted by my young and talented friend Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, Esq. I have, however, altered the chronology to render it consistent with my own.

Prierio replies to Luther's animadversions, and dedicates his work to the pope.

1518. *April* 28. Luther arrives in Heidelberg at the general assembly of his order, where he proposes twenty-eight propositions of theology and twelve of philosophy for disputation.

May 30. He writes to the pope, and incloses his ninety-five propositions; upon this the pope is advised to pursue Luther with fire and sword. In July, Cardinal Caietan comes to Augsburg, under pretence of seeking aid against the Turks, but in reality to quash Luther, and reinstate the system of indulgences.

Aug. 7. An inquisition is held at Rome regarding Luther, the fiscal of which is Prierio; and the result is, that Luther is commanded to appear at Rome within sixty days. To gain time, he entreats for a safe-conduct; which he knew he should not obtain; and according to his expectation it is refused him.—23. The pope does not await the arrival of Luther within the sixty days, but sends fresh commands to Caietan to seize "the heretic" Luther, and to retain him in prison at the papal pleasure. Leo also writes to the elector of Saxony.

Sept. Luther, unappalled by all these fulminations, travels to Augsburg, and announces himself to the cardinal; he first, however, receives an imperial safe-conduct.

Oct. 12. Luther has an audience of Caietan, where he acts with great humility. On the 13th, he again visits him, Staupitz being present. Caietan endeavours to induce him to recall his remarks; but on his exhortations proving ineffectual, refuses to see him again, except for such a purpose.—17. Luther leaves Augsburg, and sends a letter to Caietan, in which he states his inability to recant his doctrines.

Nov. Caietan, who had been hurt by the epistle and appellation of Luther, addresses a letter in very strong terms to the elector of Saxony. This Luther answers, and the reply is sent to the cardinal at Augsburg.—9. A bull is prepared confirming the sale of indulgences, but no intelligence is given to Luther of the matter.—28. Luther demands a general council, and places the pope's authority under that of a council.

Dec. 13. The bull regarding indulgences is circulated by Caietan ; but, as Tetzel remarks in a letter to Miltitz, dated Dec. 31, the sale of indulgences is checked in Germany.

1519. *Jan. 12.* Emperor Maximilian dies, and the popedom loses much of its influence by the accession of the elector of Saxony. Miltitz is thereupon sent to the elector to present him with the holy rose. He obtains a promise of silence from Luther. Miltitz proceeds to Leipsic, and censures Tetzel heavily. Luther keeps his word and writes nothing against the popedom ; but his enemy, Eck, begins to dispute again.

June. This step leads to the meeting at Leipsic of Eck, Carlstadt, and Luther, who had Melancthon on his side. The first meeting was between Eck and Carlstadt on the 27th.

July 4. Disputation between Eck and Luther. These meetings go on until the 16th of July.

Aug. The disputes raise up a commotion among the Husites, to whom Luther addresses a letter. The pope publishes the response of four universities.

Sept. 25. Miltitz offers the holy rose to the elector, who will not accept it.

Oct. 8. Luther again holds a conference with Miltitz at Siebenwerda.

Dec. 11. Speaks with the elector, who has no longer any confidence in Miltitz by reason of the inconsistency of his actions. Luther publishes a sermon on the holy sacraments, in which he desires that the cup should be restored to laymen.—27. At which Duke George is offended.

1520. *Jan.* Luther's position becomes more equivocal. On the 15th he wrote to the new emperor, and explained the miserable state in which he was.—17. He gives a protest to the diet, and particularly to the archbishop of Mainz. On the 24th the bishop of Meissen publishes a decree against the sermon of Luther on the sacraments. Eck goes to Rome and places Luther's affairs in the most unfavourable light. Luther, however, continues to publish many excellent treatises, and particularly concerning the epistle to the Galatians.

June 15. Eck obtains a bull of excommunication against Luther, which many cardinals, prelates, and canons conjointly composed.

Aug. A meeting of the Augustine order is held at Eisleben, where Staupitz is present, and they determine to send deputies to Luther.

Sept. 6. Luther writes a very humble letter to the pope, inclosing a treatise on Christian liberty. On the 21st the bull arrives from Rome, and is published in Meissen on the 21st Sept., in Merseburg on the 28th, and in Brandenburg on the 29th.

Oct. Eck's life in danger at Leipsic.—12. Miltitz proposes a conference with Luther at Lichtenburg.—19. Carlstadt's call for a general council is completed.

Nov. 17. The papal bull causes much disquiet. Luther demands a general council; but as all hope of any accommodation was lost, it subsequently led to the burning of the bulls and decretals.—28. The emperor fixes the day for a diet to be held in Worms, to which Luther is invited.

Dec. 17. The emperor learning that Luther is under ban, writes to the elector, that he may not bring him to Worms. Luther receives letters from many places, informing him of what blessed result his doctrines had brought about, and he, together with Carlstadt, again demands a council.

1521. *Jan.* Another bull against Luther arrives, in which all who have countenanced him are laid under an interdict. The elector arrives at Worms, and the imperial confessor Glapion attempts by many wiles to win him over to their party.—25. Luther is sounded by the elector as to whether he would really come to Worms if he were sent for; upon which Luther is all courage and enthusiasm.

March 6. Luther receives an imperial citation to appear at Worms within twenty-one days. Luther's name inscribed in the *Bulla cænæ Domini*, and himself cursed as an arch-heretic.

April 15. The papal nuncio will not admit or receive Luther at Worms, but insists on the burning and forbidding of his books; for which he obtains an imperial mandate.—16. Luther enters Worms.—17. Appears before the diet.—18. Appears a second time, and is called upon to recant, but refuses.—19. The emperor signifies his intention to the assembly of outlawing Luther, in consequence of his refusal to recant.—20. The papists endeavour to persuade the emperor not to grant Luther a safe-conduct. He is again examined by a select assembly, at which the archbishop of Trier, Richard,

tries all he can to win him over.—26. He receives a safe-conduct for twenty-one days, and departs Worms with his companions.—29. The elector does not trust in the seeming peace, but makes other preparations for the safety of Luther, and has him conducted to the Wartburg.

May 8. The outlawry of Luther is completed, but kept back for some days for political reasons. The mass is abolished at Wittemberg.

Nov. Luther leaves the Wartburg secretly, and comes to Amsdorffen.

Dec. 1. Leo X. dies. The Sorbonne anathematize the new doctrine.

1522. *Jan.* Wittemberg in an uproar on account of the religious differences.

Feb. Luther is adjured to return to them from his "Patmos."

March 6. He does so; restores order, partly by preaching, and without Wittemberg by letters. He begins to print his translation of the Bible, which sells immensely, but is hotly opposed.

April. Duke George of Saxony begins to annoy Luther in several ways, but is met by contempt.

Oct. The diet is carried on at Nuremberg, and the pope urges the execution of the edict of Worms by his legate, Chereгато.

Dec. Pope Adrian has his views of the religious differences declared at Nürnberg. In this year the sect of Loyola began to arise.

1523. *Feb.* The *Gravamina* make their appearance, and the papal legate departs, as he cannot accept them. Duke George inveighs bitterly against Luther.

March 6. A decree is passed against the Lutheran faith, which is artfully insinuated into the hands of the elector.

May. The king of England sends an embassy to the elector, and presents him with the book against Luther. Duke George persecutes the Lutherans. Luther translates the Catechism. The king of Denmark and his queen hear Luther at Wittemberg, and are deeply touched.

Sept. 14. Pope Adrian VI. dies, and is succeeded by Pope Clement VII. The movements regarding the sacrament proceed in Switzerland.

1524. *April* 18. The diet at Nürnberg is closed, but the terms used offend the pope's legate, as mention is made of a council.

July 6. The papal adherents hold a meeting at Ratisbon.
Aug. Much persecution follows the Reformed Church.

1525. *Feb.* 24. The king of France conquered by Charles V. The elector dies.

June. Luther marries Catherine von Boren.

Oct. The mass is read for the first time in German at Wittenberg.

1526. *Jan.* A diet is held at Augsburg for the confusion of the Lutherans.—9. But it confirms the final decrees of the diet of Nürnberg.

June 23. The pope writes two useless letters to the emperor.—25. The diet is held at Spire.

Sept. 17. The emperor replies to the letters of the pope.—20. Rome taken and plundered by Charles.

Dec. 21. The answer of the emperor to the pope is read in the consistory.

1527. *March* 5. Rome plundered and the pope held in captivity. Charles signifies his dislike to the Protestants. So also his brother Ferdinand. The reformed religion is introduced into Sweden.

Nov. 26. Peace between the emperor and the pope, and a council at the same time agreed upon.

Dec. 9. The pope escapes from prison in the dress of a merchant.

1528. The doings of Otto von Pack.

May 28. He is detected and imprisoned.

June. The elector of Brandenburg persecutes his own wife, who was a Lutheran. She flies to Wittenberg.

July 3. Dionysius de Rieux, a Lutheran, is burnt at Paris.

1529. *Feb.* A diet at Spire is proclaimed.

March. The commissioners assemble, and show themselves very inimical to the Lutheran interest. Strasburg excluded from the actions of the diet.

April 19. The Reformers protest against the decrees of the diet.—20. The solemn protest is given in.

June. It is resolved by an assembly of Protestants, that the protest should be printed, and presented to the emperor

by an embassy. It departs, but meets with ill success. The Colloquium at Marburg.—23. Luther's opinion of it.

Sept. 26. The theologians assemble.

Oct. 1. The conference begins.—4. Articles of agreement are proposed, to which no one agrees.

Nov. 29. The convention of Smalcald.

1530. *Jan.* 6. The convention of Nürnberg. The emperor has been at Bologna with the pope since the 5th Nov. 1529, endeavouring to conciliate the religious differences.—21. A diet summoned, and its objects explained.

Feb. The Protestants consider these objects. The seventeen articles harmonized, and brought to Torgau about March 21.

April 3. The Elector John goes to Augsburg to the diet, but leaves Luther at Coburg.

May 2. John arrives in Augsburg, and announces his coming to the emperor. The Protestant princes cause their reformed minister to preach publicly.—6. The emperor invites the elector to Inspruck, but he refuses to come.—16. The Augsburg Confession, based on the Seventeen Articles, is completed, and receives the assent of Luther at Coburg. Gattenara, the chamberlain of the emperor, dies, by which the Protestants lose a great friend.—20. Luther writes to the landgrave of Hesse, who would gladly have ended all dissension, and admitted the Swiss and Uplanders to the subscription of the Augsburg Confession.

June. The assembled princes in Augsburg write to the emperor, and beg him to come quickly.—15. He arrives.—17. The Protestants state their opinions, which are given to the Catholics to read.—20. A herald forbids the preaching of either party. On this day the diet is opened, and prayers offered up for its prosperous issue. The speech of Count Frederick.—22. The Protestants are advised to hold themselves in readiness with their confession.—23. They revise and subscribe to it.—24. The papal legate makes an oration. The Protestants desire that their confession should be read; this is refused themselves, but they are allowed to retain it till it is wanted.—25. It is read in German, and delivered to the emperor.—27. It is delivered over to the Papists to be confuted.

July 3. Zwingle prints his confession of faith at Zurich,

and presents it at Augsburg.—12. Eck is ready with a confutation of it in three days.—15. The emperor urges the necessity of a council.—31. And his proposition is rejected by the pope.

Aug. 3. The confutation of the Lutherans read. The Protestants beg for a copy of it, but it is refused.—5. It is afterwards promised them under strange restrictions.—6. The landgrave of Hesse leaves Augsburg, which act offends the emperor.—7-13. Several plans of reconciliation are proposed to the Protestants; to which they reply, and entreat that the Catholic confutation be delivered to them.—16. They reassemble, and the articles of the Augsburg Confession are separately examined; this is continued on 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21.—22. The result is submitted to the emperor. A report of these proceedings is also sent to Luther, who considers a reconciliation impossible.—25. Renewed correspondence between Melancthon and Luther.—28. Duke Henry of Brunswick again attempts to bring about mutual concessions, which the Protestants will not accept.

Sept. 22. The edict of Augsburg.—25. Council regarding the Turkish war. In this month appeared the confession of the four cities.

Oct. 16. The emperor replies to the papal objections to a council. The king of France urges for a council.—21. The Protestants,—under what conditions they will join in the war against the Turks.—22. Articles of peace are proposed to them by the elector of Brandenburg, not only militating, however, against their principles, but of which they may not receive a copy.

Nov. 11. A general peace is proposed on the part of the elector of Saxony, and replied to by the emperor.—13. The Protestant envoys depart from Augsburg.—19. It is determined to hold a council at Rome.

1531. Early in the month of January (rather in the previous December), Protestants assembled at Smalcald.

Oct. 17. The reply of the Papists to the confessions. The *Tetrapolitana Confessio* is read to the deputies, but they cannot succeed in obtaining a copy.

Dec. 19. The four cities join the Saxon confession. Assembly at Frankfort.

1532. *Jan.* 6. Diet at Ratisbon. In April, an assembly

is called to Schweinfurt by the emperor, at which many deputies make their appearance.

July 23. Peace between the different religions.

1533. *June 30.* The Protestants declare their opinions on the subject of the council.

Nov. The Italians beg for a council. Like Henry VIII., Erasmus writes his book on the unity of the Church.

1534. *Jan.* The theologians hold an assembly at Basle on the doctrine of the sacrament. The first Ecolampadic Confession is again signed and printed on the 21st.

Dec. Accession of Paul III. to the papal throne.

1535. *Feb.* Another attempt at mutual agreement is made.

April 1. Bucer presents his treatise on the doctrine of the sacrament at Augsburg. Luther writes to the citizens of Strasburg, proposing a place of assembly.

Oct. The duke of Milan dies. War in Italy.

Nov. Vergerius goes by Halle to Berlin. Meets Luther on the 6th in Wittemberg.—31. Meets the elector of Saxony.

Dec. 21. Protest of Smalcald.

1536. *April 5.* Charles V. comes to Rome, and makes (on the 7th) a remarkable speech on the subject of the council. Challenges the king of France.

1537. *Jan. 30.* The papal nuncio arrives at Weimar.

Feb. 1. The emperor writes to Luther.—7-15. Articles of Smalcald.—24. They are signed.—25. Arrival of Vorstius, the papal legate, in Smalcald.—26. Luther's illness obliges him to quit the place.

March 5. Melancthon signs the articles in the absence of Luther.

May 23. The council indicted for this day.

Nov. 1. The council postponed, and the blame laid on the duke of Mantua. Seat transferred to Vicenza for the next year.

1538. The pope goes to Nizza in order to reconcile the emperor and the king of France. The council suspended.

May 18. A peace concluded for ten years.

June 12. An assembly held in Eisenach concerning the Turkish war.

Nov. 22. The emperor attempts to reconcile the religious parties.

Dec. 17. Henry VIII. excommunicated.

1539. *Feb.* 14. Convention of Frankfort.

May 29. Luther's first sermon in Leipsic.

June 13. The emperor commands the pope to open the council within eighteen months.

1540. *Feb.* 24. Protestant envoys have an audience of the emperor.

March 1. Convention of Smalcald.—10. The emperor's reply is read.—29. The princes arrive at Smalcald.

June 6. An assembly is summoned to Spires on the subject of religion ; Hagenau is substituted.—25. Hagenau convention opens.

July. 28. The edict of Hagenau published, and a meeting called to Worms.

Nov. 25. Opening of the assembly at Worms.

Dec. 8. Thomas Campeggio holds an oration.—22. Melancthon presents a defence of the Augsburg Confession.

1541. *Jan.* 2. New replies presented at Worms by the papists.—18. All matters transferred to Ratisbon by the emperor.

April 5. Opening of the assembly at Ratisbon.—17. First meeting held.

May. Melancthon's writings appear.

June. The elector of Brandenburg tries to bring about mutual concessions between the differing parties.—11. The Protestant answer appears.

July. The elector of Saxony refuses all mediation of this kind.—27. The meeting at Ratisbon abruptly closed.

Aug. 28. Contarini receives a present from the pope on account of his able tactics.

1542. *Jan.* Diet of Spires.

Feb. 9. The diet is opened, and an unpleasant oration is made by the French ambassador.

March 23. Morone proposes Trent as a fit place for the council.

April. The Protestants promise aid to the emperor in the matter of the Turks.

May 22. The council is indicted for November 1, at Trent. The bull is sent to every court of Europe.

Aug. 25. Reply of the emperor to the bull.—26. The Reformers protest against the council.

Oct. 16. The French bishops invited to attend. The papal legates sent to Trent.

Dec. 23. The Swiss invited to the council.

1543. *Jan.* 8. The papal legates arrive in Trent, and find no preparations for the council.—9. Granvel holds an important harangue.—29. The diet at Nürnberg is opened.—30. The emperor speaks there. The council condemned by the Protestants.

April 28. A recess instituted at Nürnberg.

May 15. The council prorogued till another time, and the odium of this prorogation thrown on the Christians.

June 4. The pope confers with the emperor at Bussetto.

Aug. 4. The Protestants state their grievances to the emperor, and are graciously received.

Sept. 8. The king of France writes to the Reformers that he will become of their communion. The letter is intercepted by the emperor, and sent to the pope.

1544. *Jan.* A diet called at Spire.

Feb. 20. It is opened.—26. The papal epistle arrives at Spire.

June 10. An edict is published dissolving the diet, with very favourable terms to the Protestants, at which the pope is angry.

Aug. 25. His sharp breve published, addressed to the emperor.

Nov. 9. Peace having been concluded between the emperor and France, and the council again indicted for the following year.

1545. *March* 13. The papal legates arrive in Trent.—15. This was to have been the day of the opening of the council.

May 3. Delay of the council.—16. Farnese goes to the emperor at Worms.—23. A bull against the bishops appearing by proctors at the council.

Nov. 16. The council is to be opened on the 13th December.

Dec. 4. The breve for the opening prepared.—7. Final instructions to the legates.—13. Opening of the council. FIRST SESSION.—18. First congregation.—22. Another congregation.

1546. *Jan.* 6. A congregation preparatory to the second session.—7. SECOND SESSION.—13. A congregation.—18.

Another.—22. A third congregation touching reformation.—30. A fourth congregation.

Feb. 4. THIRD SESSION.—5. The colloquy at Ratisbon.—8. First congregation. Soon after is held a congregation concerning the canonical books.—18. Death of Martin Luther.

March 15. Toledo, the imperial ambassador, arrives at Trent.—21. Fruitless end of the colloquy at Ratisbon.—27. The traditions of equal authority with the canon. Congregation.—29. The Vulgate declared authentic.

April 5. The bishop of Chioggia opposes tradition. Congregation touching the reading and preaching of monks.—8. FOURTH SESSION.—11. The Swiss summoned to the council by the pope.

May 2. Congregation on the preaching of monks.—10. Discussion continued.—18. Congregation on the freedom of bishops.—21. Congregation on the preaching of bishops.—24-25. On original sin.—28. Congregation concerning original sin and the immaculate conception.

June 8. Speech of Pacheco on the nature of the Virgin.—9. Congregation on the residence of bishops.—16. The decrees to be published in the fifth session are read.—17. FIFTH SESSION.—30. Touching ceremonials. Congregation.

July 3. The pope writes to the Swiss.—5, &c. Several congregations.—15. General congregation.—19. General congregation touching justification.—22-28. Further proceedings on the same.

Aug. The question of residence strongly debated.—15. The emperor forbids the transferring of the council.—19. A general fast at Trent.—20. General congregation.

Sept. From now to the end, fresh debates concerning residence.

1547. *Jan.* 13. SIXTH SESSION.—15. General congregation touching reformation and the doctrine of the sacraments.

March 3. SEVENTH SESSION.—4. The eucharist.—7. Transferring of the council.—11. EIGHTH SESSION. Decree.—12. The bishops go to Bologna.

April 21. NINTH SESSION.—24. Battle of Muhlberg.

June 2. TENTH SESSION.

Aug. 12. French bishops come to Bologna.

Sept. 1. Diet of Augsburg.—14. The three ecclesiastical

orders beg the pope to transfer the council back to Trent. Prorogation of the session.

Dec. 27. Answer given to the imperial envoys on the question of the transference.

1548. *Jan. 14.* The cardinal of Trent appears at the diet of Augsburg.—16. Protestation of the emperors.

Feb. 1. Papal reply to this protestation.—16. A breve sent to Trent for sending three bishops.—25. Deliberation on the papal requirement.

March 17. The Interim.—24. Discussed by the emperor and the elector of Saxony.

June 16. The Wittemberg theologians protest against the Interim.

July 1. A meeting summoned at Meissen.—8. The Interim read at Augsburg.—12. The king of Denmark refuses to accept the Interim.

The remainder of the year taken up by debates on the Interim.

Sept. 18. The council suspended by the pope.

1549. *Nov. 10.* Death of Paul III.—15-28. The election of a new pope under consideration.

1550. *Feb. 7.* Del Monte pope, under the name of Julius III.

March. The pope shows a great desire to continue the Council of Trent.

Dec. 27. Bull for the resumption of the council.

1551. *Feb. 13.* Close of the Diet of Augsburg.

May 1. Reopening of the council.—13. The war prevents the resumption of active business.

Sept. 1. TWELFTH SESSION.—8. The eucharist.—21. It is advised that the cup be granted to the Germans, and a safe-conduct permitted.

Oct. 11. THIRTEENTH SESSION. The safe-conduct to Protestants read.—12. General congregation.

Nov. Several embassies arrive in Trent.—25. FOURTEENTH SESSION.—26. The question of the communion *sub utraque* discussed.

1552. *Jan. 24.* The Protestant ambassadors have an audience in a general congregation.—25. FIFTEENTH SESSION.

April 5. The Oberland ambassadors leave Trent.—28. The SIXTEENTH SESSION. Suspension of the council.

May. In the course of this month the council is quite deserted.

1553-4. The council suspended.

1554. *Aug.* The Austrians desire the cup of the emperor. It is refused.

1555. *March* 23. Death of Pope Julius III.

April 7. Cervini elected Pope Marcellus II.—30. Death of Pope Marcellus II.

May 23. Election of Caraffa, under the name of Paul IV.

1556. *Jan.* Many embassies pass between the pope and the emperor about the council.

The Austrians ask and obtain the cup.

April. Lutheranism is attempted to be extirpated in Austria.

May. The Bavarians obtain the communion *sub utraque*; but it does not last any long period.

Aug. 5. The colloquium at Eisenach.

1557. *Sept.* 5. Assembly at Worms.—11. First session.—13. Second.—14-15. Third and fourth.—16. Fifth.—20. The sixth.

1558. *March.* King Ferdinand elected emperor. The pope refuses to recognise his authority and title.

1559. *April.* First diet of Ferdinand at Augsburg.

Aug. 18. Death of Paul IV.

1560. *Jan.* 11. Election of Pius IV.—16. Acknowledges the authority of the emperor.

Trent revisited to arrange it for the continuation of the council. The persecutions of the Waldenses and Huguenots begin.

April 19. Death of Melancthon.

June. The pope converses with the ambassadors about the council.

July. France urges the continuation of the council.

Sept. 23. The pope announces to the ambassadors that he intends to resume the council.

Nov. 15. A jubilee proclaimed in consequence.—29. The bull of indiction published.

1561. *Feb.* 14. The legates sent to Trent.

March 17. Departure for Trent.

April 16. Arrival at Trent.

Sept. 9. The colloquy of Poissy begins.

Nov. The bishops come to Trent.

Dec. 19. Cardinal Simonetta arrives in Trent.

1562. *Jan.* The beginning of this year is solemnized by many masses.—15. A general congregation.—18. SEVENTEENTH SESSION.—27. General congregation.—30. Several prelates arrive in Trent.

Feb. 1 (rather *Jan.* 30). General congregation. The Index Expurgatorius.—26. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

March 2. Safe-conduct granted to all princes.—8. It is published, but is considered "slippery."—14-16. The ambassadors of the king of Spain, the duke of Florence, and the Swiss cantons arrive.—16-18. They are introduced at the council.

April 8. A congregation on the residence of bishops.—19. The Venetian ambassadors arrive at Trent.—24. Introduced at the council. They held an oration, which was suppressed.

May 14. NINETEENTH SESSION.—18. The French ambassadors arrive.—26. They obtain an audience, and Pibrac makes a remarkable speech.—27. The ambassadors from Saltzburg have an audience.

June 4. TWENTIETH SESSION.—17. The emperor Ferdinand presents the council with his postulata. The Papal party attempt to suppress them.—27. The Bavarian ambassador has an audience.

July 8. General congregation.—16. TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.—19. The theologians receive thirteen articles to examine.—21. General congregation.

Aug. This month passes chiefly in disputes on the eucharist.—22. The arrival of the French bishops and theologians is announced at Trent. The question of communion *sub utraque* is brought forward, and allowed, under certain restrictions.

Sept. 15. The decree concerning the cup is hotly opposed.—17. TWENTY-SECOND SESSION. The canons on the eucharist read.

Oct. Ordination of priests formed the chief topic of discussion in this month.—14. The Polish ambassador arrives.—20. The general of the Jesuits defends the supremacy of the pope at Trent.

Nov. 3. The Polish ambassador has an audience.—6. The fathers have the decree on the residence of bishops laid before them.—13. Cardinal of Lorraine enters Trent.—21.

Secret orders come from Rome to the legates on the subject of the cardinal.—23. The cardinal makes his first appearance at the council.—24. Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, is chosen king of Rome. The Protestants send in a third recusation of the council.

Dec. 1. The crowning of Maximilian is commemorated at Trent by solemnities.—2. Dispute as to the period of the next session.—3. Angry recriminations on the residence of bishops.—9. The duke of Navarre dies.—15. The Bavarians ask for the cup at the communion.—28. Public thanksgivings offered up on account of the victory over the Huguenots.

1563. *Jan.* 1. The pope publishes several bulls for the reform of the *Signaturæ Justitiæ*.—3. The French ambassadors present thirty-four articles for reformation.—14. A courier brings the papal answer to Trent.—15. The session suspended.—16. The legates write to Borromeo.—29. Visconti comes from Rome.—31. Bobba, bishop of Aosta, has an audience.

Feb. 4. The French ambassadors demand that their articles of reform be brought forward.—5. The legates submit eight articles to controversy.—17. Soto speaks on divorce.—20. Answer of Borromeo to the legates.—27. The cardinal of Lorraine returns from Inspruck, whither he has been summoned.

March 2. Gonzaga, president of the council, dies.—7. The pope names two others to occupy his place.—8. Cardinal Seripando falls ill.—9. The news arrive at Trent, that the duke de Guise is wounded.—12. Tumult in Trent caused by the servants of the Italians and Spaniards.—16. They are quieted and the congregations are resumed.—17. A French theologian speaks on the subject of residence.—18. The exequies of the Cardinal Seripando are held.—20. The disputes of the theologians end. Question whether the canons on marriage should be discussed.

April 2. Lorraine answers Visconti on the emperor's journey to Bologna.—13. Morone president.—16. The Spanish count of Lune has an audience of Cardinal Morone on the subject of abolishing the formula "*proponentibus legatis*."—20. Death of Peter de Soto.—24. The decrees concerning the abuse of orders are communicated to the ambassadors.—28. Cardinal Navagero arrives from Rome.

May 10. General congregation. Reading of a letter of the queen of Scotland.—17. Further discussion of the abuses.—21. The Spanish ambassador Lune reads a protest on the question of relative rank, in regard to France.

June 2. The French ambassador has an audience.—7. Morone proposes an answer.—16. Congregation on reform and divers other matters.—20. The legates present Lune with an answer on the subject of “proponentibus legatis.”—21. The reply read at congregation.—27. Lune returns to Trent.—29. Great tumult on account of Lune.—30. Lune confers with the Spanish and Italian ambassadors on this matter.

July 7. The presidents hold a congregation of two cardinals and thirty bishops, in order to bring the matter to a happy close.—9. General congregation on residence.—13. The Spanish bishops entreat Lune to protest concerning the session.—14. Morone has the decrees read the day before the session.—15. TWENTY-THIRD SESSION.—22. The canons of marriage completed.—31. The question of clandestine marriage put to the vote in a congregation.

Aug. 7. Certain marriages declared void, and a certain age prescribed.—11. The Venetian ambassadors protest against the seventh canon of divorce.—13. Congregation. Predestination discussed. The emperor not satisfied with the chicanery of the council.—23. The emperor writes to his ambassador.

Sept. 7. General congregation. The Maltese ambassador speaks.—10. Question of secret marriage.—13. The lesser theologians assemble at Morone's house.—17. Lorraine writes to the king of France.—18. Goes to Rome.—23. Lune again urges the question of “proponentibus legatis.” The French ambassador refuses to attend the assemblies.

Oct. 12. The emperor replies to a report of Lune's.—26. Alteration of the decree regarding clandestine marriages.—27. This decree is put to the vote. The pope desires that nothing may be proceeded with in the council till the cardinal of Lorraine returns. The pope publishes a sentence of seven French bishops.

Nov. 5. Lorraine returns to Trent.—8. The corrected decrees are again discussed.—10. General congregation on marriage.—11. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.—12. Question

of closing the council.—15. General congregation on the fourteen articles of the reformation.—20. General congregation. The pope is to be requested to confirm all the decrees made in his time, and in those of his predecessors. 21.—Thirty canons of the reformation of convents.—22. The decrees of purgatory, saint-worship, relics, and images. The imperial ambassadors press for the conclusion of the council.—25. The fathers hold a general congregation on the question of closing the council.—29. The Spanish ambassadors take counsel with their bishops as to how the council may be sustained.

Dec. 2. General congregation.—3. **TWENTY-FIFTH AND LAST SESSION.** Ragazzoni preaches.—4. The prelates sign under pain of excommunication. The pope is advised by some not to confirm the council.

1564. *Jan. 26.* The pope confirms the council. Portugal and Venice accept the council as well as Spain, but France will not do so.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 1.—Roscoe, *Leo X. v. ii.* p. 90, sqq., takes a very mild view of the conduct of Leo in reference to indulgences. After dwelling on the fact that the building of St. Peter's was the main cause of their introduction, he observes, "that there was any degree of novelty in the method adopted by Leo, of obtaining a temporary aid to the revenue of the Church by the dispensation of indulgences, may be denied with confidence; it being certain that these measures had been resorted to as early as the year 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence and remission of sins to all such persons as should join in the crusades, to liberate the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels."

P. 5.—In the third and fourth volumes of Wessenberg's *Die Grossen Kirchenversenimlungen des 15^{ten} und 16^{ten} Jahrhunderts*, is an historical and critical sketch of the Council of Trent, commencing, as usual, with the outbreak of Luther against indulgences. The introduction of Mendham, my talented predecessor in a Protestant history of the council, contains much that is valuable, although he is too much disposed to underrate the intellectual character of Leo X.'s reign.

P. 11.—Roscoe, *l. c. v. ii.* p. 94. "Silvestro Prierio . . . a part of whose duty it was to license the publication of books, could not divest himself of his professional importance, and instead of answering the arguments of Luther, thought it sufficient to assert that they were heretical. The reply of Luther to this work produced another publication from Prierio, in which he incautiously exalted the authority of the pope above both the councils and canons of the Church, and affirmed that the whole force of the sacred writings depended on his authority. This was more than the patience of Luther could support. In a short address to his readers, he rudely asserts, that the book of Prierio is such a compound of lies and blasphemies that it can only be the work of the devil; and that if the pope and cardinals countenance such doctrines, Rome must be the seat of Antichrist."

Ibid. line 22, read "professing" instead of "possessing."

P. 14, note v, read "Mosheim, Cent. xvi." The same mistake occurs in the next page.

P. 15.—"This rose the pontiff himself describes in his letter to the elector as, 'Sacratissimam auream Rosam, quarta dominica Sanctæ Quadragesimæ a nobis chrismate sancto delibatam, odoriferoque musco inspersam, cum benedictione apostolica, ut vetus est consuetudo, aliis adhibitibus sacris ceremoniis consecratam; munus quippe dignissimum et magni mysterii, a Romano pontifice nonnisi alicui ex primoribus Christianorum orbis Regi aut Principi de Sancta Apostolica sede bene

merito quotannis dicari et mitti solitam.”—Leon. X. ep. ad Fred. Ducem, ap. Seckend. p. 65.

P. 19.—*Read* “Archbishop *Elector* of Treves.”

Ibid. second line from bottom.—*Read* “the object of this *meeting*.”

P. 22.—“The delegation of this authority to an avowed and personal enemy of Luther was not calculated to allay the resentment of that fearless Reformer, and has been justly censured, even by the firmest apologists of the Roman court, as affording a pretext to Luther that this measure was not the result of an impartial consideration of his conduct, but of the odium of his declared and inveterate enemies.”—Roscoe, v. ii. p. 217.

Ibid.—“The xij daye of Maye, in the yeaere of our Lord 1521, and in the thirteenth yeaere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge Henry the Eighte of that Name, the Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the Grace of God Legate de Latere, Cardinal of Saint Cecely and Archbishop of Yorke, came unto Saint Paules Church of London, with the most parte of the Byshops of the Realme, where he was received with procession, and sensid by Mr. Richard Pace, then beinge Deane of the said Church. After which ceremonies done, there were four Doctors that bare a canope of cloth of gold over him goinge to the Highe Alter, where he made his oblacion; which done, hee proceeded as abovesaid to the Crosse in Paules Church Yeard, where was ordeined a scaffold for the same cause, and he, sitting under his cloth of estate which was ordeined for him, his two crosses on everie side of him; on his right hand sittinge on the place where hee set his feete, the Pope’s embassador, and nexte him the Archbishop of Canterbury: on his left hand the Emperor’s embassador, and next him the Byshop of Duresme, and all the other Byshops with other noble Prelates sate on twoe formes outeright forthe, and then the Byshop of Rochester made a sermon, by the consenting of the whole clergie of England, by the commandement of the Pope, against one Martinus Eleuthereus, and all his workes, because hee erred sore, and spake against the hollie faithe; and denounced them accursed which kept anie of his bookes, and there were manie burned in the said church yeard of his said bookes duringe the sermon, which ended, my Lord Cardinall went home to dinner with all the other prelates.”—Cotton MSS. in Roscoe’s Leo X., Appendix, p. 420, v. ii.

P. 23, line 1.—*Read* “directly from the pontiff, were.”

P. 28, line 8.—“Devices.” Luther availed himself of the talents of Luca Eranach, one of the most distinguished artists of the time, to satirize the Roman court, in a series of figures representing the deeds of Christ and of Antichrist.—Seckendorf, i. p. 148.

P. 32.—With the description of this discussion, compare Roscoe, Leo X. v. ii. p. 225, sqq.

P. 37, note ^t, add: “Enjoying the esteem of his enemies, but detested by those who formed his immediate circle, he congratulated himself on his death-bed on his escape from this labyrinth of tormenting reflections, and his friend Cardinal Enckenwort could write upon his tomb,—‘Here lies one, who in his life found nothing more miserable than his being called to reign.’”—Bungener, Hist. of the Council of Trent, p. 11 (Scott’s translation).

P. 38.—Respecting the *Centum Gravamina*, I have no hesitation in

giving the following extract from Mendham:—"The Italian diarist (*i. e.* Servazio) has noticed and described the contents of the *Centum Gravamina* in fair proportion. He has specified the various extortions, expensive dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, pecuniary penances, and so forth. But the document is too important to be dismissed in a summary way. Let the reader take any edition of the book into his hand, and peruse only a few of the century of charges which the lay and principal members of a great legislative assembly of the German empire felt themselves impelled to bring against an authority which they still acknowledged as supreme in spirituals. Let him begin with the third article on the subject of papal indulgences, by which money was drawn in profusion from the simple, brought like any other commodity for sale into public market, and in proportion to the price paid conferring what the purchasers could not understand otherwise than as a license to sin; whence all kind of specified iniquity. Let him read in Article VII. what is affirmed of the authorized questors, the stationary preachers of indulgences,—their impostures, their extortions. Not to detain himself with the minor, although scandalous impositions respecting ecclesiastical benefices, the annates, reservations, expectative grants, and various assumptions of temporal jurisdiction, let him proceed at once to the LXVIIth article, where the ecclesiastic judges and officials are charged with aggravating the spiritual penance to such a degree that laics are induced to purchase immunity with money, which goes no farther than the private pocket of the ecclesiastics. Let him, in Article LXXIV., read how double fees are imposed upon some for the same offence; and in the two following, the charge of unchastity and profligacy in the lives of the clergy. Article XC. is to much the same purpose; and the next, openly, in the face of the world, and in the ears of his holiness at Rome, like all the rest, declares, that whilst concubines were allowed to priests on the payment of a certain tax, the same tax was levied upon those who lived continently, because the bishop was in want, and they were at liberty to do otherwise at their option. The XCIIIrd article asserts and exposes the pertinacity with which the vagabond Ferminanes and Stationemes, monks and priests, infested sick-beds, and the artifices which they used to obtain legacies. The whole, however, of this portentous document ought to be read, to convey an adequate view of the superlative iniquity of the Church as well as court of Rome at that time."—*Memoirs, Introduction, p. 6, sqq.*

P. 40.—Although, however, Clement was the son of one of Galileo de Medici's mistresses, and had never been able to prove that his mother had been lawfully married; yet in creating him a cardinal, Leo X. had caused solemn sentence to be pronounced, declaring his legitimacy. This, however, as M. Bungener remarks, "was only an additional proof that it had till then been at least doubtful, and people continued to doubt."

P. 41, line 4.—*Read "invested the castle," not "stormed."*

Ibid. note 1.—Add Mendham, Memoirs, Introd. Notes, p. 10.

P. 42, end of Chapter XXIII.—The beleaguered state of Rome, and the difficulties into which Clement found himself plunged, are happily described by Bungener, p. 14, *sqq.*

P. 44.—"While the question of the interpreting of Scripture involved

another, as to what was the true church." The feelings of the Tridentine fathers on this subject are well represented in the words of Cardinal Hosius:—"Si quis habet interpretationem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, etiamsi nec scit, nec intelligit, an et quomodo cum Scripturæ verbis conveniat, is tamen habet ipsissimum verbum Dei."—Apud Bishop Marsh, *View of the Churches of England and Rome*, p. 131.

P. 49, line 1.—*Read* "we cannot but wish."

P. 52.—M. Bungener takes a nearly similar view of the real unwillingness of Clement VII. for the convocation of a council.

P. 59, line 16.—*Read* "contagion of their vices."

Ibid. Chapter XXXII. *note* 1.—"Aveva egli un figlio naturale, detto Pier Luigi, giacchè come osserva il Muratori, in quel corrotto secolo non si guardava per minuto a tali deformità, o come scrive l' Affò, i vizj oggidì più abborriti, o almeno celati, passavano per una specie di galanteria, e si vedevano portati in trionfo pur troppo da chi avrebbe potuto sradicarli e sbandirli."—Bossi, v. xvii. p. 455.

Ibid. *note* 2.—"He saw that for the moment resistance was impolitic; and, accordingly, hardly had he taken his seat on the throne, when he began to speak of the council as the sole remedy for the evils of the time."—M. Bungener.

P. 63, line 5.—"In explanation and defence of such [civil] acts of general councils, they have been lately represented as a sort of general *parliament*, deriving their authority as well from temporal as from spiritual power. But whoever examines the convocation, the celebration, the signatures, and the confirmation of a general council, will find that it is wholly and solely *ecclesiastical*. Who *convoked*, for instance, the very Council of Trent? Pope Paul III., as appears from his bull of indiction. Who *presided* at the council? Three legates of the pope. . . By whom were its canons and decrees finally *confirmed*? By the pope himself, as appears from the *Confirmatio Concilii*. It is clear, therefore, that the council had no *temporal* character of any kind belonging to it. That temporal ambassadors from different princes were at Trent, during the time that the council was holden, is perfectly true, and they intrigued perhaps with the cardinal legates. But the acts of the council itself derived their whole validity from ecclesiastical authority. . . . Indeed, if it were otherwise, a general council would not represent the Church. Let us hear what the professor of Divinity at Maynooth says on this subject. In his treatise *De Ecclesia Christi*, he has a chapter entitled, 'Of the Infallibility of the Church assembled in General Councils.' He defines a council to be 'a lawful congregation of *bishops*, assembled to give judgment in things relating to the *faith*, the *morals*, and the *discipline* of the Church;' and he declares that the 'Roman Pontiff, in consequence of his primacy, *convokes* general councils by ordinary right, *presides* over them, either by himself or by his legates, and *confirms* them.' It was the Church of Rome, therefore, represented in the Council of Trent, which claimed the right of excommunicating kings, and depriving their subjects of their private property."—Bishop Marsh, *l. c.* p. 249, sqq.

P. 64, line 10.—*Read* "sustenance."

P. 80, *note* P.—Salig, *Geschichte des Tridentinisches Conciliums*, un-

hesitatingly adopts this statement of Sarpi's, remarking, that the weather was to bear the blame of their want of punctuality.

P. 81, line 9.—For *whither* read *where*.

P. 82, end of Chap. XLIV.—The unsatisfactory commencement of the council, after having hung so many years in abeyance, gave rise to some disagreeable allusions to the fable of the mountain bringing forth a mouse—an allusion evidently grounded upon the name of the first legate, Del Monte.

Ibid.—“Pallavicino is not always well-informed. When Sarpi relates that Paul III. had proposed to the Emperor Charles V., at the Congress of Busseto, that the fief of Milan should be conferred on his nephew, who was married to the emperor's natural daughter, Pallavicino devotes a whole chapter to contradict this. Nor will he believe any other historians who state the same fact. . . Since Pallavicino displays so much vehemence, we must suppose that he here writes *bond fide*. Sarpi's account of the matter is well founded for all that; the despatches of the Florentine ambassador (Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno, 1543) put the matter beyond dispute.”—Ranke, v. iii. p. 374.

Ibid. last line.—Read “In order to forward.”

P. 88, line 19.—Read “or with a bull of faculty.”

Ibid. line 5 from the bottom.—Read “to Trent,” and for “bishop of Ritoreto” read “Bitonto.”

P. 95, line 25.—Read “occasion.”

P. 96, line 17.—Read “On the 7th of December.”

P. 97.—Milledoni, who has written a summary of the history and proceedings of the Council of Trent, gives a rather full account of the city, its fine churches, and more particularly of its splendid cathedral dedicated to St. Vigilius, formerly bishop of that city, and who suffered martyrdom. The reader will find this diary among the MSS. in the King's Library of the British Museum, No. 14,273 A, pp. 228. Through the kindness of my friend Mackenzie, I possess a complete abstract of its contents, but they are of little specific value. Mendham looks upon the author as a great bigot.

P. 98, line 10.—Read “Ercolo Severola.”

P. 105, line 3.—Read “Feltri.”

P. 111, Chap. VIII.—This seems an opportune place for introducing a transcript of a curious document in the Harleian MSS. (No. 7,015, p. 161), entitled

“A brieve of those things which were called into consultation, in the beginnunge of that holy councill of Trent, and concluded in privy councill amongst the Senators, first against the kinge of Nauarre, because that he doth not well gouverne the affaires of Charles his warde, king of Ffrance, and is an author of spreadinge abroad that new Calvinist sect in France; then against the other heretics of new sects.”

“First of all, that the matter may be performed with greater authority, they have thought good that Catholicke Kinge Philippe should be the cheefe in the whole businesse, and have created him with a generall consent, the cheefe head and captaine of this matter.

“And they have determined that he should proceede after this man-

ner, first that he should complaine and expostulate with the kinge of Nauarre, because he favoureth new religion against the custome of his antecessors, and to the greate daineger of the kinge his warde, whose care he ought to sustaine.

“Whoe if he shall shew him selfe more willfull to these thinges, he shall assay to drive him away from his so wicked a purpose by large promises, and hope beinge offered him of recoueringe his kingdome or of some greate profit or commodity in recompence of the same, he shall asswaige and bende him if it may be that he would be in his power, and ioine with him against the other authors of that pernicious sect; which if he doe fall out accordinge to our minde, then ther will be a very plaine and easy way to make warr.

“But if he shall persist in his obstinacie, yet never the lesse Kinge Philippe (as one whom this matter doth greatly concerne as well for the authority given to him from the holy councell, as for neighbour-hood and affinity) shall warne the kinge of Nauarre of his duty by treatable and pleasant letters, ever and anone by promises and flatteries, and sometimes by threatenings.*

“In the meane time, he shall make choice, and have in a redinesse, as priuily as he can, and without suspition, in the winter, in Spaine, a mustered band of choice men, and in the beginninge of the springe, when all thinges are prepared and in a reddinesse, he shall declare openly what he intendeth: so it shall come to passe that the vnarmed and vnprovided kinge of Nauarre may easily be oppressed; if he will stande against them with an vnfurnished bande or endeuour to keepe them out of his coasts.

“But if he shall giue place he shall easily be driuen from his kingdom, as well he, as his wife, and all his children.

“But if he doth resist, and his voluntary souldiers doe defende him, and that ther be so many conspired together of his sect, that they may hinder the victory, then the duke of Guise shall professe himselfe the head of the Catholic faction and shall leuay an army of his chiefest men, and of all his followers, and so he shall set upon the kinge of Nauarre on the other side, that beinge assaulted on both sides, he necessarily fall into the pray of one of them, neither can it be that the one king Nauarre can match so great dukes and two so greate armies.

“Furthermore the emperour and all the other Germaine princes, which are of the Catholike religion, shall endeuour that all the enterances into France, be maide vp, in the meane time while that warr is maide ther, least that the Protestant princes sende ouer some bandes and bringe some aide to the king of Nauarre.

“And least peradventure the Suiters [Swiss] Protestants doe bringe aide to him, it is to be provided that they which follow the authority of the Church of Rome doe bid warr to the rest, and that the Ro-

* In the MS. the word *bribinge* is erased and threatenings substituted.

maine bishope doe healde the Suiters of his religion, with what aide he can, and giue them mony to the charges of warr and other thinges which are necessary.

“ouer and aboue these thinges, the Catholike King Philippe shall grant to the duke of Sauoy parte of his army, to be gouerned by him, and the same duke shall geather in his dominion as greate an army as he can conueniently.

“The duke of Ferrer [Ferrara] shall be assigned the cheifest capitaine of the pope’s bandes and of the rest of the princes of Italy, and the same duke shall ioine him selfe to the duke of Sauoy, to the increase of whose army the Emperor Fferdinandus shall haue a care to send some choyce number of horsemen and footemen thither [thither] of the Germaines; but the duke of Sauoy wheles that warr is maide by the Swisers and Frenchmen, shall with his armies on the sudden set vpon the city Geneva, situated by the Loxar [? Lemman] lake, and shall not leave off nor bringe back against his army before that he hauinge obtained the city quietly either shall kill with the sworde or drownde in the lake all those men ther, without any respect of sexe or of age, and vtterly ouerthrowe the city, that all the worlde may knowne [? know] that the diuine godheade doth recompence the slownesse of the punishment with the weighte of the same, and that the children and posterity shall smarte for the wickednesse of ther parents, especially those that are committed against religion, by a memorable example for all ages.

“With which terror ther is no doubt but the other neighbour nations beinge stricken with feare may be recalled to ther right wits, especially those which ether by reasone of ther age, or of ther ignorance, are more rude, and therefore more tractable, which are to be spared: but in France, for most weighty causes, ther is no other course to be taken, no man’s life must be saued which hath at any time professed this sect, which besinese truly of rootinge out those which are of the new religion is to be committed to the duke of Guise, which shall haue this also in commaundement, that he shall vtterly rate [? root] out the house of Burbonne, and all that nation and name, leaste at any time ther should be any of that stocke which should prosecute the reuenge of these thinges, and raise up againe this new religion.

“After this manner, all thinges beinge well settled through all France, and the kingdome being restored into the former estate, and all our forces beinge geathered together, Germany is to be inuaded, and to be chalenged, and restored againe, by the healde and aide of the emperour, and of the bishopes, to Rome and to the Apostolicke Sea.

“Which warr, because it may be more greate and more large then it is expected, least it goe forwarde but slowly and vnfitly for want of money, that this mischefe may be provided for, what mony the duke of Guise shall get by the spoiles and booties of so many citicens and riche and mighty men which shall be killed in France for new religion (and they must needs be very greate), he shall lende all to the emperour and to other princes and to the bishopes which doe pursue the ends of this warr in Germany, a sufficiente caution and bonde being taken that all

this somme which shall be laide out in this matter, after the end of the warr shall be paied backe againe and restored to the same duke of Guise, out of the spoiles and praies of those Lutherans and of the rest which shall be killed in Germany for new religion.

"And least that the holy fathers should seeme to be slow to bringe aide to this so holy a warr, or should seem to spare their reuenue and owne mony, the cardinalls have decreed that the priests ought to be content with a yearly reuenue of some fife or sixe thousande crounes, and the riche bishopes with two or three thousande at the most, and ought to giue willingly the rest of the whole somme of ther yearly reuenue towards this warr (which is maide to roote out the sect of the Lutherans and of the Caluinists and to re-establish againe the Romaine Church), vntil it be brought to some happy end.

"But if any ecclesiasticale or cleargyman will him selfe warr in this so godly a warr, it is lawfull for him to give his name, and to professe this warr only, and it is declared of all that it may be done without any scruple of conscience.

"Ffrance and Germany beinge brought into order, and those chefest prouinces beinge restored to the obedience of the most holy church, as concerninge the kingdomes thereabout, how both they may be brought into one sheepefould, and into the government of one apostolicke shephearde, the fathers doe not doubt but that the time it selfe will afforde both good councell and good oportunity, God prosperinge these ther holy endeouours."

This is written in a neat hand of the period, upon two small folio leaves of thick paper, and seems to have been revised and corrected with great care.

P. 112, line 9 from the bottom.—*For* "prope" *read* "proper."

P. 117.—"In the year 1546, the fathers at the Council of Trent declared the Latin Vulgate to be authentic, for a very good reason, because, if it were necessary to have recourse to the originals, the grammarians and critics would have been more important persons than these ecclesiastics."—Jortin, *L. of Erasmus*, i. p. 128, after Perizonius.

P. 126, *note*.—By "latter author" I mean Pallavicino; by his "adversary," Fra Paolo. The sentence seemed capable of a construction to the disadvantage of Dr. Waterworth.

P. 132.—"The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran heresy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reason assigned to justify the extraordinary rigour of this decree. The Protestants could scarce believe that Paul, how zealous soever to defend the established system, or to humble those who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to such extremities against a prince and elector of the empire, without having previously secured such powerful protection as would render his censure something more than an impotent and despicable sally of resentment. They were, of course, deeply alarmed at this sentence against the archbishop, considering it as a sure indication of the malevolent intentions, not only of the pope, but of the emperor, against the whole party."—Robertson's *Charles V.* v. iii. p. 71, sq.

P. 144, line 4 from bottom.—*Read* “allowed to leave without permission.”

P. 157, line 3.—*Read* “Senigaglia.”

P. 158, line 6.—*For* “council” *read* “session.”

P. 167, *note*.—*Read* “Hallam, v. ii. p. 96.”

P. 168, line 10.—*Read* “left any room for *hesitation*.”

P. 171, line 12.—*Read* “and this they argued.”

P. 180, line 2 from the bottom.—*Read* “Orazio.”

P. 213, line 26.—*For* “Sigismodo” *read* “Sigismondo.”

P. 221.—In Wessenberg, v. iv. p. 208, sqq. are some capital remarks on the internal policy of the council, as set forth in these letters.

P. 248, *note* v.—*Add* “Before Charles left Inspruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a prisoner, and set him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarrass Maurice by letting loose a rival, who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a sense of the indecency of detaining him a prisoner, while he himself ran the risk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that prince, seeing no way of escaping but that which the emperor took, and abhorring the thought of falling into the hands of a kinsman, whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final decision of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.”—Robertson’s History of Charles V. v. iii. p. 245.

Ibid. line 7 from the bottom.—*Read* “The legate Crescenzo.” The substitution of “Del Monte” is a mistake for which I am at a loss to account, he being *pope* at the time.

P. 254, line 24.—*Read* “Delphi and the voice.”

P. 269.—For a fuller account of Commendone’s mission, see Gratiani, Vita Commendonii, l. ii. p. 70, sqq. Paris, MDCLXIX.

P. 276, line 7.—*Read* “Orenze.”

P. 300, line 13.—*Read* “Mass having been *celebrated*.”

P. 323, line 16 from the bottom.—*Read* “arrived *in*.”

P. 329, line 6.—*Read* “as Mendham *remarks*.”

P. 336—346 is a misprint.

P. 371, line 1 of Chap. XII.—*Read* “Madrucci.”

P. 377, *note* d.—*Read* “*usucapio*.”

P. 399, line 13.—*Read* “*Gelasius*.”

P. 419, Chap. XXX.—*Compare* “Acta, ut aiunt, inter Ferdinandum, Cæsarem et illustrissimum Cardinalem Moronum, legatum, Spruch diebus præteritis,” in Masarelli, apud Martene et Durand, v. viii. p. 1351, sqq.

P. 439, 3 lines from the bottom.—*Read* “for his want.”

P. 441.—Becchetto, Degli Ultimi Quattro Secoli della Chiesa, v. x. p. 10, sqq., dwells upon the English persecutions at some length. In ch. 9 there is a panegyric on Queen Mary, which will probably read *cum grano salis*. This writer, however, shows a praiseworthy acquaintance with English works connected with the Reformation.

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